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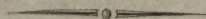
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LIVES OF EMINENT  
AND  
ILLUSTRIOUS ENGLISHMEN,

FROM  
ALFRED THE GREAT TO THE LATEST TIMES,

*On an Original Plan.*

EDITED BY

GEORGE GODFREY CUNNINGHAM.

ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FINELY EXECUTED PORTRAITS, SELECTED FROM THE  
MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES, AND ENGRAVED BY EMINENT ARTISTS.

VOLUME V.

GLASGOW:

A. FULLARTON & CO., 110, BRUNSWICK STREET;  
AND 6, ROXBURGH PLACE, EDINBURGH.

MDCCCXXXVII.

THE GREAT

ILLUSTRIOUS

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GLASGOW.  
FULLARTON & CO., PRINTERS, VILLAFIELD.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO SEVENTH PERIOD,

EXTENDING

FROM GEORGE II. TO THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

**Eminent Englishmen**

WHO FLOURISHED DURING THAT PERIOD.





# HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO

## SEVENTH PERIOD.

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Paucity of historical materials—Sources—Sketch of the state of parties at the accession of the house of Hanover—Successive ministries of George II.—State of English literature.

It is the just remark of an eminent critic, that “no part of our domestic history, since the Reformation, is so imperfectly known to us as the interval between the accession of the house of Hanover, and the death of George II.” And yet the age which lay between these two events was not the least important one in English history. It indeed presented nothing like the religious agitations of the sixteenth century; and its civil wars—of which it had two—were utterly insignificant in comparison with those of the preceding century; yet it was an age of political activity, abounding in cabals and intrigues, and remarkable for the establishment and consolidation of that internal system of government, by which the affairs of this country have been conducted almost up to the present hour.

The fact is, the materials for modern English history are yet remarkably scanty, and of difficult access. That materials do exist, there can be no question; but they are still chiefly to be found in private collections, and family-archives. Mr Coxe, by the publication of the Walpole papers, has done something to remove this reproach. He was the first to illustrate the reigns of George I. and George II., from original and authentic documents; but he treats the historical personages of this period with as much deference and reserve as might be prudent were they still alive, and acting their parts on the political stage. Glover’s *Memoirs*, though a work of some pretension, will be found of very little value to the future historian. Lord Waldegrave’s *Memoirs*, however, are truly valuable; and those of Lord Orford are all that the historian could desire. If, to these three works, we add Bubb Dodington’s *Diary*, and Lady Suffolk’s *Correspondence*, we shall have indicated the principal historical sources, for the period under consideration, at present accessible to the public.

At the accession of the house of Hanover, three political parties divided the country. The whigs, by whose exertions that event was

brought about, were of course the predominant party. Their strength chiefly lay in the trading and monied interests, and the adhesion of a few of the great aristocratical families. Opposed to the whigs, and in some important points to each other, were the tories and Jacobites. Betwixt their notions of indefeasible right in the succession to the crown, and their dread of papacy, the tories hung back, in a state of ludicrous perplexity, from pursuing decisive measures of any kind. They hated the house of Hanover as heartily as the Jacobites, but their attachment to the church of England made them hesitate to adopt a line of conduct which might ultimately terminate in the restoration of the Catholic church. The Jacobites, though many of them were staunch episcopalians, had no such qualms about religion. The restoration of the Stuart dynasty was an object dearer to them than any other consideration.

The united opposition of these two parties, to the existing government, greatly embarrassed the ministry, and drove them, in some instances, to the adoption of measures opposed in spirit to their principles, and from which, under other circumstances, they would have recoiled. Hence the large standing armies which they maintained; the unconstitutional powers with which they invested petty magistrates; and the bribery practised both within and without the houses of parliament. It was unfortunate also for the whigs, that, at this time, to use the words of Lord Waldegrave, "they were not united in one body, under one general, like a regular and well-disciplined army; but might more aptly be compared to an alliance of different clans fighting in the same cause, professing the same principles, but influenced and guided by their different chieftains."

Soon after the accession of George I., a schism took place amongst the whigs, in which Lords Sunderland and Stanhope headed one party, and Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Townshend the other. The Walpole party was successful; but from the ruins of the other, a formidable opposition arose, aided by the tories under Wyndham, and the Jacobites under Shippen, which, after twenty years of untiring efforts, finally overturned the administration of Walpole.

The administration of Lord Granville, and Pulteney, earl of Bath, succeeded; but these ministers were driven from their places by the eloquence of Pitt, seconded by their own rashness and incapacity.

A coalition ministry was put together towards the close of 1744, under the administration of which every thing went wrong at home and abroad. The Pelhams headed this unhappy ministry, which included the duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich, and Pitt and Fox held subordinate stations in it. On the death of his brother, the duke of Newcastle endeavoured to dispense with the services both of Pitt and Fox, but was ultimately obliged to admit the latter into the cabinet. Such, however, was the want of confidence betwixt the duke and Fox, that the commoner tendered his resignation; and Newcastle, now deprived of his ablest allies, was necessitated to follow his example within a few days.

The duke of Devonshire was now intrusted with the formation of a ministry. He immediately made overtures to Pitt, and so indispensable was the commoner's accession found to be, that it was purchased by the rejection of both Newcastle and Fox, with whom Pitt refused to associate.



The personal antipathy of the king to Pitt bróke up the Devonshire administration, and an interministerium of two months followed. After a variety of fruitless attempts to form a ministry to his liking, the king was forced to accept an administration formed under the auspices of the heir-apparent, and which long successfully conducted the affairs of the country, foreign and domestic.

The rapid outline we have now given will suffice to direct the reader's attention to the principal political personages of the period now under consideration ; its literary history may be indicated in even fewer words. Under a necessity which seemed to be laid upon us by the fact, that the leading men of Queen Anne's reign, both in politics and literature, belong almost equally to the reign of the first George, and the difficulty we found in drawing any line of demarcation betwixt the two reigns considered as political and literary eras, we have already introduced the reader to several illustrious names, which belong not merely to the Augustan age of Queen Anne, as it is called, but also to the era of the first two Georges. In our notice of Thomson we shall be able to point out what we must regard as a wholesome change in the public taste of this period, we mean that true sense of the beauty of external nature, which, for any thing we can discover in the poetry of Pope and his school, seems to have lain dormant from the period of the Restoration until the author of the 'Seasons' appeared a candidate for public favours. His contemporary, Young, would probably have achieved greater things than he did, had he not unfortunately fallen upon imitating Pope, with whom his genius had little in common. Smollett has been pleased to mention Glover's 'Leonidas' among the glories of the reign of George II. ; but the Grecian style, though supported by such men as Mason, and Gray, and Akenside, with all its classicality, and learning, and taste, was never fitted for the clime of Britain ; it was altogether too cold, and tame, and elaborate for the country of Shakspeare, Milton, and Spenser. Collins was a lyric poet of a higher stamp than even Gray, but he long suffered strange neglect. Even Cowper had never heard of his name until he saw it first in Johnson's 'Lives of the Poets,' nearly thirty years after his death. Dyer awoke a simpler and more English strain than any of his poetical brethren betwixt Thomson and Goldsmith. The Wartons meanwhile did good service, both as critics and as poets, by directing the attention of the rising generation to the school of Spenser, and of the Elizabethan age. At last Cowper arose, and English poetry was finally emancipated from the unworthy bondage under which it had so long lain.

In philosophy, and prose writing, the period of the second George can show some worthy names. Balguy, and Doddridge, and Hoadly, and Sherlock, and Berkeley, and Butler, and Warburton, with a host of distinguished theologians and metaphysicians, adorn this era. Hume too had completed his 'History of England' before the third George ascended the throne.

## I.—POLITICAL SERIES.

**George II.**

BORN A. D. 1683.—DIED A. D. 1760.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS, son of George I., by Sophia Dorothea of Luneburg-Zell, was born in Hanover, on the 30th of October, 1683. In 1705 he married Wilhelmina Carolina, eldest daughter of the margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach. His youth gave no indication of his being possessed of any thing more than the very ordinary amount of talent of his family. He succeeded to the throne of England on the 11th of June, 1727.

Although Sir Robert Walpole had given matter of personal offence to the queen when princess-royal, and the new monarch had even signified his intention to dismiss him, yet, to the surprise of all, the old ministry were suffered to remain in office, and the only resignation was that of Earl Berkeley, who gave place to Admiral Byng, the personal friend of the premier. The secret of Walpole's triumph was his undertaking to procure the queen a settlement of £100,000 per annum in the event of the king's demise, while Sir Spencer Compton, whom the king seemed at first inclined to intrust with the formation of a new cabinet, had spoken of a jointure of only £60,000. The king and queen both loved money; and there is a ludicrous anecdote told of the coolness and effrontery with which the new sovereign got over the inconvenience of certain bequests in the late king's will. At his first council, the archbishop of Canterbury produced the will of George I., and placed it in the king's hands, expecting doubtless that it would be unsealed and read to the council. The king, however, contented himself with quietly slipping it into his pocket, and, as he never afterwards alluded to it, it was supposed that the late king's testamentary arrangements were not satisfactory to his son.

In the first parliament of George II., which assembled on the 23d of January, 1728, parties dropped their old appellations, and began to be distinguished according as they supported or opposed ministers, as the town or court party, and the country party. The influence of the former party was predominant in parliament, but their opponents never failed to offer a vigorous resistance to the imposition of fresh taxes, and the maintenance of a large standing-army.

One of the first schemes which occupied the attention of the new sovereign, was a project of his own for the marriage of the prince of Wales to the eldest daughter of the king of Prussia, and a second matrimonial alliance between the same families by the marriage of the Prussian heir-apparent to the king of England's second daughter. His majesty of Prussia entertained the proposal for the first marriage; but objected to the second, on the ground that his heir-apparent was quite as worthy of the hand of the princess-royal of England, as his august ally's eldest son was of that of the princess-royal of Prussia. Ultimately the royal negotiators got into a terrible passion with each other, and



seriously thought of having recourse to the laws of honour for the adjustment of their differences! Their seconds were chosen, and the place of meeting appointed; but their ministers at last succeeded in diverting their attention from the ridiculous design. The prince of Wales was married, in 1736, to the princess of Saxe-Gotha; but soon afterwards a serious misunderstanding arose betwixt the prince and his royal father, of which various accounts have been given. To such a length, however, did they carry their rupture, that the heir-apparent completely identified himself with the opposition, and held a court of his own at Norfolk-house; while the king issued an order forbidding all those, who visited the court of the prince and princess, from presenting themselves at any of the royal palaces.

The death of Queen Caroline, on the 20th of November, 1737, was a severe blow to the king, who, strange to say, notwithstanding his illicit attachments, always kept on excellent terms with his wife. It is a fact, however incredible it may appear, that George II. never gave his confidence to any of his mistresses, but reserved that entire for his wife, who, much his superior in mental powers, really proved a most judicious and forbearing adviser. Sir Robert Walpole asserts that the king loved the queen's little finger better than Lady Suffolk's whole body. We are at a loss to understand the exact nature of the love which subsisted betwixt the royal consorts; but must receive the unanimous testimony of their court, that they kept on excellent terms with each other, and that the king often and deeply lamented the loss he had sustained in her majesty's death. The manner in which she led the feebler intellect, but obstinate nature of the king, is thus explained by Walpole. She always affected much ignorance of state-affairs, and spoke of herself as quite unfit to aid her consort in the weighty concerns of government. Even when the premier presented himself on business which had been previously settled between him and the king, she would rise and offer to retire, when the king, delighted with these appearances of modesty and humility, would exclaim to the conscious minister, "Ha! ha! You see how much I am governed by my wife, as they say I am! Ha! ha! It is a fine thing to be governed by one's wife." She had the good sense to see and acknowledge her errors, without manifesting any dislike to those who pointed them out to her, and even to overlook personal affronts when an adequate object was to be gained by her forbearance. Thus, although it was reported to her, that when Walpole, during the differences between George I. and his wife, formed a scheme for upsetting the existing ministry, and bringing the prince's party into power, he objected to the particulars of the plan being communicated to the prince, "because," said he, "the fat ——, his wife, would betray our secret, and ruin all," she at once overlooked the affront when she became sensible that it was in Sir Robert's power to procure her a higher jointure than was at first proposed. "Tell Sir Robert," said she to the party who conveyed his overtures to her, "that the fat —— has forgiven him." She once wished to shut up St James's park, and asked Walpole what it would cost to do it: "Only a crown, madam," was the minister's reply; the queen instantly thanked him for the honesty and bluntness of his advice.

The queen's death was perhaps more truly regretted by Walpole

himself than by the king. The Spanish war was most reluctantly entered into by the minister, but he was no longer able to make a stand against the clamours of the populace, aided by the propensities of the king himself for military enterprise. The miscarriage of Admirals Vernon and Norris, in their different naval operations against Spain, drove Sir Robert from the political helm ; but, with the full consent of the king, an army of 16,000 men was soon after sent to Flanders, to take part in the quarrels that were then beginning to break out on the continent. France, in despite of the Pragmatic sanction, to which that power had been a party, and by which the emperor Charles the Second's dominions were settled upon his daughter, Maria Theresa, espoused the cause of the elector of Bavaria. Assailed at once by France, Saxony, Bavaria, and Prussia, the young queen of Hungary was about to be stripped of her inheritance, when Britain interfered on her behalf, and was followed by Sardinia, Holland, and Russia. The king partook of his father's fondness for his Hanoverian dominions, and the only plausible pretext which could be offered for the interference of Britain was, that the security of the electorate depended upon nicely balancing the different interests of the empire. This plea, however, in the present humour of the nation and the king, sufficed ; and a British and Hanoverian army, commanded by the earl of Stair, marched to operate a diversion, on the side of France, in favour of the queen of Hungary. The French, in order to prevent the junction of this force with the Austrian army under Prince Charles, assembled an army of 60,000 men upon the Maine, under the command of Marshal de Noailles. Stair suffered himself to be nearly surrounded by this force, near the village of Dettingen ; and had the French been less precipitate in their movements, the whole British force, with the king himself, who had by this time arrived in the camp, must have been taken prisoners. The king behaved with great courage, if not with eminent prudence or skill, in this engagement ; but his interference with the functions of commander-in-chief so disgusted the earl of Stair, that he resigned his command, which was conferred upon Prince William of Cumberland, whose fortunes we shall have another opportunity of relating. His majesty, notwithstanding the want of success of the army in Flanders, appears to have been highly gratified with his own share in the campaign. An ode, in honour chiefly of the battle of Dettingen, was set to music, and frequently performed in the great council-chamber at St James's, before the king and court. His majesty, on these occasions, always appeared in the dress which he had worn when serving under Marlborough, at the battle of Oudenarde. In this suit, which had become rather obsolete, did the king strut about the circle, to his own great satisfaction, and the great amusement of his court.

The lustre of the British arms was suffering under the defeat of Fontenoy, when it was somewhat restored by our naval operations under Rowley and Warren, and the capture of Louisbourg ; but the movements of the Jacobites for a time excluded every other object from the public mind. The history of the domestic rebellion of 1745 will be found detailed in our sketch of the chevalier, Prince Edward.

A more inglorious period of our annals is scarce to be found, than from the fall of Lord Granville to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Defeat attended our arms abroad ; rebellion raged at home ; the govern-



ment acted without concert and without energy; the king, still led by the dismissed minister, mistrusted and thwarted his new council; while the ministers themselves neglected the affairs of the nation for the pursuit of their own personal objects. At last they resigned in a body, on February, 1746, and only resumed their appointments on Pitt, whom the king detested, being raised to office. Pitt found it rather a difficult task to maintain his footing in the cabinet. Glover says that Mrs Waller told him, that she stood near the king when he first received Pitt as his councillor, and saw him shed tears on the occasion. He had likewise conceived a very early antipathy to Pitt's coadjutor, the duke of Newcastle. On one occasion he said to a confidant: "You see I am compelled to take the duke of Newcastle as my minister, though he is not fit to be chamberlain in the smallest court of Germany."

Frederick, prince of Wales, died in 1751. He had passed the greatest part of his life in opposition to his father's government; but the princess-dowager, his widow, with great judgment and discretion, threw herself and family without reserve into the hands of the king, who received her advances with tenderness and affection. "He patronised the act by which she was appointed regent in case of a minority; and, what was of greater importance, he suffered the heir-apparent to remain under her sole direction. For, though preceptors and governors were chosen by the king, or rather by his ministers, they had only the shadow of authority; and the two principal, the earl of Harcourt and the bishop of Norwich, were soon disgraced, because they attempted to form an interest independent of the mother, and presumed, on some occasions, to have an opinion of their own."<sup>1</sup>

The fall of Minorca, and still more the lamentable affair of Admiral Byng which followed that event, with the capitulation of the Hanoverian army under the duke of Cumberland, and the consequent loss of the electorate, were events crowded upon each other, and all very inglorious to this country; but under the vigorous administration of William Pitt, these reverses were more than atoned for: France was driven from the East Indies; the battle of Minden restored in some degree the honour of the British arms on the continent; Quebec surrendered to the gallant Wolfe; and the whole of Canada became subject to Britain. We shall have other opportunities of relating these events in detail.

George II. died suddenly on the 25th of October, 1760. The immediate cause of his death was a rupture of the right ventricle of the heart. Lord Waldegrave, who appears to have enjoyed much of the confidence and partiality of his sovereign, and to have returned it with affectionate and zealous service, has drawn the following portrait of his friend and master, which, though perhaps coloured a little by partiality, is probably more deserving of our confidence than the sketches of some other contemporary writers: "The king," says he, writing in 1758, "is in his 75th year; but temperance and an excellent constitution have hitherto preserved him from many of the infirmities of old age. He has a good understanding, though not of the first class; and has a clear insight into men and things, within a certain compass. He is accused by his ministers of being hasty and passionate when any mea-

<sup>1</sup> Waldegrave.



sure is proposed which he does not approve of; though, within the compass of my own observation, I have known few persons of high rank who could bear contradiction better, provided the intention was apparently good, and the manner decent. When any thing disagreeable passes in the closet, when any of his ministers happen to displease him, it cannot long remain a secret; for his countenance can never dissemble: but to those servants who attend his person, and do not disturb him with frequent solicitations, he is ever gracious and affable. Even in the early part of life he was fond of business; at present, it is become almost his only amusement. He has more knowledge of foreign affairs than most of his ministers, and has good general notions of the constitution, strength, and interest of this country: but being past thirty when the Hanover succession took place, and having since experienced the violence of party, the injustice of popular clamour, the corruption of parliaments, and the selfish motives of pretended patriots, it is not surprising that he should have contracted some prejudices in favour of those governments where the royal authority is under less restraint. Yet prudence has so far prevailed over these prejudices, that they have never influenced his conduct. On the contrary, many laws have been enacted in favour of public liberty; and, in the course of a long reign, there has not been a single attempt to extend the prerogative of the crown beyond its proper limits. He has as much personal bravery as any man, though his political courage seems somewhat problematical: however, it is a fault on the right side; for had he always been as firm and undaunted in the closet as he showed himself at Oudenarde and Dettingen, he might not have proved quite so good a king in this limited monarchy. In the drawing-room, he is gracious and polite to the ladies, and remarkably cheerful and familiar with those who are handsome, or with the few of his old acquaintance who were beauties in his younger days. His conversation is very proper for a tête-à-tête: he then talks freely on most subjects, and very much to the purpose; but he cannot discourse with the same ease, nor has he the faculty of laying aside the king in a larger company; not even in those parties of pleasure which are composed of his most intimate acquaintance. His servants are never disturbed with any unnecessary waiting; for he is regular in all his motions to the greatest exactness, except on particular occasions, when he outruns his own orders, and expects those who are to attend him before the time of his appointment. This may easily be accounted for: he has a restless mind, which requires constant exercise; his affairs are not sufficient to fill up the day; his amusements are without variety, and have lost their relish; he becomes fretful and uneasy, merely for want of employment; and presses forward to meet the succeeding hour before it arrives. Too great attention to money seems to be his capital failing; however, he is always just, and sometimes charitable, though seldom generous: but when we consider how rarely the liberality of princes is directed to the proper object, being usually bestowed on a rapacious mistress or an unworthy favourite, want of generosity, though it still continues a blot, ceases, at least, to be a vice of the first magnitude. Upon the whole, he has some qualities of a great prince, many of a good one, none which are essentially bad; and I am thoroughly convinced that hereafter, when time shall have wore away those specks and blemishes which sully the brightest charac-

ters, and from which no man is totally exempt, he will be numbered amongst those patriot kings, under whose government the people have enjoyed the greatest happiness."

Many amusing anecdotes are related of George II. When he attended the representation of 'Richard III.,' although Garrick supported the principal character, the royal fancy was most taken with the man who acted lord-mayor; and during the latter part of the performance, the king exclaimed to one of his attendants, "Will not dat lor-mayor come again? I like dat lor-mayor; when will he come again?" A ludicrous scene occurred betwixt his majesty and Dr Ward. The doctor was sent for on account of a severe pain which the king had in his thumb, and, while examining the lame member, he suddenly wrenched it with great violence. In the agony of the moment, the king called the doctor a cursed rascal, and condescended to kick his shins. He no sooner, however, found that this rough treatment had actually relieved him, than he became profuse in his expressions of gratitude to his Esculapius, as he now termed him, and presented him with a handsome carriage and horses. Shortly before the king's death, the duchess of Hamilton, formerly the beautiful Miss Gunning, was presented to his majesty on her marriage. The king indulged in a long conversation with her, and, among other questions, asked her what striking public sights she had witnessed: "Oh," said the thoughtless duchess, "I have seen so much, that there is only one other sight in the world which I should wish to behold, and that is a coronation." The king took her hand, and with a sigh exclaimed, "I apprehend you have not long to wait; you will soon have your desire."

## Frederick, Prince of Wales.

BORN A. D. 1707.—DIED A. D. 1751.

FREDERICK LEWIS, eldest son of George II., was born in Hanover, on the 20th of January, 1707. In 1717, he was created duke of Gloucester; in the following year, installed a knight of the garter; and in 1726, became Duke of Edinburgh. He was twenty-two years of age when he first visited Britain, on which occasion he was created earl of Chester. Shortly afterwards, the proposal for his marriage with the princess-royal of Prussia was made by his father. The ludicrous issue of this negotiation has already been detailed. The old duchess of Marlborough next undertook to find the prince a wife; and knowing that he would not be over-careful whom he offended in this matter, and that he was sorely pressed for money, she secretly proposed to him, that he should marry her grand-daughter, Lady Diana Spencer, with a fortune of £100,000. The bait took, and the prince had nearly fallen into the snare laid for him, when Sir Robert Walpole got information of what was going forward, and interfered in time to prevent the ill-assorted match. In 1736 he was married to the Princess Augusta, daughter of Frederick, duke of Saxe-Gotha.

The prince's education had been sadly neglected. The consequence was, that his habits were profligate, and his manners often rude and violent to an extreme. In some things he acted like a child; in others,



like a madman. The absurdity of his conduct, when his princess was about to be confined of her first child, increased the disgust which his father had conceived towards him, after Pulteney's ill-judged motion for increasing the heir-apparent's income from the civil list to £100,000 per annum. This was justly regarded as an infringement on the king's prerogative, and as such resented by him. The prince was ordered to quit St James's palace as soon as the princess could be removed; in consequence of which mandate, he retired to Norfolk house, where he formed a court for himself out of the opposition leaders. On the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, the prince's party came into power, and a show of reconciliation was for some time kept up betwixt the king and the heir-apparent, but it did not last long.

The duke of Cumberland was the king's favourite son, and an object of most unmerited dislike to his worthless brother. His sentiments, however, were imbibed by the princess-dowager, and by her carefully instilled into the mind of her son. In this fact, we have the principal cause of the disgraceful dissensions which followed the death of Mr Pelham.

Prince Frederick died suddenly on the 20th of March, 1751. Soon after his decease, the following anonymous lines were proposed for his epitaph:—

“ Here lies Fred,  
 Who was alive, and is dead.  
 Had it been his father,  
 I had much rather;  
 Had it been his brother,  
 Still better than another;  
 Had it been his sister,  
 No one would have miss'd her;  
 Had it been the whole generation,  
 Still better for the nation;  
 But since 'tis only Fred,  
 Who was alive, and is dead,  
 There's no more to be said !”

Walpole says, his chief passion was women; and that, like the taste of his family, beauty did not seem to be much regarded in his amours. It appears that he was desirous of acquiring a military reputation during the rebellion of 1745, and that he applied for a military appointment at that time, but was refused. He found means, however, to gratify his warlike taste in a very innocent way. During the siege of Carlisle, he caused a representation, in paste, of its citadel, to be placed on the table with the dessert, which his royal-highness, at the head of the maids of honour, bombarded gallantly with sugar-plumbs! The anecdote may remind some of our readers of a certain exhibition of tiny vessels of war, which took place on the Serpentine river, several years ago, at the suggestion of an illustrious descendant of Prince Frederick.

The prince was not without a certain affectation of literary taste. He expressed himself gratified with the ‘Rambler,’ and offered to take the author under his patronage; he presented Tindal with a gold medal; he honoured Pope with a complimentary visit; he sent the author of ‘Leonidas’ a £500 note; and he is even said to have actually written a book himself, called ‘The History of Prince Titi,’ which appeared in 1736. The manuscript of this work, in the prince's hand-writing, is reported to have been found amongst the papers of Ralph the historian.







*William Duke of Cumberland*

*Engraved by T. Freeman*

*From an Original Painting by Sir J. Reynolds*

*Published by J. & W. Tait, Stationers, &c. London*

## William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland.

BORN A. D. 1721.—DIED A. D. 1765.

THIS prince, the third son of George II. and Queen Caroline, was born on the 15th of April, 1721. He gave early indications of considerable activity of intellect, and a predilection for a military life. In 1743 he made his first campaign in Germany. He was present, with his father, at the battle of Dettingen, and behaved with great gallantry on that occasion: when the earl of Stair resigned his command in the Netherlands, the duke of Cumberland, though scarcely twenty-four years old, and utterly destitute of experience, was placed at the head of the British and Hanoverian army. In the beginning of the campaign of 1744, Marshal Saxe, the French general, having invested Tournay, the allies determined on attempting its relief. The French were posted behind the village of Fontenoy on some eminences which commanded the approach to their lines. The British infantry, having formed a kind of close square, threw themselves on the centre of the enemy's lines; but after six hours of heroic effort, during all which time they were exposed to a determined resistance in front, and a heavy flanking fire, they were compelled to retire, leaving 12,000 men on the field.

Soon after the landing of Prince Charles Edward Stuart in Scotland, the duke of Cumberland arrived from the continent, with some regiments of dragoons and infantry. In this campaign, the details of which will be narrated in the next memoir, the duke won more laurels than he was destined ever to reap in Flanders; but he sullied them by his ferocity, and the unrelenting cruelty which he exhibited towards men, whose heroism at least should have won them the respect of a soldier. It was fortunate for the duke's fame, that his predecessors in the conduct of this brief domestic campaign were such imbeciles as they proved themselves to be. His military resources—and he undoubtedly possessed considerable military talent—were thus displayed to the best advantage, and he was raised at once by a grateful public, saved from the horrors of a civil war, to the very pinnacle of military glory. Parliament conferred on him a substantial mark of its approbation by increasing his allowance of £15,000 per annum to £40,000. He continued for a long period the popular idol, though his good fortune deserted him again on his return to Flanders, where the French carried every thing before them.

In 1751, he incurred some odium, on account of his project for improving the discipline of the British soldiers, by the introduction of a severer military code. In his amended mutiny-bill, the penalty of death, says Walpole, came over as often as the curses in the commination on Ash-Wednesday. By this ill-judged severity, and the want of feeling which he displayed on the death of his brother Frederick, the duke became so unpopular, that the idea of his ever becoming regent was received with general alarm; and the king himself seems to have participated in the public feeling. The duke felt so mortified at the dowager-princess of Wales being nominated regent, in the event of a minority, that he declared to his friends that "he now felt his own



insignificance, and wished the name of William could be blotted out of the English annals."

In 1757, the French having made an irruption into Germany, and threatened Hanover, his royal highness reluctantly undertook the command-in-chief in Germany. The French, under Marshal D'Etrées, were allowed successively to cross the Rhine and the Weser unopposed; and the duke retired before them, until he was driven into a position where he could neither procure provisions nor attack the enemy with any hope of success. In this situation he was compelled to capitulate; and a convention was signed at Closter-Seven, by which the electorate of Hanover was yielded to the French. Walpole asserts that the duke, notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of this campaign, evinced consummate military skill in conducting it. We suspect there are few who will allow Walpole's opinion on this point to outweigh the evidence of skill arising from the issue of the campaign itself; but there is one point which Walpole clearly establishes on behalf of the duke, namely, that his conduct was dignified, and in all respects worthy of a great mind, when disowned by his father for the unfortunate convention of Closter-Seven.

The duke, after these events, retired altogether from public life. He died suddenly on the 31st of October, 1765.

## Charles Edward Stuart.

BORN A. D. 1720.—DIED A. D. 1788.

CHARLES EDWARD, eldest son of James Stuart, by Maria Clementina, was born at Rome, on the 30th of November, 1720. The history of the Stuart family is a singular one. Lord Hailes declares himself unable to trace their origin. They were probably a wealthy and powerful Norman family, who derived the name by which they are now known, from their office as stewards of Scotland. After they reached the throne by marriage, their course may be traced in history by the peculiar difficulties and sorrows which pressed so heavily upon all the race, but were seen most distinctly in the fortunes of Mary and her grandson Charles. No doubt there was much to condemn in their personal characters, and their maxims of government were such as never could be tolerated in a nation having the least pretension to be called free; still, we can hardly refuse our sympathy to their 'dis-crowned heads,' as we trace their course from the rough mountains of the north to the sunny plains of Italy, where it ended ingloriously at last.

Nothing could be more natural than that the young chevalier, as he was called, should consider himself the rightful heir to the English throne,—a right which had been admitted by the nation itself for more than one generation, and which many lofty minds believed in so firmly that they were willing to die in defence of it. With these feelings he eagerly grasped at the overtures which were made to him, towards the close of 1743, by the French government, for the invasion of Britain.

Notwithstanding the failure of the plans of the French cabinet, the prince still cherished the idea of regaining his ancestral throne by force



*Prince Charles Edward Stuart.*

*Engraved by M. J. Freeman.  
from the Celebrated Portrait by Le Tournier,  
painted at Paris in 1748.*





of arms. France, however, was now neither able nor willing to render him efficient aid. It was willing indeed to keep the exiled family as a thorn in the side of England, but that was all; there was not enough to be gained by France, from a change of dynasty in England, to make the former power willing to sacrifice much to effect it. Still there was much in the aspect of affairs in England, at this conjuncture, to encourage a daring adventurer for a crown or a scaffold. She was involved in one of those endless and unmeaning continental wars, in which she has wasted so much treasure and blood. Her arms had but lately been foiled at the battle of Fontenoy; her navy was, as usual, engaged at the world's end; the people were complaining bitterly of war, oppression, and taxes; and two parties were struggling fiercely for political preponderance in the affairs of government.

It was at such a crisis that the chevalier resolved to embark his fortunes in one desperate attempt. His own resources were contemptible; he did not possess above £4,000; he had no experienced officer with him; and his naval armament consisted of an old sixty gun ship, and a small vessel carrying sixteen guns. The Lyon man-of-war attacked, and so disabled his larger vessel, soon after leaving Belleisle, that she was compelled to put about and return to port; but the smaller vessel conveyed the gallant adventurer safely to South Uist, where he immediately landed with only seven attendants, at Borodale, a farm belonging to Clanranald, a gallant young chieftain, who represented to him the hopelessness of the undertaking, but nevertheless devoted his heart and hand to the service of the prince. At Borodale, the chevalier was joined by Donald Cameron, called young Lochiel, because his father was still living, though an exile on account of his former exertions in favour of the Stuarts. We are told by Home, that had Lochiel declined following the prince's standard, not another chief in all the Highlands would have taken arms for the exiled king.

Encouraged by this success, Charles removed to Kinlochmoidart, and thence to Lochshiel, near the eastern extremity of which, in the vale of Glenfinnin, he unfurled his standard at the head of a force of 1200 men, and declared war upon the Elector of Hanover, the usurper of his father's throne. The little army now about to undertake so desperate an enterprise, was composed of a few country gentlemen, acting as commanders of battalions, raised from the peasants or commoners of their estates, and officered by the principal farmers or tacksmen. None of them pretended to knowledge of military affairs, and very few had ever seen an action. With such inadequate forces the adventurer marched forward, like the hero of a romance, to prove his fortunes.<sup>1</sup> The king was in Hanover when the insurrection began. The nation was governed by a regency in his absence, and the affairs of Scotland were intrusted to the marquess of Tweeddale. The intelligence came on all parties most unexpectedly, and for a while very inefficient measures were adopted by the government. Sir John Cope, commander of the forces in Scotland, took counsel with the celebrated Duncan Forbes, who advised him instantly to march forward, and endeavour to crush the nascent rebellion before all the disaffected clans had time to assemble in arms. Accordingly he marched with 1400

<sup>1</sup> Scott.

mén upon Fort Augustus, which is in the centre of the district where the troubles began; but he found himself so completely bewildered and beset, that he turned aside to Inverness, leaving the low country open to the chevalier. This movement of Cope removed every obstacle which could have prevented Charles from pressing on to Edinburgh; he therefore advanced rapidly on the Scottish metropolis, which, with the exception of the castle, surrendered without a blow.

The adventurer for some days held his court in Holyrood, the palace of his fathers, where he saw himself surrounded by the chivalry and beauty of the land. The general enthusiasm was extreme; and care was taken to fan the flame by those beautiful melodies, full of political allusions, thinly veiled under expressions of lover-like attachment, which kept up a feeling both in cottager and castler that there would be 'nae luck about the house' till its rightful lord was once more established at its head.

Meanwhile Cope, who had got his troops transported by sea to Dunbar, advanced upon Edinburgh. The armies met at Preston, a village about nine miles from Edinburgh, where the king's forces sustained an instantaneous and complete defeat. The Highlanders brake in upon them sword in hand; their ranks were at once thrown into confusion; the general was borne away by the retreating torrent; and no one maintained the honour of the royalists but the celebrated Colonel Gardiner, who, deserted by his own troop, put himself at the head of a few resolute men, and was cut down under the wall of his own park, which was on the border of the field of battle.

The Highland army, now about 6000 strong, advanced into England, although Marshal Wade lay at Newcastle with an army, and the duke of Cumberland was at the head of another in the centre of the kingdom. They took Carlisle, a place of some strength, and advanced some miles beyond Derby, within four days' march of London. The confusion and terror into which all classes were thrown by the news of these events was not surprising; but the imbecility of the government, and the military leaders, at this crisis, appears utterly unaccountable. London, says a contemporary of these transactions, writing on the spur of the moment, lies open as a prize to the first comers, whether Scotch or Dutch; and a letter from Gray to Horace Walpole paints an indifference yet more ominous to the public cause than the general panic: "The common people, in town at least, know how to be afraid; but we are such uncommon people here (at Cambridge) as to have no more sense of danger than if the battle had been fought where and when the battle of Cannæ was. I heard three sensible middle-aged men, when the Scotch were said to be at Stamford, and actually were at Derby, talking of hiring a chaise to go to Caxton (a place on the high road) to see the pretender and Highlanders as they passed." Edward's cause, however, though triumphant thus far, made no accessions in the towns through which his victorious army passed. There were Jacobites enough in England; but few were animated with the chivalrous spirit of the Highlanders. Had the prince succeeded, he would have found thousands declaring in his favour; but, so long as the event was uncertain, there were few indeed who would hazard their lives and their property to aid him.

It is not distinctly known what counsels induced the invading army



to turn their steps back upon Scotland; it is proved, however, that the error lay not with the prince; "it is proved that no cowardice on his part,—no wish to retreat from the desperate adventure in which he was engaged, and to shelter himself from its consequences,—dictated the movement which was then adopted. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum* had been his motto from the beginning. When retreat was determined upon—contrary to his arguments, entreaties, and tears—he evidently considered his cause as desperate: he seemed, in many respects, an altered man; and, from being the leader of his little host, became in appearance, as he was in reality, their reluctant follower. While the Highland army advanced, Charles was always in the van by break of day;—in retreat, his alacrity was gone, and often they were compelled to wait for him;—he lost his spirit, his gaiety, his hardihood, and he never regained them but when battle was spoken of. In later life, when all hopes of his re-establishment were ended, Charles Edward sunk into frailties by which he was debased and dishonoured. But let us be just to the memory of the unfortunate. Without courage, he had never made the attempt,—without address and military talent, he had never kept together his own desultory bands, or discomfited the more experienced soldiers of his enemy;—and finally, without patience, resolution, and fortitude, he could never have supported his cause so long, under successive disappointments, or fallen at last with honour, by an accumulated and overwhelming pressure.

"When the resolution of retreat was adopted, it was accomplished with a dexterous celerity, as remarkable as the audacity of the advance. With Ligonier's army on one flank, and Cumberland's in the rear,—surrounded by hostile forces,—and without one hope remaining of countenance or assistance from the Jacobites of England, the Highlanders made their retrograde movement without either fear or loss, and had the advantage at Clifton, near Penrith, in the only skirmish which took place between them and their numerous pursuers. The same good fortune seemed for a time to attend the continuation of the war, when removed once more to Scotland. The chevalier, at the head of his little army, returned to the north more like a victor than a retreating adventurer. He laid Glasgow under ample contribution, refreshed and collected his scattered troops, and laid siege to Stirling, whose castle guards the principal passage between the Highlands and Lowlands. In the meanwhile General Hawley was sent against him; an officer so confident of success, that he declared he would trample the Highland insurgents into dust with only two regiments of dragoons; and whose first order, on entering Edinburgh, was to set up a gibbet in the Grass-market, and another between Leith and Edinburgh. But this commander received from his despised opponents so sharp a defeat at Falkirk, that, notwithstanding all the colours which he could put upon it, the affair appeared not much more creditable than that of Prestonpans. How Hawley looked on this occasion, we learn by a letter from General Wightman: 'General H——y is in much the same situation as General C——e; he was never seen in the field during the battle; and every thing would have gone to wreck, in a worse manner than at Preston, if General Huske had not acted with judgment and courage, and appeared every where. H——y seems to be sensible of his misconduct; for, when I was with him on Saturday morning at



Linlithgow, he looked most wretchedly; even worse than C—e did a few hours after his scuffle, when I saw him at Fala.’<sup>2</sup>

“Even when the approach of the duke of Cumberland, with a predominant force, compelled these adventurers to retreat towards their northern recesses, they were so far from being disheartened that they generally had the advantage in the sort of skirmishing warfare which preceded their final defeat at Culloden. On this occasion, they seem, for the first time, to have laboured under a kind of judicial infatuation. They did not defend the passage of Spey, though broad, deep, rapid, and dangerous; they did not retreat before the duke into the defiles of their own mountains, where regular troops pursuing them could not long have subsisted; they did not even withdraw two leagues, which would have placed them in a position inaccessible to horse and favourable to their own mode of fighting; they did not await their own reinforcements, although three thousand men, a number equal to one half of their army, were within a day’s march;—but, on the contrary, they wasted the spirits of their people, already exhausted by hunger and dispirited by retreat, in a forced march, with the purpose of a night attack, which was hastily and rashly adopted, and as inconsiderately abandoned; and at length drew up in an open plain, exposed to the fire of artillery, and protected from the charge of cavalry only by a park wall, which was soon pulled down. This they did, though they themselves had no efficient force of either description; and in such a hopeless position they awaited the encounter of an enemy more than double their numbers, fully equipped, and in a complete state for battle. The result was what might have been expected—the loss, namely, of all but their honour, which was well maintained, since they left nearly the half of their army upon the field.”<sup>3</sup>

The duke of Cumberland sullied the honour of his victory by his cold-blooded cruelty towards the vanquished. Mr Croker endeavours to extenuate the duke by alleging that orders were found, addressed by Lord George Murray to his army, directing them to give no quarter; supposing the fact to have been as stated, it will go but a little way to apologize for the duke, for one piece of barbarity cannot be received as a legitimate excuse for another, especially in the circumstances of perfect security in which the duke was placed by his victory; but the truth is, the alleged orders were a forgery,—they were fabricated afterwards, when the public voice began to call for some vindication of the duke’s proceedings. But the civil government itself was not behind the army in following up the work of blood; in the strong language of Johnson, “statutes reaped the refuse of the sword.” Above eighty persons, including Lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat, were put to death with all the forms of law.

The escape of Charles, after the battle of Culloden, is a very singular and romantic affair. He made his escape to the western isles, where he was hunted from place to place with a reward of £30,000 on his head. To the eternal honour of the Highland name, although the prince was compelled to trust himself, on different occasions, to above thirty different persons, some of them in the very lowest ranks of life,

<sup>2</sup> Culloden Papers, p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Sir W. Scott, *apud* Quarterly Review, vol. xiv.

not one could be tempted by gold to betray him. His course in Scotland ended where it began. Moidart was the place where he landed fourteen months before, and from this place he embarked on board a French vessel which had succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the English cruisers. He got on board with about one hundred of his adherents, and, after a nine days' voyage, landed near Morlaix, in Brittany. The king of France at first received him with kindness, and assigned him a residence in the palace of St Germain's; but, on the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, he was compelled to quit the French dominions.

It is said that he ventured to visit England, in disguise, so early as 1747. This fact is doubtful; but there is clear evidence that he was in London in 1750. It seems that in the month of September of that year, Dr King, principal of St Mary's hall, Oxford, a staunch Jacobite, received a message from Lady Primrose, desiring to see him; and, upon his obeying the summons, was suddenly introduced to Prince Charles, who had come over at the instigation of some ill-informed people, to make a new attempt for the crown. He remained only five days in London, during which time Dr King saw him frequently.<sup>4</sup> The following is Dr King's sketch of the prince:

"As to his person, he is tall and well-made, but stoops a little, owing perhaps to the great fatigue which he underwent in his northern expedition. He has an handsome face and good eyes; (I think his busts, which about this time were commonly sold in London, are more like him than any of his pictures which I have yet seen;) but in a polite company he would not pass for a genteel man. He hath a quick apprehension, and speaks French, Italian, and English, the last with a little of a foreign accent. As to the rest, very little care seems to have been taken of his education. He had not made the belles lettres or any of the finer arts his study, which surprised me much, considering his preceptors, and the noble opportunities he must have always had in that nursery of all the elegant and liberal arts and sciences. But I was still more astonished, when I found him unacquainted with the history and constitution of England, in which he ought to have been very early instructed. I never heard him express any noble or benevolent sentiments, the certain indications of a great soul and a good heart; or discover any sorrow or compassion for the misfortunes of so many worthy men who had suffered in his cause. But the worst part of his character is his love of money, a vice which I do not remember to have been imputed by our historians to any of his ancestors, and is the certain index of a base and little mind. I know it may be urged in his vindication, that a prince in exile ought to be an economist. And so he ought; but nevertheless his purse should be always open, as long as there is any thing in it, to relieve the necessities of his friends and adherents. King Charles the Second, during his banishment, would have shared the last pistole in his pocket with his little family. But I have known this gentleman with two thousand louis-d'ors in his strong box pretend he was in great distress, and borrow money from a lady in Paris, who was not in affluent circumstances. His most faithful servants, who had closely attended him in all his difficulties, were ill re-

<sup>4</sup> King's Memoirs, London: 1819.



warded. Two Frenchmen, who had left every thing to follow his fortune, who had been sent as couriers through half Europe, and executed their commissions with great punctuality and exactness, were suddenly discharged, without any faults imputed to them, or any recompense for their past service. To this spirit of avarice may be added his insolent manner of treating his immediate dependants, very unbecoming a great prince, and a sure prognostic of what might be expected from him if ever he acquired sovereign power. Sir J. Harrington, and Colonel Goring, who suffered themselves to be imprisoned with him, rather than desert him, when the rest of his family and attendants fled, were afterwards obliged to quit his service on account of his illiberal behaviour. But there is one part of his character, which I must particularly insist on, since it occasioned the defection of the most powerful of his friends and adherents in England, and by some concurring accidents totally blasted all his hopes and pretensions. When he was in Scotland, he had a mistress, whose name is Walkenshaw, and whose sister was at that time, and is still, housekeeper at Leicester house. Some years after he was released from his prison, and conducted out of France, he sent for this girl, who soon acquired such a dominion over him, that she was acquainted with all his schemes, and trusted with his most secret correspondence. As soon as this was known in England, all those persons of distinction who were attached to him, were greatly alarmed; they imagined that this wench had been placed in his family by the English ministers; and, considering her sister's situation, they seemed to have some ground for their suspicion; wherefore they despatched a gentleman to Paris, where the prince then was, who had instructions to insist that Mrs Walkenshaw should be removed to a convent for a certain term; but her gallant absolutely refused to comply with this demand: and although Mr M'Namara, the gentleman who was sent to him, who has a natural eloquence, and an excellent understanding, urged the most cogent reasons, and used all the arts of persuasion to induce him to part with his mistress, and even proceeded so far as to assure him, according to his instructions, that an immediate interruption of all correspondence with his most powerful friends in England, and in short that the ruin of his interest, which was now daily increasing, would be the infallible consequence of his refusal; yet he continued inflexible, and all M'Namara's entreaties and remonstrances were ineffectual. M'Namara staid in Paris some days beyond the time prescribed him, endeavouring to reason the prince into a better temper; but finding him obstinately persevere in his first answer, he took his leave with concern and indignation, saying, as he passed out, 'What has your family done, Sir, thus to draw down the vengeance of Heaven on every branch of it through so many ages?' It is worthy of remark, that in all the conferences which M'Namara had with the prince on this occasion, the latter declared, that it was not a violent passion, or indeed any particular regard, which attached him to Mrs Walkenshaw, and that he could see her removed from him without any concern; but he would not receive directions, in respect to his private conduct, from any man alive.—When M'Namara returned to London, and reported the prince's answer to the gentlemen who had employed him, they were astonished and confounded. However, they soon resolved on the measures which they were to pursue for the future, and determined no



longer to serve a man who could not be persuaded to serve himself, and chose rather to endanger the lives of his best and most faithful friends, than part with an harlot, whom, as he often declared, he neither loved nor esteemed. If ever that old adage, *Quos Jupiter vult perdere, &c.* could be properly applied to any person, whom could it so well fit as the gentleman of whom I have been speaking? for it is difficult by any other means to account for such a sudden infatuation. He was, indeed, soon afterwards made sensible of his misconduct, when it was too late to repair it: for from this era may truly be dated the ruin of his cause; which, for the future, can only subsist in the non-juring congregations, which are generally formed of the meanest people, from whom no danger to the present government need ever be apprehended."

On the death of his father, Charles Edward assumed the title of king of Great Britain, but he was not recognised in this character by the papal and other courts which had acknowledged his father's claim to the title. The French and Spanish governments, however, with the view of embarrassing the British councils, got him persuaded, by the offer of a large pension, to marry the young princess Louisa Maximiliana of Stolberg-Gœdern. The marriage was issueless. The prince died at Rome on the 31st of January, 1788. He had for many years previous to this event been separated from his wife. He bequeathed his property to the duchess of Albany, his natural daughter, probably by the female named Walkenshaw, of whom mention has already been made. His widow is reported to have entered into a second marriage. She died in 1824.

## Henry Stuart, Cardinal York.

BORN A. D. 1725.—DIED A. D. 1807.

HENRY BENEDICT MARIA CLEMENT, the last descendant of the royal line of the Stuarts, was born at Rome, in March, 1725. He was early destined for the church, but the pope granted him a dispensation by which he was enabled to hold benefices without having received the ecclesiastical tonsure.

In 1745, while his elder brother was in Scotland, striking a last blow for the crown of Britain, he went to France for the purpose of taking the command of some troops which were about to embark at Dunkirk, with a view to support the Stuart cause in Scotland; but the news of the battle of Culloden prevented the embarkation of the armament, and Prince Henry returning to Rome soon afterwards took holy orders. In 1747, Pope Benedict XIV. raised him to the purple, with the title of Cardinal York. He was subsequently made chancellor of St Peter's, and bishop of Frescati.

On the death of his brother in 1788, he caused medals to be struck, bearing his own portrait, with the inscription, *HENRICUS NONUS ANGLIÆ REX*; and, on the obverse, *GRATIA DEI, NON VOLUNTATE HOMINUM*. In the vicissitudes of fortune, the cardinal ultimately became dependent on the bounty of the monarch whose titles he had thus usurped. He had disposed of the greater part of his effects in 1796, in order to assist Pius VI. in making up the sum levied on him

by Buonaparte. In 1798, the French army plundered his villa, and he retired to Venice in a state of destitution. His friends laid a statement of his case before the reigning sovereign of England, George III., who liberally granted the amiable but unfortunate cardinal a pension of £4000 per annum, on which he subsisted till his death in 1807.

## Lord King.

BORN A. D. 1669,—DIED A. D. 1734.

LORD KING, chancellor of England, and celebrated for his ecclesiastical and theological researches as well as for his knowledge of constitutional law, was the son of a drysalter at Exeter in Devonshire, and was born at that place in 1669. His father designed to bring up his son to his own trade, and with this view kept him in his shop for some years; but the youth devoted every spare moment to study, and made himself a very accomplished scholar while attending in his father's warehouse.

The celebrated Locke, who was his maternal uncle, was so pleased with the talents and acquirements of the lad that he advised his father to allow him to devote himself to a learned profession; and the father having acceded to the proposal, young King entered the Inner Temple, and applied himself vigorously to the study of law.

His first publication, however, was of a nature somewhat remote from his professional studies. It was entitled, 'An Inquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church.' In this treatise, King contends for the independent form of church polity; but advocates measures of unity and reconciliation amongst all protestant churches. A Mr Elys published remarks upon it in 1694, and a Mr Selater produced a formal and elaborate answer to the Inquiry.

In 1699, Mr King, now of considerable reputation in his profession, was returned to parliament for the borough of Beer-Alston in his native county, which place he continued to represent during five successive parliaments. Pursuing his ecclesiastical researches, he published, in 1702, 'The History of the Apostles' Creed,' a work of much originality and research. In 1708, he was made recorder of London; and the year following he received the honour of knighthood from Queen Anne. Upon the accession of George I., he was appointed lord-chief-justice of the court of common pleas, and soon after sworn of the privy-council.

On the 25th of May, 1725, he was elevated to the peerage by the title of Lord King, Baron Ockham; and on the 1st of June following, the great seal was placed in his hands. He filled the office of lord-chancellor till within eight months of his death, which was hastened by the assiduity and scrupulous fidelity with which he sought to discharge the high duties of his office. He died on the 22d of July, 1734, leaving a character unsullied by even the whisper of reproach; although, if the authority of Sir Egerton Brydges is to be received on such a point, he did not make such a figure as a lawyer as was expected when he was raised to the woolsack.

## William Shippen.

BORN A. D. 1672.—DIED A. D. 1743.

WILLIAM SHIPPEN,—“honest Shippen,” as Pope somewhere calls him,—was the son of a Cheshire clergyman. He was chosen successively representative for Bramber in Sussex, Saltash in Cornwall, and Newton in Lancashire.

From the moment of his entrance into parliament, until the period of his death, Shippen was an undisguised advocate of the claims of the house of Stuart. His talents were so formidable, that the court made various efforts to buy him over, but in vain; although his annual income, previous to his marriage, did not exceed £400, yet he was inaccessible to temptation, and, by a strict economy, managed to preserve his independence and reputation in the midst of a most venal age. He at length became rich by his marriage with the daughter of Sir Richard Stote, who is said to have brought him a fortune of £70,000. His attachment to the house of Stuart was at one time brought under brief suspicion by his conduct on Sandys's motion for the impeachment of Walpole. Shippen declared that he looked on this motion as only a scheme for turning out one minister and bringing in another; and that he would give himself no concern in the question: whereupon he withdrew, and was followed by thirty-four of his friends. His conduct on this occasion excited great surprise; but the real cause of it has since become known. Walpole, having discovered a correspondence between one of Shippen's friends and the pretender, Shippen waited on Sir Robert, and besought him to save the delinquent. Walpole consented to do so, and then said to Shippen, “I cannot desire you to vote with the administration; for, with your principles, I have no right to expect it: but I require, whenever any question is brought forward in the house personally affecting me, you will recollect the favour I am now granting you.”

Shippen was the author of several political tracts. He died in 1743. His brother, Dr Robert Shippen, principal of Brazen-nose college, Oxford, was a man of considerable abilities.

## Sir John Fortescue Aland.

BORN A. D. 1670.—DIED A. D. 1746.

THIS eminent lawyer was born on the 7th of March, 1670. He was the second son of Edmund Fortescue of London, by Sarah, daughter of Henry Aland of Waterford, Esq. He was lineally descended from the celebrated Sir John Fortescue, lord-chief-justice of England in the reign of Henry VI.

He was called to the bar about the time of the Revolution. In 1714 he received the appointment of solicitor-general to his highness the prince of Wales; and soon after was constituted solicitor-general to his majesty, in room of Nicholas Lechmere, resigned. In Hilary-term,



1716, the king appointed him one of the barons of exchequer. In 1718 he was made one of the justices of the king's bench.

On the accession of George II., he appears to have been in disgrace for some time, as his commission was superseded, but for what reason has not transpired. He regained his majesty's favour, however; and in January, 1728, was appointed one of the justices of the court of common pleas. He resigned in 1746, when he was created a peer of Ireland by the style and title of John, Lord Fortescue Aland, Baron Fortescue of Credan. He died on the 19th of December, in the same year.

He edited his ancestor's treatise on 'The Difference between an Absolute and Limited Monarchy;' and published 'Reports of Select Cases in Westminster Hall.' He was the friend and associate of Pope, for whom he supplied the burlesque of 'Stradling versus Styles.'

## Sir John Balchen.

BORN A. D. 1669.—DIED A. D. 1744.

THIS brave officer entered the navy at a very early age, and passed regularly through every gradation of rank, till he reached the very highest in the service. In 1697, we find him commanding a small frigate, called the *Virgin*; and no mention is made of any subsequent command held by him till the year 1707, when he was captain of the *Chester*, a frigate of fifty guns, which was captured by the French squadron, under the Count de Forbin, while convoying the Lisbon fleet, in concert with the *Ruby* frigate. The particulars of this disaster have been briefly related as follows:—

"As the fleet was not only of very considerable intrinsic value, but of the highest consequence and importance considered in a national light,—for all the provisions, stores, and upwards of one thousand horses for the service of the ensuing campaign in Spain, were embarked on board it,—it was thought proper to strengthen the convoy by the addition of two ships of eighty guns, and one of seventy-six, all under the command of Commodore Edwards, who was to see them fifty leagues to the south-west of Scilly, where it was presumed they would be perfectly out of danger from the Dunkirk squadron, which was the only quarter from whence any attack was apprehended. The fleet was not completely collected and ready to sail till the 9th of October; and, on the 10th, having then proceeded on their voyage no farther than the Lizard, they fell in with the united squadrons of Forbin and Du Guai Trouin. Reinforced as the escort was, it was unable to contend against an enemy so wonderfully superior. The commodore's ship, the *Cumberland*, as well as the *Ruby* and *Chester*, after having separately made a most gallant, and, indeed, desperate defence, fell into the hands of the enemy. The *Chester* became the prize of the count De Forbin himself, who, notwithstanding the disparity of force, which totally annihilated every thing like glory in his conduct, was wonderfully elated at the success, which was most romantically magnified on the part of the French." Captain Balchen was exchanged the following year, and being brought to trial for the loss of his vessel, was most honourably

acquitted. In 1717, he commanded the *Oxford* of seventy guns, in the Baltic fleet, under Sir George Byng.

In 1728 he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the blue; and, next year, was made rear-admiral of the white. In 1733 he was appointed vice-admiral of the white. After six years of inactivity, he was sent into the Mediterranean; but was soon afterwards withdrawn from that station to take command of the channel fleet. In 1743 he was appointed admiral of the white; and, in the same year, he succeeded Sir John Jennings in the governorship of Greenwich hospital.

Next year he accepted the command of a large fleet which had been drawn together, and equipped with all possible expedition, for the purpose of relieving the squadron under Sir Charles Hardy, then blocked up in the Tagus by a superior force. Sir John hoisted his flag on this occasion, on board the *Victory* of one hundred and ten guns, a ship allowed at that time to be the finest ever built. His crew consisted of 1100 picked men, and there were upwards of fifty young gentlemen on board serving as naval cadets. Sir John speedily effected the main object of the expedition by relieving Sir Charles; but, while on its return to England, the fleet encountered a violent storm in the bay of Biscay; and the *Victory*, separating from her companions, is supposed to have struck on the Casket rocks near Alderney.

## Sir John Norris.

BORN A. D. 1670.—DIED A. D. 1749.

THIS excellent naval officer was the descendant of a respectable Irish family. Having received what was called the king's letter at an early age, he passed, with considerable credit, through the stations of midshipman and lieutenant, and was, on account of his very meritorious conduct at the engagement off Beachy Head, promoted on the 6th July, 1690, to be commander of the *Pelican* fire-ship. He owed every subsequent advancement entirely to his own merit.

In the year 1693 he was captain of the *Sheerness*, a frigate mounting twenty-eight guns, one of the unfortunate squadron under Sir George Rooke, to whose protection the *Smyrna* fleet was confided. Captain Norris acquired, nevertheless, on that occasion, the highest credit; for his sagacity and activity in executing the commands of his admiral were considered to have materially lessened the weight of the disaster, by preventing many of the merchant-ships from falling into the hands of the enemy, as, in all probability, they otherwise inevitably would have done. In reward for his conduct, he was, after his return to England, promoted to the command of the *Carlisle*, a fourth rate; and, having distinguished himself very highly, in the month of January, 1694-5, in the attack of two French men-of-war, the *Content* and *Trident*, both of which were captured after a severe action, he was recommended by Mr Russell to the command of the *Content*. This ship was considered one of the finest of her class then existing.

In 1696 he was appointed commodore of a small squadron, consisting of four fourth rates, an equal number of frigates, two bomb-ketches, and as many fire-ships, ordered to Hudson's bay, for the recovery of



the British settlements in that quarter, which had surrendered a short time before to a French armament. On his arrival at Newfoundland, he received intelligence that a squadron, consisting of five large French ships, had been seen in the bay of Conception. Agreeably to his instructions, he immediately called a council of war, in which the unanimous opinion was, that the squadron which had been seen was a part of that commanded by the marquess De Nesmond, which was known to be much superior to the force under Mr Norris. The land-officers, therefore, considered it extremely imprudent that the ships should venture to sea, but insisted that they should wait the approach of their antagonists, under the protection of the batteries raised on shore. A few of the naval officers were unhappily of the same opinion, and the question of putting to sea was accordingly carried against Norris, and those who entertained the same sentiments with him, by a great majority. His opinion was, that the enemy's vessels were not those under the orders of the marquess De Nesmond, but some which had casually put into the bay for supplies; and he accordingly despatched a frigate to reconnoitre, and received, on her return, the truly mortifying intelligence, that his own suggestions were true, and that the ships discovered were returning to Europe under the command of Pointi, laden with the plunder of the Spanish West Indies, and which, from the inferiority of their force, would undoubtedly have fallen an easy prey to the British armament. In about a month after the first alarm, however, the marquess De Nesmond arrived with a squadron of sixteen ships of war, ten of which were of the line, and some of them very large. The French admiral, on his approach, discovering the dispositions made by Norris for his reception, prudently desisted from all attack, and the island of Newfoundland remained for that time unmolested.

During the peace which presently followed, Captain Norris was employed as captain of the Winchester, first on the Mediterranean, and afterwards on the Newfoundland station. Immediately after the accession of Queen Anne, he was appointed to the Orford, of seventy guns, one of the fleet sent on the expedition against Cadiz. On his passage thither, he had the good fortune to make no less than six prizes; but, during this service, he unfortunately got involved in a dispute which threatened to terminate his naval career. He was naturally of a very warm temper,—extremely irritable and violent when excited. A difference having arisen between him and Captain Ley, who then commanded the Sovereign, as captain to Sir George Rooke, the commander-in-chief, Norris so far lost command of himself, as not only to strike, but to draw his sword upon his brother officer. The insult was still more flagrant, from the circumstance of its having taken place on the quarter-deck of Ley's own ship, who was also a much older officer in the service than Captain Norris. Sir George Rooke felt himself reduced to the necessity of putting Norris under arrest; but this very disagreeable business was speedily compromised by the interference and intercession of the duke of Ormond; and the whole affair was soon afterwards terminated by the death of Captain Ley.

In the following year, Captain Norris, still continuing in the Orford, had the good fortune, when on his passage to join the fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovell, to fall in with and capture a large privateer, called



the Philippeaux. In three or four days afterwards he made prize of a second armed ship belonging to the enemy, carrying sixteen guns; and when the fleet was on its return from the Straits in the month of November following, the Orford had the additional good fortune to fall in with and capture the Hazard, a French fourth rate, carrying fifty-two guns.

In 1704, Norris acted as one of the seconds to Sir Cloudesley Shovell, in the battle off Malaga. His gallantry on that occasion may be said to have raised his character higher than all his preceding services had done. So strongly did it recommend him to the notice of the admiral, by whose side he fought, that, in the ensuing year, Captain Norris was selected to command the *Britannia*, a first rate, on board which Sir Cloudesley and the earl of Peterborough hoisted their flag, as joint commanders-in-chief. His behaviour was so conspicuous in the attack of Fort Montjoi, that the archduke Charles wrote a letter to Queen Anne with his own hand, soliciting her majesty's favour and protection for him. Being sent home on board the *Canterbury*, as the bearer of the news that the city of Barcelona had surrendered, he received the honour of knighthood, and was presented with a purse of one thousand guineas.

He is not known ever to have been subsequently employed as a private captain; but, having been, on the 10th of March, 1706-7, advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, he was appointed to serve under his former friend and patron, Sir Cloudesley Shovell, who was once more invested with the Mediterranean command. The admiral-in-chief, who well knew his gallantry and ability, selected him to lead the detachment employed on the very arduous and important service of forcing the passage of the Var, which was effected with a loss so trivial, as to be nearly incredible; for it amounted to no more than ten persons, who were unfortunately drowned, through their over-eagerness and precipitancy. At the siege of Toulon, his counsel and advice were, on all occasions, sought by the commander-in-chief, as a person in whose judgment the most implicit confidence might be placed. On his return to England, he narrowly escaped the melancholy fate which befell his patron, the admiral-in-chief.

Early in the ensuing winter, he was one of the six flag-officers selected to assist his royal highness, Prince George of Denmark, to whose opinion the decision of the court-martial, on Sir Thomas Hardy, had been referred. In the year 1708 he was employed under Sir John Leake in the Mediterranean; but the only service of moment that it was possible to effect in that quarter, was the capture of a numerous fleet of tartans and barks, bound for Peniscola, near the mouth of the Ebro, with provisions for the duke of Anjou's army. On his return from the Straits, he was, on the 21st of December, promoted to be vice-admiral of the red, and is said by Burchett to have commanded, in the ensuing year, an armament sent into the Baltic. Sir John did not return to England till the month of October, 1711, and, the peace of Utrecht almost immediately following, a stop was put to his further naval exertions till after the accession of George I.

In 1706, the restless temper of Charles XII. of Sweden, and the depredations committed by the privateers of that nation, under his sanction, rendered it expedient for the preservation of the British com-

merce and the due maintenance of the kingdom's dignity and honour, that an armament should be sent into the Baltic. Sir John was chosen to command it; and, having in consequence hoisted his flag on board the Cumberland of eighty guns, he sailed from the Nore on the 18th of May, having with him eighteen ships of the line, a frigate, and a sloop of war, together with a very numerous fleet of merchant-vessels, which he was ordered to protect on their voyage to the northward. On the arrival of this force in the Sound, on the 10th of June, Sir John joined the squadrons of Russia, Denmark, and Holland. That of Russia was commanded by the czar in person, Peter the Great. In compliment to his high dignity, it was agreed, that he should have the chief command of the whole; that Sir John, with the English squadron, should lead the van; the Danes, under Count Gueldenlaw, the rear; and that the Dutch, joined by five English ships of war, should take the charge of escorting, to their several places of destination, the trade of all the allied powers. On the approach of winter, Sir John, with the main body of the fleet, returned to England, leaving Commodore Cleland behind him, with a squadron of seven ships of war, and instructions to act in conjunction with the other allied powers as circumstances might arise. Matters not being sufficiently accommodated, it was deemed proper to send a fleet into the Baltic the following spring. Sir John was again selected to direct its operations; and to his former character of admiral-in-chief was added that of ambassador and minister-plenipotentiary to the czar Peter. The death of Charles at the siege of Fredericshall, in the month of November following, put a period to these northern expeditions.

In the year 1719, the very extraordinary conduct of the court of Spain, and its avowed intentions of making a descent on Great Britain in favour of the pretender, caused the equipment of two squadrons, which were sent out for the purpose of intercepting the Spanish armament. The absence of Sir John, however, on this service was but of short duration; for, in less than three weeks from the time of his sailing, he received information that the Spanish fleet had not only been totally dispersed in a violent gale of wind, off Cape Finisterre, but that the greater part of the ships had put back on account of the damage they had sustained in the tempestuous weather. He was next employed to check the restless spirit of the emperor of Russia, who, encouraged by the death of Charles XII., had commenced inroads on the coast of Sweden. The czar, however, retired without coming to an engagement, and the English fleet returned to the Nore in November. In the following spring, Sir John Norris resumed his command in the Baltic, and effected a treaty between Denmark and Sweden; but the czar refused to come to terms, until the following year, when, seeing the inutility of further obstinacy, he consented to a peace.

From this period Sir John enjoyed a temporary relaxation from the fatigues of public service; for, except that he was appointed to command the squadron which convoyed George I. from Helvoetsluys to England, he held no naval command till the year 1727, when the apprehension of an attack meditated on Sweden by the czarina, rendered the equipment of a fleet necessary. Its appearance in the Baltic produced the same instantaneous effect which it always had on every preceding occasion; Sweden remained unattacked, because she was



protected by Britain. From this time till the year 1735 Sir John Norris held no command; but a dispute having then arisen between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, the latter applied to Britain for protection. The command of the fleet fitted out on this occasion was given to Sir John, who had, during his retirement from public service, been advanced to the rank of admiral of the white.

Early in 1739 he was appointed vice-admiral of Great Britain, and on the breaking out of the Spanish war he was ordered to cruise in the bay of Biscay; but, owing to tempestuous weather, was compelled to put into port for the winter. In the following year, he sailed, with a force of sixteen ships of the line and a few frigates, towards the Spanish coast, but came back with no better success than had attended him in his last expedition. On the 12th of October he put to sea again, with a squadron of ten ships, and returned without having effected more than on the two former occasions. The nation manifested great dissatisfaction at the result of these enterprises; and, as the admiral's former achievements had raised his character for valour too high for calumny, his want of success was generally attributed to private instructions from the ministry, who had in a manner been forced into the war by the state of public feeling. If, however, the design of ordering out these armaments was, as has been said, merely to alarm the enemy, the object of each expedition was fully accomplished. In 1744, France attached herself to the cause of Spain, and projected the invasion of Scotland in favour of the pretender. A very formidable force was collected at Brest for this purpose; it consisted of no less than twenty-three ships of war, the chief command of which was bestowed on M. De Rouquefeulle, an officer of eminence and reputation. But, though these measures had been concerted with the utmost secrecy, the British ministry had the good fortune to procure correct information of them; and, ere it reached the British channel, a fleet, consisting of twenty-nine ships of the line, was collected in the Downs, under the orders of Sir John Norris. The French armament, at the sight of the English squadron, retreated in the greatest confusion; and Norris returned to the Downs, for the purpose of blockading the port of Dunkirk. With this last service the naval life of Sir John Norris ceased. He had been in constant employment for the space of nearly sixty years, so that his age and infirmities rendered his retirement a matter of necessity. This relaxation from fatigue, however, he did not long enjoy. He died on the 19th of July, 1749.

Although many may have had the good fortune to acquire a greater share of popular applause, few have had a nobler and juster claim to public gratitude than this brave and able commander, although a degree of misfortune rarely failed to attend him through life. Seamen—who are, as a body of people, the most superstitious in the world—constantly foretold a storm whenever Sir John put to sea. The frequent accidents which befell the ships and squadrons under his command,—the misfortunes which attended him, and could not be warded off by any prudence or sagacity,—procured him the whimsical appellation of ‘foul weather Jack;’ by which name he was better known in the service than by his own proper style and title. The incidents of war for the space of forty years succeeding the battle off Malaga, in 1704, presented no grand operations, no field for those brilliant achievements by which a deathless



name is won. In the less dazzling duties of his profession, which were all that fortune put it in his power to exercise, no man could be more assiduous. When commander-in-chief in the Baltic, he used every possible means to procure for his country a complete knowledge of that dangerous and intricate navigation. For this purpose he took uncommon pains to compile an accurate chart of the Baltic, and thus laid the foundation of that knowledge which has rendered the navigation of it less difficult than that of the Thames.

## Sir Chaloner Ogle.

DIED A. D. 1750.

THIS officer was the descendant of a very ancient and respectable Northumbrian family. Of the earlier part of his services no mention is made, but we find him promoted on the 14th of March, 1708, from the Wolfe sloop of war, to the rank of post-captain in the navy, by appointment to the Tartar frigate, then on the Mediterranean station. In this occupation he met with considerable success, having made two or three valuable prizes; but, after the cessation of hostilities, he is no otherwise noticed, than as having, in the year 1717, commanded the Worcester, a fourth rate of fifty guns, sent that season with the fleet into the Baltic.

He particularly distinguished himself by the capture of Roberts the pirate, and his whole squadron, in April, 1722. Ogle was at that time captain of the Swallow, a fourth rate, and cruising off the coast of Africa, in search of the marauders, when he received intelligence that they were in a bay close to Cape Lopez. He immediately took in his lower tier of guns, and adopted every method possible to disguise the Swallow, so that it might pass with his desperate antagonists for a merchant-vessel. On standing in for the shore, he discovered the ships he was in quest of, the largest, commanded by Roberts himself, mounting forty guns, and the smallest carrying twenty-four. They were both lying high up in the bay, on their heel, the men being employed cleaning their bottoms. Captain Ogle's stratagem was so successful that the pirates were deceived into the belief that the Swallow was an unarmed ship, or at most a vessel of inconsiderable force. Roberts immediately made a signal for the only ship which was in a condition for immediate service, to slip its cable, and run out after the Swallow. This vessel mounted thirty-two guns, and was commanded by one Skyrn, a man of much resolution and intrepidity. Captain Ogle conducted himself through the whole of this difficult business with so much specious timidity, that he decoyed the pirate to a considerable distance, and then suddenly tacked upon his antagonist, and brought him to action. Skyrn himself was wounded by the first broadside, but such was the desperation with which his people fought, well-knowing the ignominious death which awaited them if taken, that they did not surrender till after an action of an hour and a half's continuance. Captain Ogle, after having taken possession of his prize, hoisted the black flag over the king's colours, and returned to the bay where he had left Roberts and his companion. These having in the interim, righted their ships, and being

deceived by the appearance of their comrade's success, immediately stood out of the bay to congratulate their companion on his conquest. Their mistake, however, was of short duration; for the Swallow captured them both, after a contest of two hours' continuance, in which Roberts himself was killed. The three prizes were carried into St Thomas's, and the prisoners to Cape Coast Castle, where they were tried. Seventy-four received sentence of death, of which number fifty-two were executed: the greater part of them being afterwards hung in chains along the coast, as a terror to future depredators of the same class.

The conduct of Captain Ogle in this affair, and the success which attended it, was so highly approved of, that immediately after his return to England, the honour of knighthood was conferred on him; but he does not appear to have accepted any subsequent command till the year 1729, when he was appointed to the *Burford*, a third rate, one of the fleet collected at Spithead, under the orders of Sir Charles Wager. With the same admiral he again served in 1731, on his expedition to the Mediterranean and Leghorn, being at that time captain of the *Edinburgh*. Except in the instances just mentioned, he does not appear to have held any other commission previous to his advancement to the rank of a flag-officer.

On the 11th of July, 1739, he was appointed rear-admiral of the blue; and, having hoisted his flag on board the *Augusta*, was ordered to proceed to the Mediterranean, with twelve ships of the line, for the purpose of reinforcing Haddock's division. Nothing material took place during his absence on this service. Immediately after his return to England, he was sent out on a summer cruise into the Atlantic, as third in command of the fleet under the orders of Sir John Norris. On his return into port, he was ordered to take upon him the command of a considerable armament, fitted out to reinforce Vernon, preparatory to the attack on the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. Having accordingly shifted his flag from the *Shrewsbury* of eighty guns, to the *Russel* of the same force, he sailed from Spithead on the 26th of October, with a fleet of twenty-four ships of the line, one of fifty guns, several store and fire ships, and upwards of one hundred and fifty transports.

On the 19th of June, 1744, he was advanced to be admiral of the blue. He remained in the West Indies till the following year, but neither the Spaniards nor the French having any naval force for him to contend with, and he himself having neither a land-force sufficient to support, nor instructions to undertake any enterprise against their settlements, the whole of the period during which he was commander-in-chief on the above station was consumed merely in cruising for the protection of commerce, except in the attacks made on *La Guira* and *Porto-Cavallo*, in neither of which Sir Chaloner was personally engaged. Having shifted his flag on board the *Cumberland*, he returned to Europe, and arrived at Spithead, with three other ships of the line, and a small convoy of merchant-vessels, early in the month of June, 1744. In the month of September, he was appointed president of the court-martial assembled on board the *London*, in the river Medway, for the trials of Admirals Mathews and Lestock, with the captains and other officers, against whom different charges had been made relative



to the miscarriage in the action off Toulon. He sat as president only till the conclusion of the trials of the lieutenants and captains. The court was afterwards removed to Deptford, and Sir Chaloner was succeeded by Rear-admiral Mayne.

After this he does not appear to have accepted any naval command, or to have appeared in any public station whatever. He was, on July 15th, 1747, advanced to be admiral of the white squadron; and to the still higher rank of admiral of the fleet, on the 10th of July, 1749. The latter advancement he did not long enjoy, dying some time in the year 1750.

## Admiral Mathews.

BORN A. D. 1670.—DIED A. D. 1751.

THIS brave but unfortunate naval officer was the descendant of an ancient Welsh family, in the county of Glamorgan. He received a captaincy in the navy in 1703, when he was appointed to the command of the Yarmouth. In 1707 he was captain of the Dover, then cruising in soundings, under Commodore Evans, in which service he captured a French frigate. Next year, he joined the squadron under Lord Dursley, and had the good fortune to capture the Glorieux, a French ship of war.

In 1718 he commanded the Kent, a fine vessel of seventy guns, in the Mediterranean fleet, under Sir George Byng. In the engagement with the Spanish fleet off Messina, he greatly distinguished himself by the capture of the St Carlos, and by the aid he gave Captain Master of the Superb, in capturing the Spanish admiral, the San Philip. In the succeeding month of January, he was appointed to cruise off Pont-emilia, with the view of preventing the escape of Rear-admiral Cammock. So active and diligent was he in this service that he captured a frigate, drove the Santa Rosalia of sixty-four guns ashore, and nearly took the rear-admiral himself.

In 1722 he was sent with a small squadron to the East Indies, whence he returned in 1724. His name does not appear again in the maritime annals of his country until 1736, when we find him holding a resident commissionership of the navy at Chatham. On the 12th of March, 1741, he was appointed vice-admiral of the red; and on the 25th of the same month was named commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, and minister-plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia and the States of Italy. Having hoisted his flag on board the Namur of ninety guns, he sailed for Gibraltar, where he was joined by the force under the command of Admiral Lestock. His services at this period were of great importance. The conveyance of stores and provisions, under the customary and stale pretence of neutral flags, was immediately restrained, and at last annihilated, by the judgment of the vice-admiral in stationing his cruisers, and their diligence in executing his orders. Moreover, all attempts to convey naval stores into the Spanish ports, through the medium of light vessels and galleys, drawing little water, which, keeping along shore, pushed occasionally into neutral ports when hard pressed, to seek a better opportunity of again escaping, were also totally put an



end to by following them into the very harbours whither they had fled for refuge. The blockade of the fleet of Spain, which had sheltered itself in Toulon, and that of the French ships also, which had been equipped for the purpose of reinforcing it, was undertaken by Mathews himself; who, by repairing to Villa-Franca, and keeping constant cruisers off the Hieres islands, as well as off Toulon, confined the powerful armaments of the enemy, and prevented the actual declaration of war on the part of France, for the space of eighteen months. "Admiral Mathews," says a contemporary account, "when joined by Rear-admiral Rowley with a strong reinforcement, had a very formidable force with him; but it is asserted by some that the combined force of France and Spain consisted of thirty-six ships of the line, which he confined to the port of Toulon, by detaching his two rear-admirals, Rowley and Lestock, to cruise off the islands of Hieres, with twenty-four ships." By cruising on the coast of Provence, and continuing at Villa-Franca, he considerably impeded the operations of the Spanish army. A letter from Florence, dated June 16th, 1742, has the following paragraph:—"By letters from Nice, we understand that they are making all possible preparations in that neighbourhood, for opposing the passage of the Spanish troops from Provence, and are greatly assisted therein by the English Vice-admiral Mathews, who continues to lie with part of his fleet at Villa-Franca." In the month of August, in consequence of his Sicilian majesty's having sent a body of troops to join the Spanish army, the vice-admiral detached Commodore Martin, with five ships of the line, four bomb-ketches and their tenders, to Naples. His appearance created much alarm; but his firmness, joined to his moderation, effected the purpose of compelling the recall of the Neapolitan troops, without his being compelled to have recourse to a bombardment. On the return of Commodore Martin to the fleet, he was immediately despatched to the town of Arassa, in the Genoese territories, where it was reported considerable magazines had been formed for the use of the Spanish army. The intelligence proved true, and the whole contents of the depot were accordingly destroyed. About the same time, the vice-admiral hearing that a Spanish ship of the line lay at anchor at Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica, he sent thither the Ipswich, and another ship of war, to take or destroy her. The Spaniards prevented, however, the necessity of an attack, by setting fire to this ship themselves. The operations of the year 1743 were of the same nature with the preceding. The French and Spanish squadrons ventured not beyond the protection of the batteries which covered them; and the British fleet continued to give law on the Mediterranean. The consequences of this state of things were, the prevention of the Spanish army in Italy from taking the field; the chastisement of the Genoese, who were secretly and most dangerously attached to the Spanish cause; and the preservation of the territories of the king of Sardinia from insult and invasion.

In August, 1743, Mathews was made admiral of the blue. The governments of France and Spain, weary of the blockade of their fleets in Toulon, at last ordered them to put to sea. M. De Court arrived at Toulon, in the month of January, and assumed the command of the combined fleet. On the 8th of February, 1744, they were perceived to be under sail. The British fleet instantly got under weigh also, and

two days were spent on both sides in manœuvring for the advantage of situations. The number of ships in each line was equal; but Mathews had a reserve of six fifty-gun ships, to supply the place of such of his line as might be disabled. On the 11th, the English commander gave the signal to engage; but it was not repeated by Lestock, the second in command, whose division, it would seem, was yet considerably astern. An opportunity was thus lost of striking a very decisive blow; and Mathews was so dissatisfied with Lestock's conduct, that he laid him under arrest, and sent him to England in the *Salisbury*. On his arrival in England, Lestock retaliated on his principal, by accusing him of rashness and precipitation. He said that "the night before the engagement he brought to, in obedience to the admiral's night signal; but that, at break of day, by reason of the wind's shifting, and the indraught of the tides, he found himself at a greater distance from the main body than he expected; that about eight he had an account from the admiral, by Mr Jasper, his first lieutenant, that he would lay by till he could join him with his division, in place whereof the admiral made more sail, and sent Lieutenant Knowles to order him to do the same, though he had then crowded all he could carry; that he did all he possibly could to get up with the sternmost of the Spanish squadron, and even fired a broadside at the *Isabella*, being the hindmost, but could not prevent her going ahead of him; that he did all in his power to assist the admiral, whose rashness and precipitation in engaging the enemy, before the line of battle was formed, contrary to the rules of war, and the practice of our best admirals, rendered his attempts to succour and support him fruitless; that this conduct in Mr Mathews was the more inexcusable, as he was under no necessity of hurrying on the action, since, by the disposition of the French and Spanish admirals, it plainly appeared they were resolved to fight; that it was unaccountable the admiral should take such precautions not to let the enemy escape us, when our fleet was not formed in order of battle, and they lay prepared for us before the engagement; and, though we had the advantage of disabling some of their ships, and burning another, that he should become of a sudden more cautious, by bringing to in order of battle, at a much greater distance, without sending out any cruisers to observe their motions; therefore, the sole miscarriage was chargeable on the admiral, who, by his imprudence in fighting at first at such a disadvantage, had endangered the whole fleet intrusted to his command, and afterwards, by a quite contrary conduct, suffered the enemy to escape out of his hands."

In consequence of these charges, Mathews was ordered home, and a parliamentary investigation followed, which terminated in an address to his majesty for the appointment of a court-martial on the parties. After a very long scrutiny, Lestock was honourably acquitted, while Mathews was declared incapable of holding any further employment in the king's service. The result was by no means satisfactory either to the country or to the king himself. The accusation as to engaging an enemy before the line of battle was formed, seems to have been of little weight, for it is a course of proceeding that has been adopted by some of our most eminent naval commanders. The insinuation that the French and Spanish admirals were resolved to fight, was expressly denied by Mathews, who said he was fully convinced they would never



have come to a general engagement, but designed to draw him down the Streights,—a statement that no one but his enemies ever denied.

Mathews passed the remainder of his days in retirement. He died about the year 1751.

## Sir Peter Warren.

BORN A. D. 1703.—DIED A. D. 1752.

THIS gallant officer was the descendant of an ancient and respectable Irish family. He was born about the year 1703. On the 19th of June, 1727, he was appointed post-captain of the *Grafton*. Early in the year 1728, the court of Madrid having acceded to the preliminary articles for a general peace, Captain Warren removed into the *Solebay* frigate, for the purpose of carrying out to the West Indies the king of Spain's orders for executing there the preliminaries alluded to. He proceeded on this service on the 5th of May, and returned to England in 1729. Immediately on his arrival, he was appointed to the *Leopard*, of fifty guns. In 1735, Captain Warren, who still continued to command the *Leopard*, accompanied Sir John Norris to Lisbon. In 1742 he commanded the *Launceston*, of forty guns. He was sometime afterwards promoted to the *Superbe* of sixty guns; and, being ordered to the West Indies, was left by Sir Chaloner Ogle commodore of a small squadron on the Antigua station. He very much distinguished himself by his extraordinary exertions while employed in this service. Having taken a station off Martinique, his squadron captured between the 12th of February and the 24th of June, 1744, twenty-four valuable prizes, carrying 202 guns, 832 men, and amounting in burthen to 4332 tons. One of the prizes was a register-ship valued at £250,000.

In 1745, a project was formed in the general assembly of Massachusetts, New England, to surprise the city of Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton, and to drive the French entirely from that island. Government, well-informed of the importance of the enterprise, ordered Warren to quit his station at the Leeward islands and join the American expedition. This armament was raised with so much secrecy and despatch, that an army of 3850 volunteers, under the command of William Pepperel, was ready to embark at Boston before the French government was apprized of the intention. The naval force under Warren consisted, exclusive of his own ship the *Superbe*, only of the *Launceston* and *Eltham*, of forty guns each, which were, soon after his arrival on the coast, joined by the *Mermaid* of the same force. He arrived at Canso, in Nova Scotia, on the 25th of April, and found the troops had reached the place of rendezvous upwards of three weeks before. On the 29th, the troops reembarked, and the whole of the armament came to an anchor in Gabarus bay, about a league distant from Louisbourg, on the 30th. Nothing could exceed the consternation into which the inhabitants and garrison were thrown by this unexpected visit. The debarkation was effected without loss, and the city formally invested on the land side. While the troops were successfully employed on both sides of the harbour on shore, Commodore Warren was equally vigilant and fortunate in his own proper element. He so securely blocked up



the mouth of the harbour, that during the whole siege, only one vessel got in to the relief of the city. He captured the *Vigilante*, a French man-of-war of sixty-four guns, laden with stores, a great number of heavy cannon, and a thousand half-barrels of gunpowder for the city of Louisbourg, independent of articles for the equipment of a seventy-gun ship then building in Canada, and two very valuable French East Indiamen, with a ship from Lima, having on board upwards of three hundred thousand pounds in specie, besides a very valuable cargo.

On the 14th of June, every thing was prepared for a general assault both by land and water; but next day a flag of truce came to the British camp, with proposals of surrender from the governor. The French flag was struck on the 17th, and the British flag hoisted in its place early next morning. On the 4th of July, the garrison, and a great number of the inhabitants, were embarked on board fourteen cartel ships, which were conveyed by the *Launceston* man-of-war to Rochefort. As soon as the news of this success reached England, Mr Warren was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue.

After his return to England he appears to have enjoyed a short repose from the fatigue of public business; he was, nevertheless, on the 14th of July, advanced to be rear-admiral of the white. In the beginning of the year 1747 he was appointed second in command of the squadron sent out under Anson, for the purpose of intercepting the united French squadrons bound to America and the East Indies, which were reported to be on the point of sailing from Brest. The latter of these armaments was reserved for a future victory; that bound to America, under the command of M. De Jonquiere, being the only one that put to sea. Its destination was the re-conquest of Louisbourg. When the French fleet, amounting in the whole to thirty-eight sail, was first discovered, Anson, who was in the rear, made the signal for the ships under his command to form the line of battle; but Warren, who was in the van, perceiving that considerable time would be lost by this measure, affected to take no notice of the signal, but made that for a general chase, setting his top-gallant sails at the same instant. Anson saw the propriety of Warren's measures, and, instead of enforcing his own, repeated Warren's signal: the result was, that the headmost ship soon closed with the enemy, and brought them to action. The *Devonshire* of sixty-six guns, Warren's flag-ship, got up with De Jonquiere himself on board the *Serieux*, and, after receiving his fire, closed within pistol-shot, and continued to engage till the *Serieux* struck. Having silenced this antagonist, Warren proceeded to attack the *Invincible*, commanded by the commodore de St George, the second officer in the French squadron, and was so well seconded by the *Bristol*, Captain Montague, that their opponent was quickly dismasted. The issue of this memorable encounter was glorious: the whole of the French squadron, consisting of six ships of two decks, including the *Gloire*, of forty-four guns, besides four frigates, were taken. Warren's gallantry was rewarded with the order of the Bath. On the 15th of July he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the white.

Sir Peter sailed again from Spithead on a cruise, on the 2d of September; but, falling sick, was compelled to quit his command, and retire to his country-seat at Westbury, in Hampshire. This was the last

naval service he lived to perform, peace being concluded in the ensuing year.

At the general election in 1747, Sir Peter was chosen representative in parliament for the city of Westminster; and, on the 12th of May, 1748, was promoted to be vice-admiral of the red. A violent inflammatory fever put a period to his existence on the 29th of July, 1752.

## Horatio, Lord Walpole.

BORN A. D. 1678.—DIED A. D. 1757.

THIS nobleman, the brother of the celebrated minister, was born in 1678. In 1706 he accompanied General Stanhope to Barcelona, as private-secretary; and, in 1708, went as secretary of an embassy to the emperor of Germany. In 1720 he was appointed secretary to the duke of Grafton, viceroy of Ireland. In 1723 he went as ambassador to Paris, where he resided till 1727. In 1733 he was sent with pleni-potentiary powers to the states-general of Holland. In 1756 he was created a peer of England, by the title of Lord Walpole of Wotterton. His lordship died in February, 1757. Mr Coxe has published memoirs of Lord Walpole, from which it appears that he was intimately trusted with the secret springs of ministerial action, and trod faithfully in the path prescribed to him by his brother. Yet his nephew and namesake says of him:—"He was a dead-weight on his brother's ministry; the first to take off that load on his brother's fall; yet nobody so intemperatively abusive on all who connected with his brother's enemies,—nobody so ready to connect with them for the least flattery, which he loved next to money, indeed he never entirely forgave Lord Bath for being richer. His mind was a strange mixture of sense, allayed by absurdity, wit by mimicry, knowledge by buffoonery, bravery by meanness, honesty by selfishness, impertinence by nothing."<sup>1</sup> In 1753, describing, on some occasion, the different manners of speaking ill, he characterizes his uncle as speaking "shamelessly;" and, in a long and laboured comparison between Sir Robert and Mr Pelham, he introduces abuse of both their brothers in the following terms:—"Both were fortunate in themselves, unhappy in their brothers. With unbounded thirst for politics, the duke of Newcastle and Horace Walpole were wretched politicians. Each inferior to their brothers in every thing laudable; each assuming, and jealous of their own credit; though neither the duke nor Horace could ever have been considerable, but by the fortune of their brothers. The one childish and extravagant; the other (his own uncle) a buffoon and avaricious; Horace sunk into contempt when his brother fell with honour. The duke was often on the point of dragging his brother down, and was the object of all contempt, even when his brother had still power and honour. Mr Pelham maintained his inferiority to Sir Robert Walpole, even in the worthlessness of his brother."<sup>2</sup>

Lord Walpole aided his brother with several political pamphlets, of which his nephew is pleased to say, that they are better than his speeches.

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs, vol. i. p. 122.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 206.



## Admiral Vernon.

BORN A. D. 1684.—DIED A. D. 1757.

THE Vernons are a very ancient and honourable family, descended from the lords of Vernon, in the duchy of Normandy. Their common ancestor, William de Vernon, assumed his surname from the town and district of Vernon, whereof he was sole proprietor in the year 1052. He had two sons, Richard and Walter, who both came into England with William the Conqueror. The younger obtained several lordships in Cheshire and Bucks; but, dying without issue, they descended to his elder brother, Richard de Vernon, lord of Vernon, who was one of the barons created by Hugh Lupus, to whom the Conqueror, in the 20th year of his reign, granted the county-palatine of Chester.

The subject of our present article was born at Westminster, on the 12th of November, 1684. His father was secretary to King William and Queen Mary. Young Vernon's first expedition to sea was under Vice-admiral Hopson, in the attack upon Cadiz. He afterwards served as second-lieutenant of the *Resolution*, one of the ships despatched to the West Indies, under Commodore Walker. In 1704 he acted in the capacity of lieutenant on board the fleet commanded by Sir George Rooke, which convoyed the king of Spain to Lisbon, on which occasion Vernon had the honour to receive a valuable ring, and a purse of two hundred guineas, from the monarch's own hand. He was present at the battle off Malaga, the same year.

After passing through several subordinate stations in the service, he was advanced to be captain of the *Dolphin* frigate, a ship at that time employed in the Mediterranean, under the orders of Sir John Leake. Not long after, he was removed to the *Rye*, and sent to England, in the month of August following, with the news of the surrender of Alicant. In 1707 he was promoted to the *Jersey*, a fourth-rate, and despatched to the West Indies, where he captured several valuable merchant-vessels, and some privateers. On the peace of Utrecht, Vernon quitted the *Jersey*; but, in 1714, was appointed to the *Assistance*, of fifty guns. From this time, during a period of twenty-one years, he took upon him no other command than that of the *Grafton*, a third-rate, of seventy guns, sent under the orders of Sir Charles Wager to the northward, for the purpose of co-operating with the Danish squadron, and counteracting the hostile designs of Russia. During a considerable part of this interval, however, he served as a representative in parliament for the town of Ipswich, nigh to which he held considerable landed property. Being a man of great natural abilities, and possessed of a fluent though coarse mode of delivering his sentiments, he was considered by ministers—to whom he was constantly in opposition—as one of their most disagreeable antagonists; and they eagerly seized the earliest opportunity of removing him from their immediate presence. This was furnished by himself. In one of his paroxysms of oratory, after arraigning most bitterly the torpid measures of administration, he proceeded, in very strong terms, to insist on the facility with which the most valuable and formidable of the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, might be



reduced under the dominion of Britain. In particular, he asserted that the town of Porto-Bello might be taken by a force not exceeding six ships of the line ; and that he himself was actually ready to hazard his life and reputation by undertaking the enterprise. This hasty, and perhaps at the moment far from serious opinion, was instantly and eagerly closed with by ministers, who "embraced this opportunity of acquiring some popularity, and, at the same time, of removing a troublesome opponent in the house of commons."<sup>1</sup> He was accordingly advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue on the 9th of July, 1739.

He hoisted his flag on board the *Burford*, of seventy guns ; and such was the expedition used in collecting and equipping the ships intended to be placed under his orders, that within eleven days from the time of his being appointed a vice-admiral, he was enabled to put to sea. Contrary winds retarded his arrival at Porto-Bello, till the 20th of November ; but that place was gallantly carried by him after a brief resistance. The news of this success was received in England with a degree of ecstasy scarcely to be described ; mothers even taught their children to lisp out the name of Vernon as a hero whose deeds stood far beyond all competition ; by one single action he had acquired a popularity for which other men, not so fortunate, have in vain offered the less dazzling, but, perhaps not less valuable actions of a long and well-spent life. The harbour of Porto-Bello was the principal rendezvous of the Spanish guarda-costas, which had for a series of years committed a number of depredations little short of actual piracy ; and there was no small degree of satisfaction, as well as national justice, in causing an enemy to feel the first exertion of British resentment on the very spot whence Britain had been most insulted. But, as it never was intended by government to retain possession of their new conquest, the vice-admiral immediately proceeded to take on board the different ships of the squadron all the cannon, ammunition, and stores, that were worth removal, and to destroy the remainder together with the fortifications.

The reduction of Porto-Bello determined ministers to send out such a reinforcement to the West Indies as should enable Vernon to attack the most formidable settlements of the Spaniards in the New World. An armament, consisting of twenty-five sail of the line, under the command of Sir Chaloner Ogle, with a proportionate number of frigates, and a large fleet of transports, having on board upwards of 10,000 land-forces, were accordingly despatched from England to join the vice-admiral. The land-forces were commanded by Lord Cathcart, a nobleman of high character and great experience in military affairs ; but, unfortunately for the expectations of his country, he died soon after his arrival in the West Indies, and the command devolved on General Wentworth. The reinforcement from England joined Vernon at Jamaica, on the 9th of January, 1741, and the fleet under his command now consisted of thirty-one sail of the line. With this armament, the most powerful which had ever appeared before in the American seas, Vernon proceeded to Carthage. The fleet anchored, on the 4th of March, in Playa Grande bay ; and the first successes of the assailants promised a speedy and honourable termination to the enterprise. But in the early part of April, the troops became sickly, and

<sup>1</sup> Campbell.

soon died in great numbers. No good understanding subsisted between the general and the vice-admiral. The only place that remained to complete the conquest of Carthagera was Fort St Lazar, and the general determined to attempt carrying the place by storm. This resolution was formed without consulting Vernon; and Generals Blakeney and Wolfe protested against it as a rash and fruitless measure. As these experienced officers had foretold, the enterprise completely failed; and more than 600 men—the flower of the British army—were killed in the attack. The besiegers now gave up all hopes of being able to reduce the place; and the rainy season set in with such violence as rendered it impossible for the troops to live on shore. They were therefore re-embarked, after the vice-admiral had made an unsuccessful attempt to bombard the town. The armament returned to Jamaica, having lost in the attack, and by sickness, upwards of 3000 men. An unsuccessful attack was next made upon St Jago, in the island of Cuba; and another upon Porto-Bello failed from the same cause that had ruined the former, from want of co-operation and cordial understanding betwixt the admiral and the commander of the land-forces. Ministers were at length convinced of the extreme impropriety of continuing two men possessing such jarring tempers any longer in the same command. An order of recall—which had been often solicited in vain on the part of the vice-admiral—was sent out by Captain Fowke, in the Gibraltar frigate; and that vessel arriving at Jamaica on the 23d of September, the vice-admiral sailed for England on the 18th of October, having resigned his command to Sir Chaloner Ogle.

Mr Vernon, after his arrival in England, continued unemployed till the year 1745; but, in the interim, was, on the 9th of August, 1743, advanced to be vice-admiral of the red. His retirement appears to have been compulsive, and was only borne with a very considerable degree of impatience. On the 23d of April, 1745, he was promoted to be admiral of the white squadron, and appointed to command the fleet ordered to the North sea, in consequence of the impending invasion of Scotland in favour of the pretender. In the month of August, he had his flag flying on board the *St George*, in Portsmouth harbour; but soon afterwards he removed into the *Norwich* and sailed for the Downs, where he continued—the intervals of cruising excepted—during the greater part of the ensuing winter. This period of his command was perhaps the most interesting of his whole life. No man could have been more diligent, or more successful in that particular service to which the necessities of his country called him. Unfortunately, however, some new and extraordinary regulations which he had taken upon him to make, being disapproved of by the board of admiralty, produced a remonstrance on their part, and a passionate public reply on that of Vernon. He returned to the Downs in a very few days afterwards, and struck his flag, which he never again hoisted. From this time he lived almost totally in retirement, troubling himself but little with public affairs.

He died, in an advanced age, at his seat at Nacton, in Suffolk, on the 30th of October, 1757. Vernon's judgment and abilities as a seaman are unquestioned; and his character, as a man of strict integrity and honour, perfectly unsullied. He is said to have been the first naval commander who brought into use the custom of mixing water



with the spirits allowed to the seamen ; and, it is added, the new beverage was denominated *grog*, because the admiral, its patron, generally wore a grogram waistcoat.

## Admiral Byng.

BORN A. D. 1704.—DIED A. D. 1757.

THIS brave but unfortunate seaman was the fourth son of the gallant earl of Torrington, and entered the navy under his father's auspices. In 1727 he became captain of the Gibraltar frigate. In 1745 he was appointed rear-admiral of the blue, in 1747, vice-admiral. In 1748 he was made vice-admiral of the red ; and in 1755 he relieved Sir Edward Hawke off Cape Finisterre.

When the English government received intelligence of the preparations making in the port of Toulon, and a descent upon Minorca seemed threatened, Byng sailed for the point of apprehended danger with what afterwards turned out to be a very inefficient force. He arrived off the island on the 19th of May, 1756, and made a fruitless attempt to communicate with the garrison. Shortly afterwards, he discovered the enemy's fleet, and stood towards it with the intention of engaging. About seven in the evening, the French attempted to gain the weather-gage, but Byng, not choosing to yield this advantage, tacked also. Next day, at noon, the French were again in sight, and Byng hung out the signal to engage, which was obeyed by Rear-admiral West, who attacked the French with so much impetuosity that several of their ships were driven out of the line. Unfortunately Byng's squadron failed to come up to his support, so that West was obliged to haul off lest he should be separated from the rest of the fleet. According to Byng's statement, his division was retarded by the sternmost ship of the van losing her fore-mast, which compelled the whole to back their sails to avoid running foul of each other. Next morning, it was resolved in a council of war that the relief of Minorca was impracticable, and that the British fleet should immediately return to Gibraltar.

On his arrival in the bay, Byng was arrested by Admirals Hawke and Saunders, and sent to England. On the 28th of December, he was brought to trial before a court-martial consisting of four admirals and nine captains, who found him guilty of a breach of the 12th article of war, but acquitted him of disaffection or cowardice. He was accordingly sentenced to be shot, which sentence, notwithstanding the strenuous exertions of various parties, was carried into execution on the 14th of March, 1757, on board the *Monarch*. He met his death calmly and heroically.

"That the admiral did not exert his utmost power against the enemy," says Campbell, in his '*Naval History*,' "is very evident ; and it is equally apparent, his fleet having the advantage of the wind, that his fighting or not fighting was a matter of choice. Hence it necessarily follows, (allowing that he ought to have fought,) that he either wanted judgment or resolution. As to judgment, it certainly required very little to comprehend the importance of the service upon which he was sent ; and still less knowledge of the history of human events, not to



know, that, when great achievements are required, something must be left to fortune, regardless of the calculation of chances. In all battles, whether at sea or in the field, fortuitous events must have vast influence; but in naval conflicts most frequently, where a single shot from a frigate may disable a first rate man-of-war. This consideration is alone sufficient to determine any commander of a king's ship never to strike so long as he can swim, be the force of his antagonist ever so superior. Upon the whole, I believe we may equitably conclude, that Admiral Byng was constitutionally deficient in that degree of personal intrepidity, by no means essential to the character of a private gentleman, but which is the *sine qua non* of a British admiral. The justice of punishing a man for a constitutional defect, rests solely on his accepting his commission with the articles of war in his hand." Charnock, however, in his 'Lives and Characters of Naval Officers of Great Britain,' after stating, that, as an officer, Byng was by no means popular, being a very strict disciplinarian, adds—"Though we most seriously believe him to have been by no means deficient in personal courage, and that intrepidity so necessary to form a great commander, yet, it having been his misfortune never to have met with any of those brilliant opportunities of distinguishing himself, which would have established his fame far beyond the power and malice of his enemies, he did not possess that love,—that enthusiastic respect and popular kind of adoration,—which are, at times, indispensably necessary to enable the best commanders to surmount the difficulties attendant on their situation. His force was, perhaps, in point of common prudence, never equal to the service on which he was sent. It consisted, at the outset, only of ten ships of the line, some of them in a very ill condition for sea, and all of them indifferently manned." "Mr Byng," says the same writer, "had very imprudently irritated the minds of his noble employers by his letter, written from Gibraltar, on his first arrival, in which he, in pretty plain terms, reflects on the conduct of ministers, in sending him out too late to prevent the landing of the enemy on the island itself. 'If,' said he, 'I had been so happy as to have arrived at Minorca before the enemy had landed, I flatter myself I should have had it in my power to have hindered them from establishing a footing there.' To this unguarded censure, it is not improbable, the admiral owed his ruin, which, if before in doubt, was, from that moment, determined on. He had been weak enough to speak the truth, that he had been sent out too late; and that the opportunity of saving the fortress was irrevocably lost. This was a crime of so dark a nature as not to be forgiven. Those whom he had obliquely charged with remissness found it their interest to declare against him, and endeavour, by any means, to throw off the imputation of negligence with which they were charged."

The conduct of the ministry during this tragical affair was somewhat equivocal. They seem to have been inclined to mercy, but had not firmness enough to withstand the impetuosity of the king and the public. "The popular cry," says Waldegrave, "was violent against the admiral; but Pitt and Lord Temple were desirous to save him, partly to please Leicester-house, and partly because making him less criminal would throw greater blame on the late administration. But to avoid the odium of protecting a man who had been hanged in effigy in every town of England, they wanted the king to pardon him without their

seeming to interfere." It would thus appear that poor Byng's fate was decided in the king's closet, not on grounds either of public justice or royal mercy, but as a weapon which the king and his ministers were endeavouring to use against each other. Pitt did indeed move the king for mercy, but too feebly and irresolutely. Lord Temple also, whose duty it was, as first lord of the admiralty, to sign the warrant for execution, refused to do so until the opinion of the twelve judges was obtained as to its legality. Walpole insinuates that an opinion unfavourable to the prisoner was obtained from the judges by Hardwicke's interference; but this is too monstrous an assertion to be received on the authority of that gossiping author. Lord Hardwicke had at this time entirely relinquished legal life; and, supposing the twelve high functionaries to be so base as to decide on life and death at the nod of a superior, why should they, it has been well-asked, obey the nod of one who had ceased to be their superior, and, from his situation, age, and feelings, was never likely again to be?

### **Sir Paul Methven.**

BORN A. D. 1671.—DIED A. D. 1757.

THIS statesman was born in 1671, and educated for the bar. He rose to the dignity of lord-chancellor of Ireland; and it was while holding that high office that he concluded the celebrated commercial treaty with Portugal which bears his name. He also resided for some time in a diplomatic character at the court of Savoy. He died on the 11th of April, 1757. Sir Richard Steele dedicates one of the volumes of the *Spectator* to him. Swift calls him "a profligate rogue, without religion or morals, but cunning enough, yet without abilities of any kind." He was a staunch whig, and of course every thing that was bad in the dean's estimation.

### **Spencer, Duke of Marlborough.**

BORN A. D. 1706.—DIED A. D. 1758.

THIS nobleman succeeded his elder brother, the earl of Sunderland, in 1729; and, in 1733, became duke of Marlborough, in right of his mother, daughter of the first duke. In 1743 he accompanied the king to Germany, and was present in the battle of Dettingen. He took no part in the political struggles of the period, but was one of the first to arm a force in defence of the established government on the breaking out of the troubles in 1745. His loyalty was rewarded by several honourable appointments.

In 1757 he was president of the board of general officers, appointed to inquire into the management of the Rochefort expedition. In the same year he encountered an extraordinary adventure with an unknown correspondent, whose object seems to have been either to extort money from the duke by the threat of assassination, or to gratify a capricious fancy by alarming the duke for his personal safety, and exciting the



public mind to a thousand vague conjectures as to the reality of a plot against the duke's life. The details of this transaction are already before the public in so many forms that we need not here repeat them. The duke acted with great firmness and prudence throughout the whole affair.

In 1758 Marlborough was placed at the head of an armament intended to make a descent on the French coast. He executed his commission with all the requisite ability; the insignificance of the result was due to the minister who projected such a foolish enterprise. Soon after, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Germany; but he died shortly after his arrival in that country.

"Never," says one of his cotemporaries, speaking of the duke, "did the nation lose, in one man, a temper more candid and benevolent, manners more amiable and open, a more primitive integrity, a more exalted generosity, a more warm and feeling heart." Smollett describes him as having been a nobleman, who, although he did not inherit all the military genius of his grandfather, yet far excelled him in the amiable and social qualities of the heart. "It is surprising," observes the same historian, "that the death of the duke was never attributed to the secret practices of the incendiary correspondent, who had given him to understand that his vengeance, though slow, would not be the less certain."

## Major-general Wolfe.

BORN A. D. 1726.—DIED A. D. 1759.

JAMES WOLFE was the son of Lieutenant-general Edward Wolfe, an officer of distinguished worth, who served under the duke of Marlborough, and was very active under General Wightman in suppressing the rebellion of 1715. James was born at Westerham, in the county of Kent, as appears from his baptismal register bearing date the 11th of January, 1726. It is to be lamented that we have no memoirs of his juvenile years, in which perhaps we might have traced that amazing fortitude, indefatigable assiduity, cool judgment, and alacrity, for which he was afterwards so justly famed. He must have been educated for the army almost from his infancy, since honourable mention is made of his personal bravery at the battle of Lafeldt, in Austrian Flanders, fought in the year 1747. We are not told what rank he held at this time; but his royal highness the duke of Cumberland highly extolled his behaviour, and took every opportunity to reward him by promotion. The gradations of his rise are not ascertained; we are only informed, that, during the whole war, he continued improving his military talents, that he was present at every engagement, and never passed undistinguished in any. His promotion, however, must have been rapid; for we find him holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel of Kingsley's regiment soon after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748. In this station, during the peace, he applied himself assiduously to his professional duties, and introduced the most exact discipline into his corps, without exercising any severity.

In the year 1754, a fresh rupture with France was rendered inevit-



able, from the evasive answers given by that court to the repeated remonstrances made by the British ambassador against the depredations and encroachments at the back of the British settlements, along the river Ohio, in North America. Hostilities soon commenced on both sides; but war was not formally declared till 1756. At first nothing but disappointment and loss attended the British arms; till Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, being firmly seated at the head of the administration, gave striking proofs of his superior abilities for conducting an extensive war, by seeking out and employing, in the land and sea service, men of the most enterprising and active genius. Of this number was Colonel Wolfe, who was raised by the minister to the rank of brigadier-general, and sent under Major-general Amherst, in the expedition against Louisbourg, the capital of the island of Cape Breton. At the siege of this important place he acquired fresh military reputation; for he was the first general officer who landed amidst the strong and continued fire of the enemy from their batteries on shore: notwithstanding an impetuous surf, which overset some of the boats, he calmly gave orders to be rowed to the shore, where he made good his descent, and maintained his post, till he had covered the debarkation of the middle and the right divisions of the land forces, commanded by Brigadiers Whitmore and Lawrence. He then moved with a strong detachment round the north-east part of the harbour, and took possession of the Lighthouse point, where he erected several batteries against the ships and the island fortification; by this dexterous manœuvre the success of the whole enterprise was in a great measure secured. The regular approaches to the town were conducted by the engineers under the immediate command and inspection of General Amherst; but the indefatigable Wolfe, with his detached party, raised several batteries wherever he found a proper situation for annoying the enemy; and these did great execution, both within the town and among the shipping in the harbour. On the 27th of July, 1758, Louisbourg surrendered.

The share Brigadier Wolfe was known to have had in this important conquest, induced Pitt to make choice of him to command a still more important expedition in the ensuing campaign; and, with this view, he was promoted to the rank of major-general. The plan of operations for the campaign of 1759, in North America, having been concerted in the cabinet, it was resolved that Wolfe, as soon as the season of the year would admit, should sail up the river St Lawrence with a body of 8000 men, aided by a considerable squadron of ships, to undertake the siege of Quebec; and that General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, should, with another army of about 12,000 men, after reducing Ticonderago and Crown Point, cross Lake Champlain, proceed along the river Richlieu to the banks of St Lawrence, and join General Wolfe in the siege of Quebec. Amherst, however, though he succeeded in reducing Ticonderago and Crown Point, found himself under a necessity to support that part of the plan which had been intrusted to Brigadier Prideaux. The latter officer was to attack Niagara; but was killed by the bursting of a cohorn, while he was visiting the trenches. Upon receiving the news of this disaster, and that the French had been reinforced, Amherst sent a large detachment from his army, under Brigadier Gage, to join Sir William Johnson, on whom the command devolved, and to sustain the siege. Niagara surrendered on the 24th of July,

1759, and thus two parts in three of the plan of operations were happily executed; but the time necessarily employed in these services made it impossible to comply with the general instructions to assist Wolfe in the siege of Quebec.

The fleets from England destined for that expedition, under the command of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, arrived at Louisbourg in May, and took on board the 8000 land forces, whose operations at Quebec were to be conducted by General Wolfe, as commander-in-chief, and, under him, by Brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray. Thus this arduous undertaking was intrusted to four young officers, in the flower of their age; not a single veteran having any principal command in the enterprise. The armament sailed up the St Lawrence without interruption, and about the latter end of June the troops were landed, in two divisions, upon the isle of Orleans, a little below Quebec. General Wolfe, upon landing, published a manifesto, offering protection and indulgence to the inhabitants, if they would remain neuter. He represented to them, in the strongest terms, the folly of resistance, as the English fleet were masters of the river; and he informed them, that the cruelties exercised by the French upon British subjects in America might justify the most severe reprisals, but that Britons had too much generosity to follow such examples. This humane declaration had no immediate effect; the influence of the priests stimulated the French Canadians to join the scalping parties of the Indians, and to sally from the woods upon the stragglers of the British army, whom they slaughtered with the most inhuman circumstances of barbarity. Wolfe wrote a polite remonstrance to M. de Montcalm, the French general, desiring him to exert his authority to prevent such enormities, as contrary to the rules of war; but he ultimately found it necessary, in order to put a stop to these outrages, to suffer his troops to retaliate upon some of their prisoners.

The French, though superior in numbers to the English, chose to depend upon the natural strength of the country rather than run the risk of a general engagement in the field. The city of Quebec was skilfully fortified, defended by a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provisions and ammunition; Montcalm had reinforced the troops of the colony with five regular battalions formed of the choicest citizens, and had completely disciplined all the Canadians of the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, with several tribes of savages. With this army he had taken post in a very advantageous situation along the shore, having every accessible part of his camp deeply intrenched. To undertake the siege of Quebec against such advantages, and in the face of superior numbers, was a deviation from the established practice of war; but no prospect of danger could restrain the ardour of Wolfe, and at this time he entertained strong hopes of being joined by General Amherst.

The necessary works for the security of the hospital and stores on the island of Orleans being completed in July, the British forces crossed the north channel in boats, and encamped on the banks of the river Montmorenci, which separated them from the left division of the enemy's camp. The general now wrote to Mr Pitt, describing his situation, and assigning most excellent reasons for the choice of his ground; amongst others he stated, that there was a ford below the falls



of Montmorenci, passable for some hours at the ebb of the tide; and that he hoped, by means of this passage, to find an opportunity of engaging Montcalm upon more advantageous terms than by directly attacking his intrenchments. In this position the British army remained a considerable time, expecting to hear every day from General Amherst, and constantly employed in some enterprise against the enemy, in order to facilitate the final attack on Quebec. Brigadier Monckton dislodged the French from Point Levi, on the south shore opposite the city; and Colonel Carleton took possession of the western point of the island of Orleans. Both these posts were then fortified, and batteries erected, which played with such success that they greatly damaged the upper, and almost demolished the lower town. To balance these advantages, our troops met with some losses in reconnoitring the fordable parts of the river.

At length the dispositions were made for attacking the enemy's intrenchments; and, on the last day of July, it was resolved to storm a redoubt built close to the water's edge, and within gun-shot of the intrenchments. Instead of defending this post, as Wolfe expected, the French precipitately abandoned it; and thirteen companies of our grenadiers, animated by the confusion they observed the French were thrown into by the hot fire kept up by the Centurion while the troops were landing, inconsiderately rushed on to the French intrenchments, without waiting for the disembarkation of the rest of the army. This ill-timed impetuosity, and the accident of some boats getting aground off Point Levi, disconcerted the whole plan; the grenadiers were repulsed; and the French had time to recover from their surprise at this bold attempt. Meanwhile intelligence was received from some prisoners that General Amherst had taken Niagara and Crown Point, but was obliged to employ all his forces against M. de Burlemaque, who was posted with a strong corps at the Isle aux Noix. Thus deprived of all hopes of reinforcement from that quarter, General Wolfe returned without molestation to his old camp, on the other side of the river; and here his disappointment and fatigue threw him into a fever which reduced him to a very low state of health. In this unhappy plight he despatched an express to England with an account of his proceedings, but written in the style of a desponding man. Yet such was the perspicuity and accuracy of his justification of his measures, that the despatch was received with applause, though the expedition had not been successful. As soon as the general recovered a little strength, he went on board the admiral's sloop, and these two commanders proceeded up the river, passed the town unmolested, and reconnoitred it in order to judge if an assault were practicable. Their opinion concurred with that of the chief engineer, namely, that such an attack could not be hazarded with any prospect of success; and the next measure taken was, to break up the camp at Montmorenci, as no possibility appeared of attacking the enemy above the town.

It was now resolved to change the plan of operations; and the three brigadiers advised the general to transport the troops under night, and land them within a league of Cape Diamond, below the town, where they might perhaps succeed in scaling the Heights of Abraham, which rise abruptly with a steep ascent from the banks of the river, and thus gain possession of the plain at the back of the city, on that side but weakly



fortified. The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this design were great, but Wolfe readily assented to the daring project of his brave associates, and animated his troops by leading them on in person. The necessary preparations being made, and the time fixed for this bold attempt, Admiral Holmes, with the view of deceiving the enemy, moved with his squadron higher up the river. This had the desired effect, for his motions were watched till night came on by a detachment of the French, who lined that part of the shore; but in the night, the admiral, pursuant to his instructions, fell down the river to cover the landing of the troops. About one o'clock in the morning of the 12th of September, the first embarkation, consisting of four regiments, the light infantry commanded by Colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, fell gently down the river in flat-bottomed boats, under the conduct of Brigadiers Monckton and Murray; General Wolfe accompanied them, and was among the first who landed. No accident happened, except their overshooting the intended place of landing, owing to the rapidity of the tide. As these troops landed, the boats were sent back for the second embarkation, which was superintended by Brigadier Townshend. In the meantime Colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices and dislodged a captain's guard which defended a small intrenched narrow path by which alone the other forces could reach the summit. They then mounted without further molestation; and General Wolfe drew them up in order of battle as they arrived.

Montcalm was thunderstruck at the intelligence that the English had gained the Heights of Abraham; and, knowing the weakness of the city on that side, was at no loss to determine that a general engagement was now unavoidable. He advanced therefore with his whole force, in such order as showed a design to flank the English forces on the left. Brigadier Townshend, with the regiment of Amherst, was sent to prevent this, by forming his corps so as to present a double front to the enemy. The French began the action with an irregular galling fire; which they kept up till it proved fatal to many of our officers. At about nine in the morning, the enemy advanced to the charge with great order and resolution. The British forces reserved their shot until the French had approached within forty yards of their line, when they poured in a terrible discharge at their assailants. General Wolfe took his station on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment and the Louisbourg grenadiers. He early received a shot in the wrist; but, having wrapped a handkerchief round it, he continued giving his orders, and was advancing at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when another ball, most probably from the same marksman, pierced the breast of the intrepid hero, who fell in the arms of victory, just as the enemy gave way, and at the very instant when every separate regiment of the British army seemed to exert itself for the honour of its own corps. The wounded general was carried to a small distance in the rear, where, roused from a fainting fit by the loud cry of "They run! They run!" He with great eagerness inquired, "Who run?" and being told, the French, exclaimed, "Then, thank God, I die contented!" and almost instantly expired.

Much about the same time, Brigadier-general Monckton, the second in

command, was dangerously wounded ; so that the command devolved on Brigadier-general Townshend, who had thus the honour of completing the victory. Never was a battle fought which did more honour to both sides than this. The highest encomiums were bestowed on the Marquess de Montcalm, the French general, who was mortally wounded, and who distinguished himself in his last moments by writing a letter to General Townshend, recommending the French prisoners "to that generous humanity, by which the British nation has been always distinguished." He died in Quebec a few days after the battle. His second in command was left wounded on the field, and was conveyed on board an English ship where he expired the next day.

The death of Montcalm was an irreparable loss to France. It threw the Canadians into the utmost consternation ; confusion and dissensions prevailed in their councils ; and seeing themselves invested by the British fleet, which, after the victory, sailed up in a disposition to attack the lower town while the upper should be assaulted by General Townshend, they gave up all for lost, and sent out a flag of truce, with proposals of capitulation, which were judiciously accepted ; for the place was not yet completely invested ; the enemy were on the point of receiving a strong reinforcement from Montreal ; and M. de Bouganville, at the head of 800 fresh men, with a convoy of provisions, was almost at the gates of the town on the day of its surrender. A new army was likewise assembling in the neighbourhood, with which the city continued to have free communication on one side after the battle ; and the British troops, in a little time, must have been obliged to desist from their operations by the severity of the weather, and even to have retired with their fleet before the approach of winter, when the St Lawrence is constantly frozen up.

It is difficult to describe the various emotions with which the British public were affected when the news of this success arrived in England. A day of solemn thanksgiving was appointed ; and, when parliament assembled, Mr Pitt, with that energy of eloquence peculiar to himself, expatiated upon the successes of the campaign, and dwelt on the transcendent merit of the deceased general in such a strain as drew tears from all who heard him. He concluded with a motion for an address to his majesty, praying that he would order a monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey, to the memory of Major-general Wolfe. The house agreed unanimously to the address, and at the same time passed another resolution, that the thanks of the house should be given to the surviving generals and admirals employed in the glorious and successful expedition to Quebec.

Wolfe's untimely fate—if it can be called untimely—revived the exertions of emulative genius amongst our artists. It has been the historical subject of the sculptor, the painter, and the engraver, by which means the names of Wilton, West, and Wooller, will be transmitted to posterity with the affecting story of the immortal Wolfe.



## Lord George Murray.

BORN A. D. 1705.—DIED A. D. 1760.

LORD GEORGE MURRAY was the fourth son of the duke of Athol. He entered the army at an early age, and served in the Flanders campaigns. In 1727 he married Lady Jane Murray, by whom he had several children, the eldest of whom eventually became third duke of Athol.

Lord George's name figures largely in 'the forty-five.' He joined Charles Stuart at Perth, with a number of men whom he had raised on the estates of his brother, the duke, and was immediately named lieutenant-general of the insurgent forces. The success at Preston was in a great measure owing to his personal intrepidity. "Lord George," says the Chevalier Johnstone, "at the head of the first line, did not give the enemy time to recover from their panic. He advanced with such rapidity that General Cope had hardly time to form his troops in order of battle when the Highlanders rushed upon them sword in hand. They had frequently been enjoined to aim at the noses of the horses with their swords, without minding the riders; as the natural movement of a horse, wounded in the face, is to wheel round: and a few horses wounded in that manner are sufficient to throw a whole squadron into disorder, without the possibility of their being afterwards rallied. They followed this advice most implicitly, and the English cavalry was instantly thrown into confusion."

He is said to have been one of those who most strenuously recommended the retrograde movement from Derby. In the retreat he commanded the rear-guard, and contrived to keep the English forces effectually in check. Being delayed by the breaking down of some baggage-waggons, the enemy came upon him. His force consisted of about two or three hundred men, and he applied to the prince for a reinforcement, with permission to turn the duke of Cumberland's flank. The permission was refused, and orders were sent him to pursue his retreat; but, after requesting the messenger to say nothing of the orders he had brought, he determined to give the enemy check with what force he had. He therefore drew up his troops in order for battle, and the English came up just as the sun was setting. After making his hasty arrangements, which were not completed till it was quite dark, he made a powerful charge upon the English, lighted on by the moon which broke at intervals through the dark clouds. The English cavalry was forced back with a severe loss, while the Highlanders lost but twelve.

At the battle of Falkirk, Lord George, according to Home, marched at the head of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, with his drawn sword in his hand, and his target on his arm. He let the English dragoons come within ten or twelve paces of him, and then gave orders to fire. "The cavalry closing their ranks, which were opened by this discharge," says Johnstone, "put spurs to their horses, and rushed upon the Highlanders at a hard trot, breaking their ranks, and throwing down every thing before them. A most extraordinary combat followed. The High-



landers, stretched on the ground, thrust their dirks into the bellies of the horses: some seized the riders by their clothes, dragged them down, and stabbed them with their dirks; several of them again used pistols, but few of them had sufficient space to handle their swords." This battle was fought not far from the illustrious field of Bannockburn. Local recollections were favourable to both causes. It was at Falkirk that the arms of England, after a bloody conflict, had compelled Wallace to retreat; while it was at Bannockburn, nigh to which the Highland forces lay on Plean moor, that Bruce had given them an overthrow so decided that it almost annihilated the English forces. This victory was in a great measure achieved by the personal intrepidity of Murray, although the prince himself commanded.

On arriving at Inverness, Lord George received information of sundry cruelties practised by the English troops on the vassals of Athol. "As all the male vassals of the duke of Athol were with us," says Johnstone, "the duke of Cumberland sent a detachment of his troops into their country, who committed the most savage cruelties; burning the houses, turning out the women and children in the midst of winter, to perish on the mountains with cold and hunger; after subjecting them to every species of brutal and infamous treatment. These proceedings being known at Inverness, Lord George set off instantly, with the clan of Athol, to take vengeance for these outrages, and he conducted his march so well, passing through bye-ways across the mountains, that the enemy had no information of his approach. Having planned his march so as to arrive at Athol in the beginning of the night, the detachment separated, dividing itself into small parties, every gentleman taking the shortest road to his own house, and in this way all the English were surprised in their sleep. Those who found their wives and daughters violated by the brutality of these monsters, and their families dying from the inclemency of the season, made no prisoners. They received, while they slept, the punishment which their inhumanity merited. All were put to the sword or made prisoners, except two or three hundred men who shut themselves up in the castle of Athol."

At the battle of Culloden, Lord George commanded the right wing. The English artillery was rapidly thinning his ranks, when he gave orders to charge. The onset was fierce and furious beyond description. Though three ranks poured a fire of musketry upon them,—though the cannon swept the whole surface of the field with grape-shot,—though the bayonets fronted them with a hedge of steel,—on they went like a whirlwind, and the first line of the English army reeled and gave way before them, though not till many a brave chief had fallen. But their opponents were so numerous, that before the Highlanders could reach the second line of their enemy, they were entirely destroyed. Lord George displayed all his former heroism on this occasion. Though severely wounded, and dismounted, he refused to quit the field, and would have perished had not some of his party removed him by force.

In two days after this battle, Lord George was again at the head of 5000 men, and earnestly besought the prince to remain in Scotland. "We might have set the English at nought for years," says he to a correspondent; "and as to provisions, had I been allowed to have

any direction, we would not have wanted as long as there were cattle in the Highlands, or meal in the Lowlands."

After the prince's escape, Lord George withdrew to the continent, and, having spent some years in France and Italy, died in Holland, on the 8th of July, 1760.

His character is thus sketched by Johnstone:—"Lord George Murray, who had the charge of all the details of our army, and who had the sole direction of it, possessed a natural genius for military operations; and was a man of surprising talents, which, had they been cultivated by the study of military tactics, would unquestionably have rendered him one of the greatest generals of his age. He was tall and robust, and brave in the highest degree; conducting the Highlanders in the most heroic manner, and always the first to rush, sword in hand, into the midst of the enemy. He used to say, when we advanced to the charge, 'I do not ask you, my lads, to go before, but merely to follow me.' He slept little, was continually occupied with all manner of details: and was, altogether, most indefatigable, combining and directing alone all our operations:—in a word, he was the only person capable of conducting our army. He was vigilant, active, and diligent; his plans were always judiciously formed, and he carried them promptly and vigorously into execution. However, with an infinity of good qualities, he was not without his defects:—proud, haughty, blunt, and imperious; he wished to have the exclusive ordering of every thing, and, feeling his superiority, he would listen to no advice. Still, it must be owned, that he had no coadjutor capable of advising him, and his having so completely the confidence of his soldiers enabled him to perform wonders."

## Admiral Boscawen.

BORN A. D. 1711.—DIED A. D. 1761.

THE right honourable Edward Boscawen, second son of Hugh, Lord Falmouth, was born in 1711, and entered the navy at a very youthful age, and was promoted to the rank of captain on the 12th of March, 1737.

In 1739 he commanded the Shoreham of twenty guns, at the taking of Porto-Bello by Vernon. At the siege of Carthagen, he gallantly stormed a battery of fifteen twenty-four pounders, that greatly annoyed the besieging army. He was appointed to the command of the Prince Frederick of seventy guns, on the death of Lord Aubrey Beauclerk in the attack on Bocca-Chica.

He was returned to parliament for Truro in Cornwall, in 1741, and represented that borough till his death. In 1744, while in command of the Dreadnought, he captured the Medea, a French frigate of twenty-six guns. Towards the close of the same year, he was appointed to the Royal Sovereign, a first rate, stationed at the Nore; but soon afterwards was ordered to cruise at the entrance of the channel in the Namur, in which vessel he took part in the encounter with De Jonquiere. His bravery was rewarded on the 15th of July following, by his advancement to the rank of a flag-officer, as rear-admiral of the



blue, and by the singular appointment of commander-in-chief of all his majesty's forces, by sea and land, employed in the East Indies. The naval force under his orders consisted of six ships of the line ; and the troops, of three battalions of infantry, with a due proportion of artillery. The squadron sailed from St Helen's on the 4th of November, 1747 ; and after landing the troops for refreshment at the Cape of Good Hope, made the island of Mauritius, which was the first object of attack, on the 23d of June in the following year. The situation of the enemy was, however, found so strong and impregnable, and the natural security of the place had been so formidably increased by the erection of numerous batteries, that it was thought prudent to desist from an attempt, which, even should it prove successful, might be expected to be destructive of any further operations. The fleet accordingly proceeded to Fort St David, where it arrived on the 29th of July. The siege of Pondicherry was immediately resolved on ; and Admiral Boscawen, having left the command of the squadron to Captain Lisle of the *Vigilant*, with proper instructions, went on shore and assumed the command of the army. Notwithstanding every exertion in the commencement and prosecution of the siege, the strength of the French garrison—which amounted to nearly 2000 Europeans, while Boscawen's whole force did not reach 2700 men—delayed the approaches of the assailants till the rainy season set in, which necessarily compelled an abandonment of the whole design. The intelligence of the peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle reached the East Indies very soon after this disappointment, but the arrangements called for by the treaty itself, rendered the continuance of Mr Boscawen in that quarter of the world some time longer necessary. Having, fortunately for himself, been on shore when the violent storm took place on the 13th of April, 1749, he in all probability escaped destruction with his flag-ship, which foundered off Fort St David, when fifty of her people only were saved out of six hundred. Fort St George having been delivered up to the admiral, according to the stipulations in the treaty of peace, he sailed from Fort St David, on the 19th of August, 1749, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 14th of April following.

In his absence, he had been appointed rear-admiral of the white ; and in June, 1751, he was named one of the lords-commissioners of the admiralty. In 1755 he was made vice-admiral of the blue ; and while cruising off Newfoundland, captured two French ships of sixty-four guns each. In 1758 he was appointed admiral of the blue, and commander-in-chief of the expedition to Cape Breton. On his return to England, after the reduction of Louisbourg and St John, he received the thanks of the house of commons, and was nominated a privy-councillor. In some French memoirs, Admiral Boscawen is represented as having given himself wholly up to the advice of one of his captains in the siege of Louisbourg. This, however, is a misrepresentation. Boscawen needed no such aid ; and he was one of the least likely of all men to accept of it without need. In 1759, while commanding in the Mediterranean, he came up with a French fleet off Cape Lagos, and took three of their largest ships. He was made general of marines in 1760 ; and died of a bilious-fever in the beginning of 1761, leaving one son, who succeeded to the family titles and estate on the death of Viscount Falmouth, the admiral's elder brother.



Horace Walpole styles Boscawen the most obstinate of an obstinate family ; but Pitt said of him : " When I apply to other officers, respecting any expedition I may chance to project, they always raise difficulties, Boscawen always finds expedients." His valour obtained him the soubriquet of Old Dreadnought among the sailors.

## **Dodington, Lord Melcombe.**

BORN A. D. 1691.—DIED A. D. 1762.

GEORGE BUBB, the son, according to some writers, of a Dorsetshire apothecary, but according to others, of an Irish gentleman who married a lady of fortune of the name of Dodington, whose estates lay in Somersetshire,<sup>1</sup> was born in 1691. He appears to have been educated at Oxford.

In 1715 he entered parliament as member for Winchelsea ; and was soon after appointed envoy-extraordinary at the court of Spain, in which capacity he signed the treaty of Madrid. In 1720 he came into possession of a fine estate in Dorsetshire by the death of his maternal uncle, George Dodington of Eastbury. On this accession of property, he assumed the name and arms of Dodington. His fortune being now almost princely, he expended upwards of £140,000 in rearing a magnificent seat on his newly acquired estate. Here he often entertained the principal authors of the day, and had his reward in the complimentary strains of Thomson, Pitt, Young, Lyttleton, and others, who vied with each other in celebrating the beauties of Eastbury, and the taste and hospitality of its owner. In 1721 he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Somerset ; and, in 1724, having previously given in his adherence to Walpole's party, he was made a lord of the treasury. In 1727 Thomson dedicated the first edition of his 'Summer' to him ; but this dedication was afterwards withdrawn, at least it never was reprinted.

Dodington's great ambition was to obtain a peerage. With this view he first prostrated himself at the feet of the minister, on whom he even lavished the adulation of his muse, in an epistle<sup>2</sup> remarkable only for its servility and sycophancy, and for its being afterwards employed by the thrifty poet to compliment a very different character, Lord Bute, by the mere substitution of his name in place of the minister's. Finding that he was not likely to obtain the object of his wishes from Walpole, he threw himself fairly into the ranks of the opposition, and, on the downfall of Walpole's ministry, was placed in office as treasurer of the navy. He did not, however, long remain faithful to his party ; the peerage seemed still as far distant from him as ever.

He now became a close attendant at Leicester-house, and devoted himself entirely to the heir-apparent, whose favour he cultivated by lending him money, and submitting to what Walpole terms his childish horse-play. According to that authority, he carried his servility so far as on one occasion to allow himself to be rolled up in a blanket, and trundled down stairs for the amusement of his royal patron ! Eventually he found that there was but little prospect of "doing any good,"

<sup>1</sup> See *British Critic* for February, 1809.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Dodsley's Collection.

that is, of attaining the long-desired peerage, by dancing attendance at Leicester-house.

On the sudden change which took place in 1755, he was restored to his old post, the treasurership of the navy, which, however, he lost the following year. At last the accession of George III. and the elevation of Lord Bute threw open a path to the peerage for him; and in 1761 his ambition was gratified by the title of Lord Melcombe. He did not long enjoy his baronial honours. He died on the 28th of July, 1762. He was married, but had no children. The bulk of his fortune went to a Mr Wyndham of Hammersmith.

Dodington was a contemptible fellow. He had indeed wit, eloquence, fortune, interest,—but he had neither elevation of character, consistency of principle, nor steadiness of conduct. He broke with all parties, he was trusted by none, and he finally dwindled into the insignificance and contempt which he so well merited, and from which even his peerage could not save him. “In an age eminently selfish, and occupied exclusively with grovelling objects of ambition, Dodington shone conspicuous as the most intriguing, versatile, and shameless politician of his time.” Pope frequently amused the town at Dodington’s expense; and Sir Charles Hanbury Williams satirized him in a famous ballad, entitled, ‘A Grub upon Bubb.’ His house, however, was the resort of literary men of all parties; and he was on intimate terms with Fielding, Glover, Whitehead, Bentley, Voltaire, and Chesterfield. Yet his taste was outrageously bad. His state bed-chamber at Eastbury was hung with rich red velvet; his crest, an eagle supporting a hunting horn, cut out of gilt leather, was pasted on all the panels; and the bed-side carpet was a splendid patchwork of his old embroidered pocket-flaps and cuffs. The turf in front of his mansion at Hammersmith, subsequently called Brandenburg-house, was ornamented with his crest in pebbles; he had a fire-place decorated with mock icicles; a purple and orange bed crowned by a dome of peacock’s feathers; and a large obelisk, in the approach to his house, surmounted by an urn of bronze, containing the heart of his wife!

His ‘Diary,’ which was edited by Mr Wyndham, and given to the public in 1784, is a well-known work; he was the author of several other pieces, chiefly of a political nature, and some verses of a licentious character.

## George, Lord Anson.

BORN A. D. 1697.—DIED A. D. 1762.

GEORGE ANSON was born in 1697, at Shrugborough manor, Staffordshire. He was the second son of William Anson, Esq. of Shrugborough. He entered early into the navy. In 1716 he served as second lieutenant under Sir John Norris, in the Baltic; and, in 1717 and 1718, under Sir George Byng, against the Spaniards. In his 27th year he was raised to the rank of post-captain, and was for a long time on the South Caroline station. When, in 1739, the ministry considered a rupture with Spain unavoidable, he was appointed to the command

of a fleet in the South seas, directed against the trade and the colonies of that nation.

The expedition consisted of five men-of-war and three smaller vessels, which carried 1400 men. With this squadron Anson left England on the 18th of September, 1740. He encountered, on leaving the straits of Le Maire, terrible storms, which prevented him doubling Cape Horn for three months. Separated from the rest of his squadron, he reached the island of Juan Fernandez, where three of his vessels rejoined him in a very miserable condition. After his men had rested, he proceeded to the coast of Peru, without waiting for the missing ships. Here he made several prizes, and captured and burnt the city of Païta. After a fruitless attempt to intercept the annual Manilla galleon, he found himself obliged to burn not only a great part of his booty, but all except one of his vessels, in order to equip that one, the *Centurion*, with which he made his retreat to Tinian, one of the *Ladrones*. Here the *Centurion* was blown out to sea, while the commander was on shore. The return of his ship, after nineteen days' absence, relieved him from his constrained inactivity; after some weeks spent in refitting, he sailed for Macao, where he formed a bold plan for taking the galleon of Acapulco. For this purpose, he spread the report of his having returned to Europe, but, in fact, directed his course to the Philippines, and cruised near the promontory *Spiritu Santo*. On the 20th of June one of the wished-for ships was descried. She was called the *Nostra Senhora de Cabadonga*, mounting forty guns. The treasure in silver specie and ingots, with the other effects on board, amounted to £315,000. The *Centurion*, though she mounted sixty guns, had but 227 men on board; and the *Spaniard* was full manned. An engagement ensued, in which the bravery and skill of the English prevailed against the superiority of numbers; after having sixty-seven men killed, the commander of the galleon struck his colours, and surrendered himself into Commodore Anson's hands, who lost only two men, and had only one lieutenant and sixteen private seamen wounded. He returned with his rich prize to Canton, where he put the treasure on board the *Centurion*, sold the Spanish hulk, and set sail for England. On his arrival at Spithead, in June, 1744, after near four years' absence, he found that the hand of Providence seemed still to protect him in a remarkable manner, having sailed in a fog through the midst of a French fleet then cruising in the channel. In short, throughout the whole of this remarkable voyage, he experienced the truth of the saying, which he afterwards chose for his motto, '*Nil est desperandum.*'

Soon after his return he was appointed rear-admiral of the blue, and one of the lords of the admiralty. In April, 1745, he was made rear-admiral of the white; and, in July, 1746, vice-admiral of the blue. He was also chosen member of parliament for Heydon in Yorkshire. In the winter of that year he commanded the channel squadron; and had not the duke D'Anville's fleet, returning with disgrace from North America, been accidentally apprized of his station, his long and tempestuous cruise would probably have been attended with his usual success. However, in the ensuing summer he was once more crowned with wealth and conquest. Being on board the *Prince George*, in company with Rear-admiral Warren, and twelve ships more, off Cape Finisterre, on the 3d of May, 1747, they intercepted a powerful fleet



bound from France to the East and West Indies; and, after a sharp engagement, in which the French behaved with uncommon bravery, but were obliged to yield to superiority of numbers, took the whole fleet, consisting of six men-of-war and four East Indiamen. The speech of the French admiral, M. de la Jonquiere, on presenting his sword to the conqueror, deserves to be recorded: "Monsieur, vous avez vaincu l'Invincible, et la Gloire vous suit," pointing to the two ships named.

For these repeated services the king rewarded him with a peerage, on the 13th of June, by the title of Lord Anson, Baron of Soberton in Hants. On the 15th of July, in the same year, he was appointed vice-admiral of the red; and, on the death of Sir John Norris, he was made vice-admiral of England.

In April, 1748, his lordship married the honourable Miss Yorke, eldest daughter of the earl of Hardwicke. In May, the same year, he was appointed admiral of the blue; in which year he commanded the squadron that convoyed the king to and from Holland, and from this time constantly attended his majesty on his going abroad and on his return to England. In June, 1751, his lordship was appointed first lord of the admiralty; in which post he continued, with a very short intermission, till his death. In 1752 he was appointed one of the lords justices, during the absence of the king, and again in 1754. On the rupture with France, so active and spirited were his measures, that a fleet, superior to the enemy, was equipped and manned with amazing expedition. In 1758, being then admiral of the white, and having hoisted his flag on board the Royal George, he sailed from Spithead on the 1st of June with a formidable fleet, Sir Edward Hawke commanding under him; and, by cruising continually before Brest, he covered the descents that were made that summer at St Maloes, Cherbourg, &c. After this he was appointed admiral and commander-in-chief of his majesty's fleets.

The last service his lordship performed at sea was the convoying to England the queen of George III.; for which purpose he sailed from Harwich in the Charlotte yacht, on the 7th of August, 1761; and that day month, after a long and tempestuous voyage, landed the princess at the same place.

At length, having been some time in a languishing state of health, he was advised to try the Bath waters, from which he was thought to have received great benefit on former occasions. He remained at Bath during the winter of 1761, and part of the spring of 1762; but finding himself greatly exhausted, and unable to bear the fatigue of company, he retired to his seat at Moor Park, where he died in 1762.

## James, Earl Waldegrave.

BORN A. D. 1715.—DIED A. D. 1763.

JAMES, second earl of Waldegrave, was the great-grandson of James II., by Arabella Churchill, sister of the great duke of Marlborough. His grandfather followed his royal master into exile, and died at Paris in 1689. His father, having returned to England, and embraced Protestantism in 1722, was employed in various foreign embassies, and

successively created Viscount Chewton, Earl of Waldegrave, and a knight of the Garter. The subject of this article succeeded to the family title in 1741; and, in 1743, notwithstanding his Jacobite connexions, was appointed lord of the bed-chamber by the personal favour of George II. "Such offices were then held in high estimation; they often led to favour and greatness. It was in the spirit of those times to be more greedy of imaginary honours than obsequious to real power. Noblemen of the first rank sought with avidity employments which their descendants regard with indifference, or reject with disdain, as badges of dependence rather than marks of distinction or importance." Such is the observation of the editor of the noble lord's 'Memoirs,'<sup>1</sup> on the subject of Waldegrave's acceptance of a household-post in the service of George II. It is certain that such places, at that period, gave access to the king's presence, and opportunities of influence which they may not now present, but there are still aspirants for bed-chamber honours to be found within the circle of royalty.

On the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales, preceptors and governors for the young prince, afterwards George III., were chosen by the king, or rather by his ministers; but, says Waldegrave, "they had only the shadow of authority; and the two principal, the earl of Harcourt and the bishop of Norwich, were soon disgraced, because they attempted to form an interest independent of the mother, and presumed on some occasions to have an opinion of their own."<sup>2</sup> It is not easy to decide which of the parties were in the wrong in this case. We are not distinctly informed what sort of independent interest the governor and preceptor attempted to form; we have no evidence that it was attempted to inspire the prince with any improper feelings towards his mother as far as the strict line of maternal authority, in such a case, could be supposed to extend. It was quite natural that the mother should dislike any interference whatever betwixt her and her son; but it is by no means so clear that such interference might not have become absolutely necessary. It would seem, from the whole tenor of the princess-dowager's conduct, that she did not rest satisfied with having the affections of her son, her great object was to obtain the government of him; and with this view she appears to have resorted to many very ungracious expedients. In Orford's Memoirs it is stated that she allowed Cresset, her confidant, "to deal out very ungracious epithets both on the governor and preceptor."<sup>3</sup> She went so far as to call Lord Harcourt a groom, and to apply the epithets bastard and atheist to the bishop, in the presence of a court-chaplain. On the other hand, it is proved that Harcourt was totally unqualified for the situation of governor to the young prince, and that the bishop of Norwich was equally unfit to be his preceptor. Melcombe, too, says that the princess always professed to him her total ignorance of the motives which induced the governor and preceptor to resign their charges; and it is to be borne in mind that they gave in their resignations without giving the princess any notice of their intentions, or of the charges which they meant to lay before the king. The heaviest of these charges was, that the sub-governor and sub-preceptor were secret Jacobites, and had endeavoured to instil their unconstitutional doctrines into the minds of their pupil.

<sup>1</sup> London, 1821, 4to.<sup>2</sup> Memoirs, p. 36.<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. p. 253.



Certain it is that a book, in vindication of the arbitrary and illegal acts of the Stuarts, found its way into the young prince's hands without the knowledge of his preceptor. The king, however, was unmoved by their representations, and at once accepted their resignations.

On the removal of Lord Harcourt, Lord Waldegrave was appointed governor of the prince. He was favourably received by the princess-dowager, and all went pretty smoothly on for three years. "I found," says he, "his royal highness uncommonly full of princely prejudices, contracted in the nursery, and improved by the society of bed-chamber women and pages of the backstairs." "As a right system of education," his lordship continues, "seemed quite impracticable, the best that could be hoped for was to give him true notions of common things,—to instruct him by conversation rather than by books,—and sometimes, under the disguise of amusement, to entice him to the pursuit of more serious studies. The next point I laboured was, to preserve harmony and union in the royal family; and, having free access to the closet, I had frequent opportunities of doing good offices,—was a very useful apologist whenever his majesty was displeased with his grandson's shyness or want of attention; and never failed to notify even the most minute circumstance of the prince's behaviour which was likely to give satisfaction."

On the departure of the king for Hanover, in 1755, the princess-dowager's dissatisfaction broke out. She was displeased because her husband's debts had not been paid by the nation; because his servants had not been brought into office; because she was not sufficiently consulted by ministers; because the duke of Cumberland, whom she always detested, was left in effect at the head of the regency; and, above all, because a project was formed by the king, while abroad, of marrying her son to a daughter of the duchess of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel. In this state of feeling she made overtures, through Lord Bute, to Pitt and his friends, who engaged to support the princess and her son, and oppose the duke. His majesty, on his return, finding his grandson prejudiced against the marriage which he had projected for him, at once gave it up; but the princess pursued her factious hostility to the existing ministry, and began to fret at the presence of Lord Waldegrave in her household, suspecting him of giving intelligence of the proceedings and feelings at Leicester-house to Mr Fox, the avowed opponent of that party. "However," says Lord Waldegrave, "they could not find even the slightest pretence for showing any public marks of their displeasure; and, though some hard things were said to me in private, I always kept my temper, giving the severest answers in the most respectful language, and letting them civilly understand that I feared their anger no more than I deserved it; and, though it might be in their power to fret me, I was determined not to be in the wrong." It was the object of the mother to disgust Lord Waldegrave, or provoke him into some imprudent action, so as to oblige him to resign his office, and make way for her favourite, Lord Bute. She succeeded so far, as that Lord Waldegrave determined to solicit permission to retire. "I had found little satisfaction," says he, "in my most honourable employment; and my spirits and patience were at length so totally exhausted, that I could have quitted her royal highness, and have given up all future hopes of court-preferment without the least uneasiness.



But, being under the greatest obligations to the king, the many favours I had received having been conferred by him only, without any ministerial assistance, I thought it would be ungrateful, as well as impolitic, to abandon my station without his majesty's consent." That consent he at length with difficulty obtained, and had the reversion of a tellership of the exchequer given to him by his sovereign, in lieu of a pension of £2,000 a-year pressed upon him by the ministry, but which he refused to accept. After matters were accommodated betwixt the king and his grandson, he declined to be master of the horse to the latter; while, at the same time, he had the magnanimity to support the prince's request to have Lord Bute appointed groom of the stole in the new establishment provided for him when he came of age.

Within a few months after his retirement from the service of the heir-apparent, Lord Waldegrave was intrusted, under very delicate and difficult circumstances, with the formation of a new administration. The king was resolved at all hazards to get rid of Pitt and Temple, to both of whom he felt a strong personal dislike. "Go," said he to Waldegrave, "go to the duke of Newcastle and encourage him; tell him I do not look upon myself as king whilst I am in the hands of these scoundrels; that I am determined to get rid of them at any rate; that I expect his assistance, and that he may depend on my favour and protection." Waldegrave obeyed; but "I found his grace," says he, "just as I expected: eager and impatient to come into power, but dreading the danger with which it must be accompanied." The king, however, in his impatience, struck the first blow himself, by dismissing Lord Temple from the admiralty. It was imagined that Pitt would immediately, as a matter of course, resign, but he did not; and the king, finding that he would not take the hint, was obliged to turn him out. Lord Waldegrave was ultimately offered the place of first minister, and intrusted with the formation of a new ministry. His lordship, with the dukes of Devonshire and Bedford, Earls Granville, Winchelsea, and Gower, and Mr Fox, laboured hard for some time to form a government in which Pitt and Temple should have no share, and without the present aid of the duke of Newcastle; but the effort was vain. The negotiation was then put into Lord Mansfield's hands, who was to treat with the duke and Pitt, on the terms of excluding Temple and including Fox; but Mansfield had no better success. The credentials were at last transferred to Lord Hardwicke, who patched up an arrangement by which the duke of Newcastle was to be first commissioner of the treasury, and Legge once more his chancellor of the exchequer. Pitt was to be again secretary of state; Lord Temple to be privy seal; Pratt, attorney-general; and Sir Robert Henley, lord-keeper; Fox was to be paymaster; and Lord Anson, in spite of his unpopularity, to return to his old employment.

Lord Waldegrave was permitted to retire from public life, but was honoured with the Garter. In 1763 he was solicited by his old enemies, the Leicester-house faction, to coalesce with them and Fox, in opposition to the duke of Cumberland and Mr Pitt; but he refused the overture, and was next day seized with the small-pox, of which he died on the 8th of April, 1763.

Lord Waldegrave was not a political character in the highest sense of that term. He belonged to "that description of persons known in

our practical constitution by the name of ‘the king’s friends,’”—a class usually much more dangerous than their capacities would allow them to be in the open arena of public life; but his lordship was one of the very best of his class, never using his influence for personal or party purposes, and sincerely seeking the interests of his royal master. The editor of his memoirs justly remarks, that it reflects no small credit on the discernment and liberality of George II. that, in choosing a private friend, “he selected a man of sense, honour, and sincerity, who had few exterior graces to recommend him; and, at a period of no unreasonable alarm, placed him, though a near relation to the competitor for the crown, immediately about his own person.”

## John Carteret, Earl Granville.

BORN A. D. 1690.—DIED A. D. 1763.

THIS nobleman was the son of George, Lord Carteret, created Baron Carteret of Hawnes, in the county of Bedford, on the 22d of April, 1681, when only fifteen years of age. His mother was the youngest daughter of John, earl of Bath. He succeeded to the title of Lord Carteret when only in his fifth year.

While at Westminster school, and subsequently at Christ-church, Oxford, the young nobleman devoted himself to his studies with an ardour which few of his fellow-students exhibited. Swift humorously asserts, that he carried away from Oxford a most unbecoming quantity of erudition,—greatly more Greek, Latin, and philosophy, than was fitting and becoming a nobleman of his rank and fortune,—indeed, much more learning than those who were to live by their scholarship found it at all necessary to burthen themselves with.

Thus accomplished, our young nobleman entered upon public life. Having taken his seat in the house of peers, he soon became distinguished for the zeal and eloquence with which he on all occasions advocated the succession of the house of Hanover; and, on the accession of George I., he was among the first to experience the effects of that monarch’s favour. In 1714 he was appointed one of the lords of the bed-chamber; in 1715, bailiff of Jersey; in 1716, lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of Devon. His mother was also created Viscountess Carteret, and Countess Granville, with limitation of these honours to her son.

In the famous debate on the bill for lengthening the duration of parliaments, in which he supported the duke of Devonshire’s motion for the repeal of the triennial act, Lord Carteret spoke with great eloquence; and he likewise highly distinguished himself in the debate on the mutiny-bill.

In 1719 he was appointed ambassador and minister-plenipotentiary to the queen of Sweden. In this office he proved so successful a negotiator, that a peace between Sweden, Prussia, and Hanover, was proclaimed at Stockholm, on the 9th of March, and a treaty of peace between Sweden and Denmark, on the 3d of July, 1720. These measures were intended to check the grasping ambition of the czar of Russia. On returning from Denmark, he took an active share in the



debates on the South sea scheme, and the state of the national credit after the bursting of that huge bubble. He argued that the estates of all who had been instrumental in deceiving the public with the South sea speculation, should be confiscated, and the proceeds divided amongst those who had suffered by it, in proportion to their losses. Whilst this affair was in agitation, he was appointed ambassador at the French court; but when on the point of setting out, was unexpectedly recalled to fill the office of home-secretary, vacant by the death of Mr Craggs.

He received office on the 4th of May, 1721, and continued in it for a period of three years, during which he ably supported the measures of government, from his place in the house of lords. He vindicated the ministry from the charges brought against them, in connection with the presence of Law, the famous projector, in England; he defended the government in the debate on the navy debt; he spoke in favour of suspending the *habeas corpus* act for one year, on occasion of Layer's plot; he was employed to inform the house of the commitment of the bishop of Rochester, the earl of Orrery, and Lords North and Grey, to the Tower; he vindicated the proceedings of the court, in the case of Atterbury; and finally he supported the most iniquitous proposal for laying a special tax upon all papists. On the 26th of May, 1723, when the king's affairs called him abroad, Lord Carteret, in conjunction with Lord Townshend, went to Hanover; and, on their return, had several conferences at the Hague, with the Dutch administration, on affairs of state.

In 1724 when the united influence of Walpole, Townshend, and the two Pelhams, began to prevail in the cabinet, Lord Carteret resigned office, and was succeeded by the duke of Newcastle, but he was on the same day appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The 'green island' was at this moment in a state of great excitation and universal discontent, in consequence of the bugbear alarms which had been raised about Wood's copper coinage, by the pamphleteering of Swift, and some others. The duke of Grafton, the former lord-lieutenant, had found himself totally unable to stem the popular torrent. In this emergency, Walpole first endeavoured to let the scheme drop gradually, by a proclamation restricting the intended issue of half-pence to £40,000, instead of £108,000 as originally designed; and then, when this failed, he dexterously contrived to impose the task of enforcing Wood's project, and subduing the discontent of the Irish, upon a rival statesman. There was even a measure of justice in this: for Carteret was supposed to have had no small share himself in the agitation which now troubled Ireland. "He had maintained," says Sir Walter Scott, "a war of intrigue in the interior of the cabinet against Walpole and his brother-in-law, Townshend; and by caballing with the Brodericks, and furnishing, it was said, the private history of the mode in which Wood's patent was obtained, he had greatly encouraged the discontents of Ireland, trusting that all the odium would be imputed to Walpole. But his interest in the cabinet gradually sunk before that of his rival, who, unable perhaps to remove Carteret entirely from office, enjoyed the refined revenge of sending him to Ireland, as lord-lieutenant, in the room of the duke of Grafton, with the injunction of carrying on Wood's project, if it were possible; but otherwise with permission to drop it."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Life of Swift, Edin. 1834. p. 262.



One of the first acts of the new viceroy was to issue a proclamation, offering £300 reward for the discovery of the author of the *Drapier's* fourth letter. Harding, the printer of the *Drapier's* letters, was thrown into prison. Swift is said to have had the boldness to upbraid his lordship with these severities, whereupon Carteret, who could have no doubt of the real author of the obnoxious letters, with much promptitude and tact replied, in the words of Virgil :—

Res dura, et regni novitas, me talia cogunt  
Moliri.

The grand-jury ignored the bill against Harding, and presented Wood's scheme as a fraud and imposition on the public; whereupon Carteret yielded to the storm; Wood's patent was surrendered, and the patentee indemnified by a grant of £3000 yearly, for twelve years. Carteret was by no means averse to these concessions; for he was the personal friend of Swift, and, like the dean, also the enemy of Walpole. Besides, he felt that he had been sent to Ireland, only to exercise a nominal vice-sovereignty, while the real power was lodged with the primate, Boulter. Swift knew the ground upon which he stood with the lieutenant, and was assiduous in his attendance at the castle. On one occasion, affecting to be overcome with his lordship's arguments for a certain political measure, he exclaimed: "What the vengeance brought *you* among us! Get you gone! Get you gone! Pray God send us our boobies back again." The dean having written two lines on a window of the castle, expressive of what he chose to hug himself upon, his absolute independence, the vicéroy, who knew his man very well too, wrote under them the following couplet :—

My very good dean, none ever come here,  
But who've something to hope, or something to fear.

After the close of the session in March, 1726, his lordship having constituted lords-justices during his absence, embarked for England, where he received the personal thanks of his majesty for his services in Ireland. On the accession of George II. he was again named viceroy of Ireland. He quitted his high office in 1730, when he was succeeded by the duke of Dorset. In Irish affairs, Carteret seems to have been greatly governed by the dean of St Patrick's; their political sympathies were in unison on several points of personal interest.

From 1730 to 1742, Lord Carteret's career was one of opposition to the minister. He was the acknowledged leader of the discontented whigs in the house of lords; while Pulteney headed the same party in the house of commons. His genius and eloquence made him very formidable to Sir Robert Walpole. There was scarcely a motion or question on which he did not speak, and in which he did not oppose the minister. In the session of 1730-1, he supported the bill against pensioners being permitted to sit in the house, and the motion for discharging the Hessian troops in the pay of Britain. In the subsequent session he offered strenuous opposition to the act for renewing the salt-duty. In the session of 1732-3 his party were engaged with a motion for the reduction of the land-forces, with the disposal of the forfeited estates of the South sea company, and the princess-royal's marriage-settlement bill; on all of which measures Carteret displayed great knowledge and political tact. In the session of 1733-4 his lordship

took the lead on the debate for inquiry as to the removal of the duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham from their respective regiments. In 1736-7 he took an active part in the discussions and questions arising out of the celebrated Porteous' mob in Edinburgh; he also moved, in the same session, for the settlement of £100,000 per annum on the prince of Wales, out of the civil list. But it was in the session of 1740-1, when the minister began visibly to totter on his seat, that Carteret put forth his utmost strength as a leader of opposition. On the 13th of February, 1741, he brought forward a motion for an address of the house, praying his majesty to dismiss Sir Robert Walpole from his councils and person for ever. His speech on this occasion was eloquent, impetuous, and vindictive; the minister, however, triumphed by a small majority; but, in the following session, he was obliged to resign, and Lord Carteret was immediately appointed secretary of state.

There is no doubt that Carteret's sole object in opposing the former ministry, was the desire of place, and hatred of political rivals. The coadjutors of Pulteney and Carteret long suspected them of having no other views than to supplant the minister, and to succeed to his power. A letter from Chesterfield to Dodington, written in the preceding autumn, describes them as thirsting for office, and desirous "to get in with a few by negotiation, and not by victory with numbers, who might presume on their strength, and grow troublesome to their generals."<sup>2</sup> The prince of Wales's support was obtained for the new administration, by placing two of his dependents in the board of admiralty; and he came at length to be so warmly attached to Carteret, that when Pitt and Lyttleton began to oppose that minister, he told them "he should follow the advice they had long ago given him, of turning out all his people who did not vote as he would have them." The new minister, however, soon became far more unpopular with the opposition than ever his predecessor had been. In the opening of the session of 1743-4, Pitt stigmatised him as "an execrable, a sole minister, who had renounced the British nation, and seemed to have drunk of the potion described in poetic fiction, which made men forget their country."

Carteret accompanied the king to Hanover in May, 1743, and made every effort to fortify himself in his seat, by entering into the foolish German politics of his master; but the coalition of the Pelhams with what was called the patriotic party, and the eloquent and virulent declamations of Pitt in the lower house, at last overmatched the minister, who, deserted by his colleagues, was obliged most reluctantly to resign office, within a few weeks after his succession to the title of Earl Carteret, by the death of his mother.

In 1746, on the sudden resignation of the Pelham party, Lord Granville had a glimpse of office again; the seals were placed in his hands for a few days, but he could not succeed in forming an administration. One of the numerous squibs published on this occasion, entitled 'A History of the Long Administration,' concludes thus: "And thus endeth the second and last part of this astonishing administration, which lasted forty-eight hours, three quarters, seven minutes, and eleven seconds; which may truly be called the most honest of all administrations; the



minister, to the astonishment of all wise men, never transacted one rash thing; and, what is more marvellous, left as much money in the treasury as he found in it." In 1749, Lord Granville received the order of the Garter from his sovereign; and when the Pelhams got rid of the duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich, they took back into the ministry their old rival, who was content for the rest of his life with the dignified but unimportant post of president of the council. When congratulated on his reconciliation with his old opponents, he pettishly replied: "I am the king's president; I know nothing of the Pelhams; I have nothing to do with them." When, in October, 1761, Mr Pitt was urging in the council an immediate declaration of war against Spain, with more perhaps than becoming energy, and threatening to resign if his advice should not be adopted, Lord Granville is said to have spoken as follows: "I find that the gentleman is determined to leave us; nor can I say that I am sorry for it, for, otherwise, he would have compelled us to leave him. If he be resolved to assume the right of advising his majesty, and directing the operations of the war, for what purpose are we called in council? When he talks of being responsible to the people, he talks the language of the house of commons, and forgets that at this board he is only responsible to the king. However, although he may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility, it remains that we also should be equally convinced, before we resign our understanding to his direction, or join with him in the measure he proposes."

Lord Granville died on the 2d of January, 1763. Wood, in the preface to his 'Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer,' informs us, that being directed to wait on his lordship, a few days before he died, with the preliminary articles of the treaty of Paris, he found him so languid, that he proposed postponing his business for another time; but the earl insisted that he should stay, saying, it could not prolong his life to neglect his duty; and repeating a passage out of Sarpedon's speech, in which an allusion occurs which his lordship applied to the part he had himself taken in public affairs. After a pause, he desired the articles to be read to him, when he expressed himself satisfied with them, and declared, that "as a dying statesman, he would pronounce it the most glorious war, and the most honourable peace, the nation ever saw."

"Lord Granville," says the earl of Chesterfield, "had great parts, and a most uncommon share of learning for a man of quality. He was one of the best speakers in the house of lords, both in the declamatory and the argumentative way. He had a wonderful quickness and precision in seizing the stress of a question, which no art, no sophistry, could disguise in him. In business he was bold, enterprising, and overbearing. He had been bred up in high monarchical, that is, tyrannical principles of government, which his ardent and impetuous temper made him think were the only rational and practicable ones. He would have been a great first minister in France,—little inferior perhaps to Richelieu; in this government, which is yet free, he would have been a dangerous one, little less so perhaps than Strafford. He was neither ill-natured nor vindictive; and had a great contempt for money,—his ideas were all above it. In social life, he was an agreeable, good-humoured, and instructive companion,—a great but entertaining talker. He degraded himself by the vice of drinking, which, together with a



great stock of Greek and Latin, he brought away with him from Oxford, and retained and practised ever afterwards. By his own industry he had made himself master of all the modern languages, and had acquired a great knowledge of the law. His political knowledge of the interest of princes and of commerce was extensive, and his notions were just and great. His character may be summed up in nice precision, quick decision, and unbounded presumption." The duke of Newcastle used to say, Granville was a man who never doubted. He was notorious for the non-performance of his promises. A contemporary poem has the following lines :

But first to Carteret fain you'd sing—  
Indeed he's nearest to the king,  
Yet careless how you use him :  
Give him, I pray, no laboured lays ;  
He will but promise, if you praise,  
And laugh if you abuse him.

Lord-chief-justice Willes being complimented on his friend Lord Granville's return to office, replied, " He my friend ! He is nobody's friend. When he was in power, I asked a place for an acquaintance. He replied, ' What is it to me who is a judge, or who is a bishop ? It is my business to make kings and emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe.' "

He was a munificent patron of learning. Dr Lye, the editor of Junius's ' Etymologicon,' Dr Taylor the celebrated Grecian, and Dr Bentley, all acknowledge their obligations to him in different matters connected with their publications. There is an amusing anecdote told of Dr Bentley and his lordship. The doctor, when he came to town, was accustomed to spend his evenings with Lord Carteret. On one occasion, the old countess reproached her son with having kept the country-parson too long over the bottle. His lordship stoutly affirmed, that the doctor had risen from table with a clear head, and on his own legs. Her ladyship said that was impossible, for the clergyman could not have sung in so ridiculous a manner if he had not been in liquor. His lordship laughed heartily at his mother's suspicion ; for it appears what she mistook for abortive attempts at singing on the part of the erudite clergyman, were his efforts to edify his noble host by reciting Terence, in what he conceived to be the genuine *cantilena* of the ancients.

## Philip, Earl of Hardwicke.

BORN A. D. 1691.—DIED A. D. 1764.

THIS able lawyer and statesman was born at London in the year 1691. His family was not opulent. Mr Yorke was originally designed for an attorney, and served his clerkship with a very eminent gentleman of that profession ; but his genius not permitting him to rest contented with the mere drudgery of the law, he entered himself of the society of Lincoln's-inn, and commenced barrister. It is not ascertained at what time he was called to the bar ; but in a few years, and

while he was yet a very young man, he acquired great reputation as a pleader. In the year 1720, his merit raised him to the office of solicitor-general. In 1723 he was promoted to that of attorney-general. In 1733, being then only in the 42d year of his age, he was constituted chief-justice of the court of king's bench; and, in 1737, he attained the highest honours of the law, being made lord-high-chancellor of England, and, of course, speaker of the house of lords. At the same time, he was created a peer of the realm, by the title of Baron Hardwicke.

In this high station, his assiduity, his steady, even temper, his great sagacity, and his impartial administration of justice, were acknowledged by all parties. In 1746 he was constituted lord-high-steward of England for the trial of the rebel lords. His speech, delivered upon passing sentence against Lord Lovat, is reckoned one of the finest specimens of modern oratory extant in the English language. In 1749 he was elected high-steward of the university of Cambridge, on the resignation of the duke of Newcastle. His lordship held the seals till the year 1756, when he found himself obliged to resign upon Pitt's coming into administration. Before he retired, however, he obtained an accession of dignity, being created Earl of Hardwicke in 1754. He died in 1764, leaving behind him the character of an eloquent speaker, an able lawyer, and at least a good-intentioned man.

In his political capacity, the earl of Hardwicke was unfortunate and unpopular. His eagerness to provide for his own family, to which he was stimulated by the selfish disposition of his lady, made him a continual petitioner to the throne for partial favours, instead of employing his interest with the king for patriotic and benevolent purposes. George II. is reported to have once addressed him, when soliciting a place on behalf of some distant relative:—"My lord, you have been a frequent solicitor; but I have observed that it has always been for some one of your own family, or within the circle of your relations." Dr King—whose bitterness towards the whigs should be borne in mind, however—says, "Lord Hardwicke, who is said to be worth £800,000, sets the same value on half-a-crown now, as he did when he was only worth £100." His political principles were highly aristocratical. He opposed the militia-bill, representing the great danger that might arise from putting arms into the hands of the people, and disciplining them for war. And when he found he could not prevent the bill passing into a law, he introduced several clauses which threw the establishment more into the hands of the crown than was intended by the framers of the bill. With the same views, he exerted his abilities and influence in the house of peers to throw out a new *habeas corpus* act which had passed through the lower house, and was framed to increase and secure this great privilege to the people.

Horace Walpole bitterly assails the chancellor throughout his 'Memoirs.' He says of him, certainly with more severity than justice, that, "in the house of lords he was laughed at; in the cabinet, despised."<sup>1</sup> He calls him "a little lawyer, who had raised himself from the very lees of the people."<sup>2</sup> Yet, in the course of these same Memoirs, as their editor himself remarks, the author laments Lord Hardwicke's

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 294.

influence in cabinets, and acknowledges that he exercised great dominion in his place in parliament. "The truth is," he adds, "that wherever that great magistrate is mentioned, Lord Orford's resentments blind his judgment, and disfigure his narrative." The two points upon which the chancellor is most frequently attacked by Walpole, are the marriage act and Admiral Byng's case. We refer our readers for information as to Lord Hardwicke's share in these measures to our notices of Lord Bath, and the unfortunate admiral himself.

## Pulteney, Earl of Bath.

BORN A. D. 1682.—DIED A. D. 1764.

THIS distinguished, and at one time eminently popular, statesman, was descended from an ancient family who took their surname from an estate in Leicestershire. His grandfather, Sir William Pulteney, was member for Westminster, and distinguished in the house of commons for his liberal sentiments and spirited eloquence. Little is known of his father. The subject of our notice was born in 1682.

He was educated at Westminster school, and Christ-church, Oxford. While at the university, Dean Aldrick selected him to deliver the congratulatory address to Queen Anne, on the occasion of her majesty's visit to Oxford. After quitting the university, he spent some time abroad. On his return to England, he entered into public life as member for Heydon in Yorkshire.

During the whole reign of Queen Anne, Pulteney advocated the whig principles of his family, and opposed the measures of the Tories. His first brilliant display was in Sacheverell's prosecution, when he declaimed in a very eloquent manner against the high-church doctrines of passive obedience and nonresistance. He of course zealously espoused the cause of the house of Hanover; and, on the commitment of Walpole, was among the first of his friends to visit him in the Tower. At this period he wrote several pamphlets in support of the Whigs. Amid the cabals and tumults of this stormy period, Walpole, Stanhope, and Pulteney, kept close together, and formed a most powerful opposition; but their alliance was dissolved soon after the accession of the new sovereign. Pulteney retired from office with Walpole, on the dismissal of Townshend. But Walpole imprudently disgusted his friend soon after, by entering into negotiations with Sunderland and the prince of Wales, without communicating with him.

Walpole on regaining office made various attempts to conciliate Pulteney, but failed. The latter rejected every overture that was made to him with contempt, and declared that he would never act in concert with the treacherous minister. Walpole, on the other hand, now denounced Pulteney as a furious demagogue; and their mutual recriminations occupied no small portion of the debates in the house of commons. Pulteney now headed the discontented Whigs, and even united with his ancient opponent, Bolingbroke, in assailing Walpole through the pages of the 'Craftsman.' Sir William Yonge, the secretary-at-war, defended Walpole, and assaulted Pulteney in a very abusive pamphlet, entitled, 'Sedition and Defamation displayed;' while Pulteney replied



in terms of equal abuse, in a pamphlet signed 'Caleb D'Anvers.' With more imprudence, Pulteney proceeded in the course of his pamphleteering to disclose the substance of various private conversations he had had with Walpole, before their breach, under the implied seal of confidence. Walpole revenged himself by causing Pulteney's name to be struck out of the list of privy-councillors, and out of all commissions of the peace. These marks of royal displeasure had the effect, however, of vastly increasing Pulteney's popularity. His speeches were printed in broad-sheets, and circulated all over England; he was hailed with acclamations whenever he appeared in public; and his enemies were burnt in effigy in several towns. About this time he made his celebrated speech in the house of commons, in which he compared the minister to a quack-doctor, and the constitution to his patient.

On the accession of his party to office, Pulteney took no share in the administration; but, to the surprise of all, and the ruin of his former popularity, he accepted a peerage by the title of Earl of Bath. In quitting the house of commons, he bid adieu for ever to his political influence. He died in 1764.

"His writings," says Horace Walpole, "will be better known by his name, than his name by his writings, although his prose had much effect, and his verses were easy and graceful; both were occasional, and not dedicated to the love of fame. Good humour and the spirit of society dictated his poetry; ambition and acrimony his political writings: the latter made Pope say,

'How many Martials were in Pult'ney lost?'

## Sir John Barnard.

BORN A. D. 1685.—DIED A. D. 1767.

THIS patriotic citizen was born at Reading, in Berkshire, in the year 1685. His parents, who were quakers, put him to a school at Wandsworth, in Surrey, which was solely appropriated to the education of the youth of that religious persuasion. At this school he is said to have derived very little advantage in point of classical and polite literature. His father was a wine-merchant, and he was brought up to the same business, in which he engaged very successfully on his own account. Before he was nineteen years of age, he quitted the society of quakers, and, being baptized by Compton, bishop of London, continued a member of the established church till his death. Being distinguished among his fellow-citizens for his abilities, knowledge, and integrity, in 1722 he was chosen one of the representatives in parliament for the city of London; and this important trust was confided to him in seven successive parliaments, his name always appearing at the head of the candidates upon every general election.

In 1725, our worthy citizen distinguished himself in the house of commons by opposing a bill, intituled 'A bill for regulating elections within the city of London, and for preserving the peace, good order, and government of the said city.' The grounds on which Sir John Barnard opposed it were: that it made an alteration in the city-charter, by repealing a part of the ancient rights and privileges contained

therein, by which a bad precedent was established for the crown to violate corporation charters at pleasure ; that it took away the rights of a great number of honest citizens to vote at wardmote elections, who had enjoyed that privilege from time immemorial ; that it abridged the privileges of the common-council ; and that it transferred too great a weight of authority and influence from that assembly to the court of mayor and aldermen, thereby, in a great measure, subverting the ancient constitution of the city. Counsel were heard upon the petitions of the common-council, and of several citizens, at the bar of both houses, against this bill ; and in favour of it, upon the petitions of the court of mayor and aldermen, and other citizens ; and it met with strong opposition. The bill, however, passed ; but Sir John Barnard received the thanks of the court of common-council for the active part he took in opposition to it ; and the most obnoxious part of it, which granted a negative power to the lord-mayor and aldermen, was repealed in 1746.

In the year 1727 he was chosen alderman of Dowgate-ward. The following year he prepared a bill 'for the better encouragement and regulation of seamen in the merchant-service,' which he carried through the house with great credit to himself. In the same session he took an active part in the inquiry appointed to be made into the state of the gaols. In the year 1730, when a bill was brought into the house by the minister, to prohibit all his majesty's subjects, and all persons residing in the kingdom, from lending money to foreigners, he took the lead in opposition to it. The bill was designed to put a stop to the negotiation of a loan for the service of the emperor of Germany, amounting to £400,000, then in agitation on the Exchange of London. The alderman had no objection to a bill particularly framed to put an end to this negotiation ; but he strongly protested against a general prohibition of this kind, as laying a violent restraint on commerce, and as tending to throw a very lucrative branch of trade solely into the hands of the Dutch, to the benefit of the bank of Amsterdam, and to the prejudice of the merchants and the monied interests of England. In fact, if some amendments had not been made upon this bill, it would not have been safe for any merchant to have advanced money to any foreign correspondent, upon any emergency in the ordinary intercourse of trade ; and, as Sir John justly observed, the exchequer would have been converted into a court of inquisition ; for there was a clause in it empowering the attorney-general, by English bill in the court of exchequer, to extort discovery, by exacting an oath from suspected persons. The opposition so far succeeded that the bill was considerably amended before it passed.

His next exertion was in the case of the excise scheme of Sir Robert Walpole. In a committee of the whole house, which had been appointed to consider of the most proper methods for the security and improvement of the duties and revenues already charged upon, and payable from, tobacco and wines, the minister expatiated on the frauds that had been committed for many years by the smugglers and fraudulent dealers in these articles, to the enriching themselves at the expense of the public revenues. He said that the tobacco planters in America were reduced almost to despair, by the many frauds that had been committed in that trade, by the heavy duties paid on importation, and by the ill usage of their factors and agents in England ; he had



therefore a scheme to propose which would remedy these evils, increase the public revenues to the amount of £200,000 or £300,000 per annum, and greatly benefit the fair trader. And, as the laws of the customs had been found ineffectual for preventing the frauds complained of, he proposed "to add the laws of excise to those of the customs, by repealing great part of the duty paid on importation, and, in lieu thereof, laying an inland duty or excise of fourpence per pound on the consumption, to be collected by the excise officers, and subjected to the excise laws." The first regular step in this business was to move in the committee a repeal of the importation duties, granted by several acts in the reigns of Charles II., James II., and Queen Anne. Micajah Perry, as senior alderman, and one of the representatives of the city, opened the debate in opposition to this motion. He admitted that frauds had been committed in the tobacco trade, but not to the amount stated by the minister; and, as to the hardships of the tobacco planters, he alleged that they had been put upon complaining by letters sent to them from the administration for that purpose. He observed, that, if this scheme took effect, they would be in a much worse condition, for no man would be concerned in the trade; whereas now the merchants of this kingdom sent ships to receive the tobacco in America, and advanced the planters ready money, till it could be brought to market and sold. Sir John Barnard took it up in both a commercial and a political light, and said, "It seemed to be the last branch of liberty they had to contend for; that it took away their ancient birth-right—trial by jury—from all persons concerned in this branch of trade. They had already subjected great numbers of the people of this nation to the arbitrary laws of excise; and this scheme, he said, would extend this subjection to so many more, that the most fatal consequences were to be dreaded. It had been said that his majesty was a wise and a good prince; but no argument could be drawn from thence to induce them to surrender their liberties and privileges. Though his majesty should never make a bad use of it, his successors might. A slave that has the good fortune to meet with a humane master, is nevertheless a slave. Their liberties were too valuable, and were purchased at too high a price, to be sported with, or wantonly given up to the best of kings. He hoped they had the same value for their liberties as their ancestors had; if so, they would certainly use all peaceable means to preserve them; and if such should prove ineffectual, he hoped there was no Englishman but would use those methods their ancestors had done, and transmit them to their posterity in the same glorious condition they found them, and not sacrifice the constitution to the poor pretence of suppressing a few frauds in the collecting of the public revenues, the whole amount of which appeared to be no more, according to the confession of the commissioners themselves, than £40,000 per annum, which might be prevented without entering upon such dangerous measures." The boldness of the worthy citizen will be more admired by the reader, in these days, than the correctness of his economical views. All the city-members, however, put a negative upon the motion, yet it was carried through the committee, together with several other resolutions, which were warmly debated for two days. Upon the report being made to the house, all the resolutions of the committee were



agreed to ; and upon the question for leave to bring in a bill accordingly, the house divided, for the bill 249, against it 189.

During the debate, the people being alarmed, flocked to Westminster in great multitudes, and filled the avenues to the house of commons ; and several members, known friends to the excise-scheme, having been grossly insulted in going to and returning from the house, Sir Robert Walpole complained of it to the house. He said, these people would not have crowded to their door, if they had not been instigated by others of higher rank ; that circular letters had been sent by the bea-dles of the wards in the city, summoning the citizens, almost at their peril, to come down that day to the house of commons ; he had one of those letters in his pocket, signed by a deputy of a ward, he said, looking at the same time at Sir John Barnard ; and he concluded his speech with the following unguarded expression :—" Gentlemen might call the multitude, now at their door, a modest multitude. But whatever temper they were in when they came there, it might be very much altered now. After having waited so long—till near two in the morning of the 15th—it might be very easy for some designing seditious person to raise a tumult amongst them ; he could not think it prudent or regular to use any methods for bringing such multitudes to that place on any pretence. Gentlemen might give them what name they thought fit : it might be said they came hither as humble supplicants, but he knew whom the law called sturdy beggars. And those who brought them there could not be certain they would not behave in the same manner."

Alderman Barnard then rising to speak, the friends of the minister called loudly for the question ; but Sir John Cotton overruled it by appealing to the chairman of the committee, in a manner which shows the esteem in which our patriot was held at this early stage of his public life :—" Sir, I hope you will call gentlemen to order. There is now a gentleman got up to speak, who speaks as well as any gentleman in the house, and who deserves attention as much as any gentleman that ever spoke in this house. Besides, Sir, he is one of the representatives of the greatest and richest city in Europe, a city which is greatly interested in this debate, and therefore *he must* be heard." The committee being called to order, Sir John Barnard made the following reply to Sir Robert Walpole :—" Sir, I know of no unfair or irregular methods made use of to bring people from the city to your doors ; but any gentlemen or merchants might lawfully desire their friends, by letters or otherwise, to come down to the court of requests, and solicit their friends and acquaintance against any scheme or project they thought prejudicial to them. This is the undoubted right of the subject, and what has been practised upon all occasions. The honourable member talked of ' sturdy beggars,' but, I assure him, those I saw at the door deserve the name of sturdy beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever. The city of London was well apprized of what we were to be upon this day ; where they had their information I do not know, but I am sure they have a right notion of the scheme, and are so generally and so zealously bent against it, that whatever methods might have been used to call them thither, I am sure it would have been impossible to have prevented their coming."

The rash expression of Sir Robert was not readily forgotten, nor ever forgiven; and when the bill was brought to be read a first time, on the 4th of April, the crowd without doors was much greater than before. The mob were very near seizing the minister, and might have done it, if Mr Cunningham, a Scots member, had not drawn his sword and kept them off, till Sir Robert had got into the avenue of the house. Some of the other members in office were likewise ill-treated; and perhaps this behaviour contributed not a little to form the inconsiderable majority by whom the first reading of the bill was carried. The numbers upon the division were 236 for it to 200 against it. No minister would choose to risk his credit upon 36 votes; and by this time, petitions from the city of London, in their corporate capacity, and from several other cities, were brought to the bar of the house. Sir Robert, therefore, very prudently moved, on the day appointed for the second reading, which was the 11th, that it be put off till the 12th of June; but the opposition now perceiving that they had carried their point, contended for having it absolutely rejected; however, finding that the minister intended likewise to adjourn the committee for the further improvement and regulating of the revenues, into which this scheme had been first introduced, to a distant day, they acquiesced in his motion; and thus ended the excise project.

In 1734, Sir John Barnard brought into the house, and carried the famous bill to prevent stock-jobbing; which put a stop to the most iniquitous branches of that species of gaming. In 1735 he moved in the house of commons for leave to bring in a bill to limit the number of playhouses, and to restrain the licentiousness of players.

Upon the quarrel becoming public between the king and his royal highness, Frederick, prince of Wales, Sir John Barnard, though he did not make himself in any respect a party, by paying his court to the prince at Leicester-house, yet thought proper to join those members of the house of commons, who were for settling an annual income on the prince, of £100,000 per annum, independent of the crown. Accordingly, he seconded Mr Pulteney's motion in the session of 1737, on this principle, that the heir-apparent, or any other prince of the royal blood, ought not to be so totally dependent on the king for his subsistence, that the dread of its being withheld, or kept in arrear, should deter him from speaking his sentiments freely on the conduct of the king's ministers.

In the year 1738, Sir John Barnard was elected lord-mayor of London; and, though he met with a severe domestic affliction in the death of his lady, during his mayoralty, he attended to the duties of his high station with unwearied assiduity, and supported the dignity of chief magistrate with firmness, activity, and impartiality.

In the session of 1740, Sir John supported Mr William Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr Lyttleton, in carrying the pension bill through the lower house. This was a bill to exclude all pensioners of the crown from seats in the house of commons. When it came into the house of lords, it occasioned a long and passionate debate; and, upon a division, it was thrown out. Sir John Godschall and Sir John Barnard were within 20 votes of carrying the repeal of septennial parliaments, in 1742. Sir John Barnard was many years alderman of Dowgate-ward; but upon the death of Sir John Thomson, in 1749, he removed, pur-



suant to an act of common-council, and took upon him the custody of Bridge-ward Without, always held by the senior alderman, who upon this removal takes the title of 'Father of the City.' He was many years president of Christ's hospital, and an active governor of Bethlehem and Bridewell hospitals. At length, oppressed by the infirmities of age, and worn out with the fatigues of public business, in the year 1758, he desired leave to resign his gown; and the sense of his great merit was thus expressed in the vote of thanks of his fellow-citizens, upon a motion of Sir Robert Sadbroke :—"It is unanimously agreed and ordered, that the thanks of this court be given to Sir John Barnard, Knight, late one of the aldermen, and father of this city, for his constant attendance and salutary councils in this court; his wise, vigilant, and impartial administration of justice; his unwearied zeal for the honour, safety, and prosperity of his fellow-citizens; his inviolable attachment to the laws and liberties of his country; and for the noble example he has set of a long and uninterrupted course of virtue in private as well as in public life." At a court of common-council, it was likewise unanimously resolved, "That Sir John Barnard, Knight, so justly and emphatically styled the 'Father of the City,' having lately—to the great and lasting regret of this court—thought proper to resign the office of alderman, the thanks of this court be given him, for having so long and faithfully devoted himself to the service of his fellow-citizens; for the honour and influence which this city has upon many occasions derived from the dignity of his character, and the wisdom, steadiness, and integrity of his conduct; for his firm adherence to the constitution both in church and state; his noble struggles for liberty; and his disinterested and invariable pursuit of the true glory and prosperity of his king and country; uninfluenced by power, unawed by clamour, and unbiassed by prejudice of party." In order to perpetuate the memory of his signal services to the city, a statue was voted by the same courts, and erected in his life-time on the Royal Exchange, representing him in full length, in his magisterial robes. Thus crowned with honour and full of years, he retired to his country-seat at Clapham, where he died in the month of August, 1767. An uncompromising supporter of parliamentary decorum, he once interrupted the course of his argument on observing Sir Robert, then in the height of his power, whispering to the speaker, by exclaiming, "Mr Speaker, Mr Speaker, I address myself to you, and not to your chair! I will be heard!—I call that gentleman to order!" On another occasion, he insisted that Sir Robert, who was reading a roll of paper which he had taken from the table, should lay it down, and attend to the business of the house. One day, Walpole and Barnard, while riding with different parties, it is said, happened to approach so near to each other, that they were separated only by a thick and impervious hedge; Barnard being engaged in discourse with his friends, one of Walpole's companions inquired, "Whose voice is that?" "It is one I shall never forget," replied Sir Robert: "I have often felt its power." While Lord Granville was in office, if any representations were made to him by the merchants of London, he was accustomed invariably to ask, "What does Sir John Barnard say to this? What is his opinion?" Pulteney frequently visited and consulted him: the first William Pitt often styled him "the great commoner;" and George the Second once offered him the chancellorship of the exchequer.



## Holles, Duke of Newcastle.

BORN A. D. 1694.—DIED A. D. 1768.

THOMAS, eldest son of Thomas, Lord Pelham, was born on the 21st of July, 1694, and succeeded to his father's honours in 1712. He subsequently came into possession of the large estates of his uncle, John Holles, duke of Newcastle. He was distinguished as a young nobleman of an aspiring genius, towards the close of the reign of Queen Anne; and his large estates giving him extensive interest and influence, he was considered by the whig party, at this early stage of life, as a powerful friend. During the last year of the queen's reign, the duke—as he was called by courtesy—openly avowed his principles, and his attachment to George I., with whom he had the honour to correspond after the death of the electress Sophia, in 1714, when it became necessary for the court of Hanover to be apprized of all the motions of the English ministry, and to be well-assured who were their real friends.

Upon the demise of the queen, he exerted himself in promoting a loyal zeal towards the new family throughout Nottinghamshire, where his influence was universal. Pelham, however, was too young to expect any considerable share in the government, and the king had so many great men amongst the whigs to provide for, whose political abilities had stood the test of experience, that it was thought expedient at this time to reward his exertions in support of the house of Hanover, by new dignities and posts of emolument, rather than by any office in the departments of public business. In the month of October, 1714, he was created Viscount Pelham of Haughton in the county of Nottingham, with remainder to his brother Henry Pelham, and his heirs male, and Earl of Clare in the county of Suffolk; he was also appointed lord-lieutenant, and *custos-rotulorum* of the county of Nottingham. In November he was made *custos-rotulorum* of Middlesex, and lord-lieutenant of the said county, and of the city of Westminster. He was also constituted steward, warden, and keeper of the forest of Sherwood and park of Folewood.

By this time the disaffected party, known by the name of Jacobites, found it their interest to unite with the tories, who were now ripe for any mischief in revenge of the affront and inconvenience of having been dismissed from all employments of trust and emolument under the new government. This union formed a powerful opposition to all the measures of the whig administration. The press teemed with seditious pamphlets, and the populace assembled in a tumultuous manner in many parts of the capital, and proceeded to acts of open violence by breaking the windows of the houses of all persons who distinguished themselves by espousing the cause of government, and pulling down the meeting-houses of the protestant dissenters, who had been the early and zealous supporters of the protestant succession. The intelligence of the pretender's designs being conveyed to government by Earl Stair, proper measures were taken to frustrate his schemes; but the disaffected in all parts of the kingdom, buoyed up by false hopes, rose in different places, in formidable mobs, and committed great depredations, parti-

cularly on the property of dissenters. As to the London mob, it increased daily, and now went by the name of the Ormond mob. In this situation of affairs, government was obliged to act with great delicacy; for employing the military to suppress these rioters would have weakened the interest of the house of Hanover, and have rendered administration unpopular. They took a measure, however, which could not be justified even under such particular circumstances. Whig mobs were secretly encouraged; and the duke of Newcastle soon distinguished himself as the chief of a mob, called after him, which had more effect in driving the duke of Ormond out of the kingdom, and in checking the insolence of the tories, than the riot-act, or any other interposition of the civil power. The king now judged it proper to give this active supporter of his cause fresh marks of his royal favour, by creating him marquess and duke of Newcastle-under-line, in November, 1715.

In April, 1717, his grace was appointed lord-chamberlain of the household, on the promotion of the duke of Bolton to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland: and the following year he was elected one of the knight-companions of the Garter. In 1719 his majesty went to Hanover, and the duke of Newcastle was appointed one of the lords-justices, for the administration of the government during the king's absence. He enjoyed the same honour, upon similar occasions, at different times in the absence of George I. and George II. The duke held the post of lord-chamberlain till the month of April, 1724; when he resigned it, upon being appointed one of the principal secretaries of state, upon a change in the ministry.

His grace succeeded Lord Carteret, who was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland. At the same time, the duke's brother, Mr Henry Pelham, was appointed secretary at war; and from this period we may consider the two brothers as statesmen, whose united interest and abilities paved the way for their attainment of that plenitude of power which they enjoyed some years after. In 1726, his grace was chosen recorder of Nottingham, an honour at that time done to the duke; though, when he became first lord of the treasury, his continuing to hold office was a return of the compliment to the county.

The accession of George II., in 1727, made no alteration in the cabinet; all the great officers of state were continued, and the system of politics established by George I. was strictly adhered to for some time. Sir Robert Walpole was continued at the head of the treasury, and Lord-viscount Townshend was considered as the chief manager of foreign concerns; his great knowledge in treaties and negotiations, acquired on embassies to different courts, qualifying him for this department in preference to the duke of Newcastle, of whom we find very little notice taken in the annals of the first ten years of the reign of George II., except that he and his brother constantly and firmly supported Sir Robert Walpole until that statesman's power began to decline.

In the session of parliament in the year 1739, the duke of Newcastle was intrusted with a business of great importance. This was to lay before the house of peers a subsidy-treaty with the king of Denmark, by which his majesty had agreed to pay the Danish monarch £70,000 per annum, on condition that he should furnish Great Britain with a succour of 6000 men, at any time when they should be required. His



grace likewise undertook to deliver a message from the king, desiring the house would enable him to fulfil this engagement. This treaty, and the demand consequent to it, was violently attacked by the anti-ministerial peers, and particularly by Lord Carteret. But the duke exerted himself upon this occasion, and so forcibly pointed out the expediency of the measure—the nation being upon the eve of a war with Spain—that the treaty was approved, after a long and animated debate, by a considerable majority. In the house of commons the treaty met with very rough treatment from Sir William Wyndham and Pulteney, the leading members in opposition against Sir Robert Walpole's administration; but Henry Pelham supported it by plausible arguments, and the vote was carried.

Upon the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, in 1742, a mixed administration was formed. The earl of Wilmington was made first lord of the treasury; and Lord Carteret was appointed one of the principal secretaries of state, and had the greatest share of power in his department, so that this was called the Carteret administration. A ministry composed of some of the most violent members in the late opposition in both houses, of a few friends of the discarded premier, and of others who were forming a new opposition, in order to bring the Pelhams into power,—in short, a medley of whigs and tories,—could not be expected to act in concert, and therefore its dissolution was foretold almost as soon as it was established. The earl of Wilmington succeeded Sir Robert as first lord of the treasury; and Mr Sandys, his great opponent in the house of commons, filled his other office, being also appointed one of the treasury-board, and chancellor of the exchequer. The first measure of the new ministry was to gratify the popular wish, by setting on foot an inquiry into the conduct of affairs for twenty years past. A motion to appoint a committee for this purpose was brought into the house of commons on the 9th of March, by Lord-viscount Limerick, and was supported by Sir John St Aubyn, William Pitt, and Lord Percival. It was opposed by Sir Charles Wager, Henry Pelham, and Henry Fox; and, after a long debate, was rejected by a majority of two. However, on the 23d, a motion, varying only in its form, but having the same object in view, was carried by a majority of seven voices; and it was resolved, that a committee of secrecy should be chosen by ballot, to inquire into the conduct of Robert, earl of Orford, during the last ten years of his being first-commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer. But the opposition given to these motions, by Mr Pelham in the lower house, and to similar proceedings in the upper house, by the duke of Newcastle, plainly demonstrated that there was no concord in the new cabinet; and in the session of parliament of the following year, an opposition was formed in both houses, as formidable as that which had made the earl of Orford resign. Carteret must have resigned at this period, so great were the dissensions in parliament and in the cabinet, if the unexpected news of an intended invasion by the pretender's eldest son had not called upon all parties to unite in the common defence of their sovereign, and of the nation. In the meantime, the Newcastle interest had been greatly strengthened by the advancement of Henry Pelham to the head of the treasury, upon the death of the earl of Wilmington, in July, 1743, with which office he likewise held that of chancellor of the ex-



chequer: From this time the whig party in administration preponderated, and the tory interest, attached to Lord Carteret, declined; so that towards the end of 1744, when the nation was settled, and all alarms about the pretender were over, the projected invasion having miscarried, Lord Carteret threw up his post, and the seals of his office were given to Lord Harrington, who being brought in by the Pelhams, acted under them.

The administration of the brothers now commenced, Henry Pelham being considered as prime minister, and the duke of Newcastle as the second person in power and office in the state. The following year afforded the new administration an opportunity of acquiring great popularity by the well-concerted measures taken to suppress the rebellion in Scotland; a perfect harmony prevailed in both houses,—there was no division upon any ministerial business during the whole session of parliament,—and the victory gained at Culloden by the duke of Cumberland strengthened the public opinion of the new administration, by whose recommendation the duke had been appointed generalissimo of all the king's forces, and commander-in-chief against the rebels. The same entire approbation of the conduct of the Pelhams appeared in the succeeding session of parliament.

Such was the happy situation of affairs at home; but the bad success of our military operations in Flanders in the campaign of 1747, particularly by the defeat of the duke of Cumberland at the battle of Val, gave a handle for opposition at the next meeting of parliament, which was a new one. The king, in his speech from the throne, had mentioned that a congress would speedily be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for the purpose of a general pacification between all the belligerent powers. The congress accordingly took place in March, 1748; and had to surmount a variety of difficulties and obstructions, which the jarring interests of the contending parties had produced in the course of the negotiation; but these being finally adjusted, the preliminary articles of peace were signed on the 19th of April, and the definitive treaty on the 7th of October following. It was soon discovered, however, by the discontented at home, that the British ministers had been too precipitate in signing, and they were charged with aiming rather at acquiring a reputation for address and despatch, than endeavouring to render their work firm and durable. It was found, that no provision had been made by the treaty to secure the right of the British subjects to navigate the American seas, without being subject to search from the Spanish guarda-costas: and the disgraceful measure of sending two British noblemen to the court of France, to remain there as hostages for the restitution of Cape Breton, threw the nation into such a ferment, that if the Pelhams had not made themselves secure by forming a powerful interest gradually, before they took the lead in administration, they must have thrown up their posts, as many of their predecessors had done, in order to put a stop to the popular clamour which prevailed against them without doors. When the house proceeded to the estimate of the supply for the service of the year 1749, though a reduction had been made both of the land and sea forces upon the peace, they found that the sums absolutely necessary would amount to £8,000,000. The Pelhams, upon this occasion, showed the strength of their connections; for the expediency of granting the above mentioned supply was

maintained by Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, and Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, whose speeches contributed, in a great measure, to turn the scale, and prevent any division upon the question. This struggle being got over, and the people beginning to be more reconciled to the peace, the brothers turned their attention to a very popular measure, the cultivation and improvement of the long-neglected settlement of Nova Scotia. Though the settlement of this colony swelled the estimate of the supply for 1750, yet Mr Pelham met with no opposition in parliament.

He had now brought to maturity a scheme which had often been attempted, but had always miscarried, namely, a reduction of interest on the national debt, without violating the faith of parliament, or affecting public credit. No opportunity could be more favourable than that in which he carried into execution this great financial operation. A great number of individuals at home had amassed princely fortunes by the war; and vast numbers of foreigners, during the troubles of Europe, had kept their money locked up, not knowing how to employ it to advantage with any degree of security. These all showed an eagerness to invest their property in the English funds, and increased the number of purchasers so considerably, that the stocks rose; and money came in so fast from all quarters, that the interest of it upon the best security was little more than 3 per cent. Mr Pelham, judiciously availing himself of this crisis, moved for leave to bring in a bill for reducing the interest of the 4 per cent. annuities to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per seven years certain, and afterwards to 3 per cent. The minister took upon himself the whole stress of the debate upon this important subject; and he so fully convinced the house of the public advantages to be derived from the measure, that it was carried without much opposition. The few who refused to subscribe were paid off their principal and interest out of the sinking-fund; and thus this great national saving was happily effected; and an addition of near £600,000 per annum was made, after 1750, to the produce of the sinking-fund.

In the month of May, 1751, another public event took place, which does honour to the administration of the brothers: this was the alteration of the style,—a scheme projected by the earl of Macclesfield, but which, from the selfishness and prejudices of individuals, could never have been carried into execution, if the duke of Newcastle and Mr Pelham had not exerted the whole weight of their influence and interest in its support. The advantages to the trading part of the king's subjects, in their correspondence with foreign merchants, were self-evident; but the landed gentlemen were at first apprehensive of difficulties with regard to the expiration of leases, the payment of rents, &c. The framers of the bill, having obviated every objection of this nature, by the great perspicuity of the provisions in the act, it passed with general approbation, and took place from the 1st of January, 1752: from which time, it was enacted, that that day should be deemed the first of every ensuing year, throughout all his majesty's dominions, and not the 25th of March, which had hitherto been considered as the first day of the year of most covenants and contracts, as well mercantile as others. By this new law it was also decreed, that the eleven intermediate nominal days, between the second and fourteenth days of September, 1752,



should for that time be omitted, so that the day succeeding the second should be denominated the fourteenth of that month.

A more unpopular measure was the new marriage-act. Though Lord Hardwicke framed the bill, yet the principal supporter of it was Mr Pelham, who was led to support it from a domestic circumstance but little known, and therefore not mentioned in the annals of his time. At this period public breakfastings and balls in the morning, at sundry houses of entertainment in the environs of London, were in vogue. The places most frequented by persons of distinction, were Ruckholt-house in Essex, and Putney bowling-green-house. The company could not fail of being miscellaneous, where money procured admission at the door; and it so happened, that a sharper danced with the earl of Tilney's sister at Ruckholt-house, engaged her affections, and was on the point of being clandestinely married to the lady, when fortunately his character was discovered. Nearly a similar event happened to Miss Pelham, sister to Henry Pelham. This lady found an amiable partner at Putney bowling-green-house, with whom she frequently danced, and thence an intimacy commenced which terminated in a declaration of love on the part of the gentleman, which was so favourably received by Miss Pelham, that she invited him to her brother's house, where he made her several visits, and had absolutely gained her consent to marry him, when a general officer accidentally paying her a visit one afternoon, while the gallant was there, knew him to be Maclane, the famous highwayman, who had robbed him twice on the highway! An explanation ensued, the adventurer retired with great precipitation; and the general, finding that his discovery did not make that strong impression upon Miss Pelham's mind which might have been expected, flew to Mr Pelham, and laid the whole matter before him, which determined the minister to promote the marriage-act. This was the last public business, worthy of notice, in which Henry Pelham was concerned; for no material transaction happened in the session of parliament opened on the 15th November, 1753; and in the beginning of March, 1754, this able statesman died, lamented by his sovereign, and regretted by the nation, who readily forgave his errors, in consideration of his integrity, disinterestedness, and candour.

The duke of Newcastle, a greatly inferior man, succeeded his brother as first lord of the treasury, and Sir Thomas Robinson received the seals of the secretary of state held by his grace. The office of chancellor of the exchequer was soon after conferred on Mr Legge. Lord-chief-justice Lee dying likewise in the course of the summer, Sir Dudley Rider was promoted to his vacant seat; and Mr Murray was made attorney-general.

The French having increased the encroachments they had been gradually making on the British subjects in the back settlements of North America, and the court of Versailles having given only evasive answers to the complaints made on that subject, the duke of Newcastle, in council, advised vigorous measures; in consequence of which, peremptory orders were sent to the British governors and to the commanders of our forces in those parts, to drive the French from their settlements on the river Ohio. Thus the war of 1756 was commenced on our part, by way of reprisals for hostilities committed by the French

long before, in direct violation of the treaty of peace. Contrary to that general candour and integrity, for which the British nation has been remarkable in all her transactions with foreign powers, the customary formality of declaring war was unjustifiably delayed; and, in the autumn of 1755, when France least expected such a blow, a resolution was taken in council to seize all French ships, whether merchantmen or men-of-war, and to bring them into the British ports. The policy and spirit of this measure were highly applauded by the nation in general, the people being fired with resentment at the perfidious conduct of the court of France, in authorizing hostilities and encroachments in North America; but still it was an act of piracy, highly unbecoming the dignity of this nation. On the 13th of November the parliament met, when the treaty with Hesse Cassel for troops intended to be employed for the defence of Hanover, was warmly and justly opposed in the house of lords by Earl Temple and others, as involving the nation in a continental quarrel and expense for the defence of the king's dominions, not belonging to the crown of Great Britain; but the treaty was, in the end, approved by a great majority. In the lower house, Pitt and Legge opposed the treaty.

Fox and his friends were now introduced into different departments of the government. However, the controlling direction of public affairs, both at home and abroad, was pretty equally divided between the duke of Newcastle and Mr Fox. Information had been sent from General Blakeney to Mr Fox, of the design of the French to attack Minorca, so early as the 7th of February, 1756; and advising the ministry to send him such assistance as might enable him to put that island in a proper state of defence. These hints they totally disregarded, being so destitute of good intelligence from France, that they believed all the preparations of that court were destined for the invasion of Great Britain; and, under colour of protecting the kingdom against this idle project, they advised his majesty to send for a body of Hessian troops; and such expedition was used, that, before the end of May, both the Hessians and the Hanoverians arrived, and were encamped in different parts of England. The people, in general, were highly exasperated to see Great Britain reduced to such distress, as to be obliged to commit the custody of their lives and fortunes to auxiliaries; while a scheme for raising a national militia, brought into the house early in the session by Mr Charles Townshend, had been rejected. By this time, certain advice was received from France, that the Toulon fleet was destined for Minorca; but the ministry were still ignorant of its force. However, a fleet was prepared, and set sail from Spithead on the 7th of April, under the command of Admiral Byng. The fate of this expedition and its unfortunate commander has been already related. The sacrifice of the unfortunate admiral, intended to appease the popular clamour, only served to increase it. Instructions were now sent by a great number of corporations to their representatives, against the next session of parliament, requiring them to promote a strict scrutiny into the causes of the miscarriages of the war, and into the application of large sums granted at last session. Addresses, complaining of the mismanagement of public affairs, were promoted in all parts of the kingdom, and a great many were carried up to the throne; and persons of all ranks publicly expressing their wishes to see the direction of



affairs in other hands, his majesty desired the duke of Newcastle to resign for the present, assuring his grace, at the same time, that he should be reinstated as soon as an opportunity should arise to propose a coalition of parties. Agreeably to this plan the duke of Newcastle retired, and the duke of Devonshire was appointed first lord of the treasury; Mr Legge was restored to his former post of chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Sir George Lyttleton; Earl Temple was made first lord of the admiralty, instead of Lord Anson, and Mr Fox resigned the seals of secretary of state to Mr Pitt, the idol of the people, who stipulated for the removal of Lord-chancellor Hardwicke.

The first object of the new ministry was to advise the king to send back the Hanoverian troops; the next was to form a plan for pursuing more vigorous measures in the conduct of the war; and the third to carry the militia-bill into a law; all which they effected between the month of November, 1756, when they came into power, and the month of January, 1757. The party against administration, however, had such influence in the council and the senate, that, to the surprise of the whole nation, they found means to turn them out of office in the midst of their assiduous endeavours to restore the honour and credit of the nation, and to lessen the public expense, by reducing the enormous salaries of the great officers, and abolishing a number of useless places. The king demanded the seals of Mr Pitt in April; the next day Mr Legge resigned, and with him Earl Temple. The office of chancellor of the exchequer was now put into the hands of Lord Mansfield, *pro tempore*, and the nation was in a general alarm. Mr Pitt and Mr Legge received addresses of thanks from the city of London, with their freedom in gold boxes, as an honorary reward for their integrity and wisdom during their short administration; and both the king and the new ministry saw the impossibility of carrying on the war, in the present disposition of the people, without them. Lord Mansfield with great diligence endeavoured to reconcile the chiefs of the contending parties, and, by a general coalition, to settle a permanent ministry, not liable to be harassed by opposition. His design so far took effect; a compromise was made; some of each party were taken into the public service, and the following arrangement adopted. The duke of Newcastle was restored to his office of first lord of the treasury; Mr Legge was reinstated chancellor of the exchequer; Mr Pitt was appointed principal secretary of state for the southern provinces, and was considered as the minister; Lord Temple was made lord privy-seal; Lord Anson presided again at the head of the admiralty; and Mr Fox was appointed paymaster-general. Sir Robert Henley, of Mr Fox's party, was made keeper of the great seal; and the inferior offices of state were equally distributed amongst the friends of the duke of Newcastle, Mr Pitt, and Mr Fox, the three political commanders-in-chief. This event took place in the latter end of June, 1757.

All animosities now appeared to have ceased; former mistakes were buried in oblivion; and each department of administration for a time exerted itself solely for the public good. But, in 1762, a total change of the ministry took place, through the influence of the earl of Bute, who, upon Mr Pitt's resignation in 1761, was made principal secretary of state. This new favourite had artfully remained in the trifling post of groom of the stole, from the accession of his majesty in 1760, till he

found an opportunity of putting in practice the old Machiavelian maxim, "divide and rule." For this purpose he employed two years in studying Mr Pitt's character; and finding that the foible of that minister was impetuosity of temper, he strengthened his own interest in the cabinet, and obtained a full determination against Mr Pitt on the affair of declaring war against Spain in 1761, upon certain intelligence he had received of the intentions of the court of Madrid to assist France. Mr Pitt and Mr Legge both resigned upon this occasion, and then the only obstacle to the possession of that plenitude of power the earl of Bute aimed at was the duke of Newcastle. During a great part of the last reign, the duke, his family, and friends, had enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign, and the chief direction of public affairs. But his advanced age, and his situation, had prevented his having any opportunity to cultivate a personal interest with his present majesty. His continuance at the head of the treasury, after the accession, was therefore extremely precarious, because he did not possess the royal confidence; and the person who had it, considering that department as the chief seat of power, contrived to tire the patience of the duke, by repeated mortifications, till he was obliged to resign. Lord Bute was now appointed first lord of the treasury, and soon cleared every department in the state of the friends of the duke of Newcastle. His animosity, or want of political abilities, however, proved the bane of his own power; and his short-lived administration, which lasted little more than a year, was marked with violence and injustice. Even clerks in office, whose salaries did not exceed £50 per annum, were turned out of their employments, and left destitute of all provision, without so much as the shadow of any charge against them. This conduct, and the popular disapprobation of the peace, forced him to retire from all public business towards the close of the year 1763.

In the year 1765, when the Rockingham administration was formed by the duke of Cumberland, his royal highness advised them to strengthen their interest, by taking in the duke of Newcastle. His grace was accordingly appointed lord-privy-seal, which he resigned the following year to his old colleague in office, the earl of Chatham. His grace now resolved to quit the court and all public business; upon which occasion his majesty offered him a pension; but though he had greatly injured his private fortune, by devoting great part of an income of £50,000 per annum to the establishment of George I, he nobly refused to disgrace his birth and character, and scorned to become a burden either to the king or to the nation by taking a pension. His grace passed the remainder of his days in retirement, enjoying the company of his numerous friends, and the satisfaction of being considered as the most disinterested patriot of the age. In the year 1768, his health began visibly to decline, and he was soon in great danger. On the 17th of November, he desired to receive the sacrament, which was administered to him by the bishop of Salisbury; and in a few hours after he paid the debt of nature. His grace dying without issue, the title of duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne became extinct; but that of Newcastle-under-line, conferred upon him in 1756, with remainder in the female line, devolved to the late duke, who married Henry Pelham's eldest daughter.

"The duke of Newcastle," says Glover, "was a man of whom no one ever spoke with cordial regard,—of parts and conduct which



generally drew animadversions bordering on contempt,—of notorious insincerity, political cowardice, and servility to the highest and lowest. Yet insincere without gall,—ambitious without pride,—luxurious, jovial, hospitable to all men,—of an exorbitant estate,—affable, forgetful of offences, and profuse of his favours, indiscriminately to all his adherents,—he had established a faction by far the most powerful in the country: hence he derived that influence which encouraged his unworthy pretensions to ministerial power. Nor was he less indebted to his experience of a court,—a long practice in all its craft, whence he had acquired a certain art of imposition, that in every negotiation with the most popular leaders, however superior to himself in understanding, from the instant they began to depart from ingenuous and public principles, he never missed his advantage, nor failed of making them his property at last, and himself their master.”<sup>1</sup> This is severe enough; but the reader may be gratified by comparing it with another portrait by one who had superior opportunities of studying this extraordinary character. “The duke of Newcastle,” says Lord Waldegrave, “is in his thirty-fifth year of ministerial longevity; has been much abused, much flattered, and still more ridiculed. From the year 1724 to the year 42 he was secretary of state, acting under Sir Robert Walpole; he continued in the same station during Lord Granville’s short administration; but Granville, who had the parts and knowledge, yet had not, at all times, the discretion of an able minister, treated him with too much contempt; especially as he wanted his assistance in the house of commons, where he had little interest of his own. After Granville’s defeat, the duke of Newcastle and Mr Pelham became joint ministers: here he seems to have reached the highest degree of power where he can reasonably hope to maintain himself. Ambition, fear, and jealousy, are his prevailing passions. In the midst of prosperity and apparent happiness, the slightest disappointment or any imaginary evil, will, in a moment, make him miserable: his mind can never be composed; his spirits are always agitated. Yet this constant ferment, which would wear out and destroy any other man, is perfectly agreeable to his constitution: he is at the very perfection of health when his fever is at the greatest height. His character is full of inconsistencies; the man would be thought very singular who differed as much from the rest of the world as he differs from himself. If we consider how many years he has continued in the highest employments; that he has acted a very considerable part amongst the most considerable persons of his own time; that, when his friends have been routed, he has still maintained his ground; that he has incurred his Majesty’s displeasure on various occasions, but has always carried his point, and has soon been restored both to favour and confidence; it cannot be denied that he possesses some qualities of an able minister. Yet view him in a different light, and our veneration will be somewhat abated. Talk with him concerning public or private business, of a nice or delicate nature, he will be found confused, irresolute, continually rambling from the subject, contradicting himself almost every instant. Hear him speak in parliament, his manner is ungraceful, his language barbarous, his reasoning inconclusive. At the same time, he labours through all the

<sup>1</sup> Political Memoirs, p. 105, 106.

confusion of a debate without the least distrust of his own abilities ; fights boldly in the dark ; never gives up the cause ; nor is he ever at a loss either for words or argument. His professions and promises are not to be depended on, though, at the time they are made, he often means to perform them ; but is unwilling to displease any man by a plain negative, and frequently does not recollect that he is under the same engagements to at least ten competitors. If he cannot be esteemed a steady friend, he has never shown himself a bitter enemy ; and his forgiveness of injuries proceeds as much from good nature as it does from policy. Pride is not to be numbered amongst his faults ; on the contrary, he deviates into the opposite extreme, and courts popularity with such extravagant eagerness, that he frequently descends to an undistinguishing and illiberal familiarity. Neither can he be accused of avarice, or of rapaciousness ; for though he will give bribes, he is above accepting them ; and, instead of having enriched himself at the expense of his master, or of the public, he has greatly impaired a very considerable estate by electioneering, and keeping up a good parliamentary interest, which is commonly, though perhaps improperly, called the service of the crown. His extraordinary care of his health is a jest even amongst his flatterers. As to his jealousy, it could not be carried to a higher pitch if every political friend was a favourite mistress. He is in his sixty-fourth or sixty-fifth year, yet thirsts for power in a future reign with the greatest solicitude ; and hereafter, should he live to see a prince of Wales of a year old, he will still look forward, not without expectation that in due course of time he may be his minister also."

## Arthur Onslow.

BORN A. D. 1691.—DIED A. D. 1768.

ARTHUR ONSLOW was born in the year 1691. He represented the borough of Guildford in the house of commons from 1719 till 1726, in which latter year he was returned for the county of Surrey. He represented that county, and also filled the speaker's chair, during the session of 1726-7, and four succeeding parliaments.

In 1728 he was made a privy-councillor. Queen Caroline appointed him her chancellor in May, 1729 ; and in 1734 he was appointed treasurer of the navy. He resigned the latter office in 1743 ; but he continued speaker of the house of commons until his age and infirmities compelled him to retire in 1761. He received the thanks of the house for his long and excellent services, and a grant of £3000 a-year during his own life, and that of his son, afterwards Earl of Onslow. The citizens of London also presented him with the freedom of the city, "as a grateful testimony of the respectful love and veneration which they entertained for his person and distinguished virtues." He died on the 17th of February, 1768.

Few persons have filled the chair of the house of commons with so much fairness and general acceptability as Onslow. His integrity was proverbial. It is said that when gently reminded by the minister, that his influence had placed him in that chair, he replied, "that although he considered himself under obligation to Sir Robert Walpole, yet he



had always a certain feeling about him when he occupied the speaker's chair, that prevented him from being of any party whatever." Browne Willis, however, says that Onslow needed no such patronage; for he was elected speaker "by as unanimous a concurrence of all the members in general, as any of them had been by their constituents in general."

Onslow was a man of considerable learning, and some scientific knowledge. He was the patron of Bowyer, Richardson, and several authors of the day.

## George, Lord Lyttelton.

BORN A. D. 1708.—DIED A. D. 1773.

THIS nobleman claimed descent from one of the most ancient families in the kingdom. His ancestors had possessions in the vale of Evesham, Worcestershire, in the reign of Henry III., particularly at South Lyttelton, from which place some antiquarians have asserted they took their name. The great Judge Lyttelton, in the reign of Henry IV., was one of this family; and from him descended Sir Thomas Lyttelton, who was appointed a lord of the admiralty in the year 1727. This gentleman married Christian, daughter of Sir Richard Temple, and maid of honour to Queen Anne, by whom he had six sons and six daughters, the eldest of whom, George, afterwards created Lord Lyttelton, was born at Hagley, in Worcestershire, in the year 1708.

He received the elements of his education at Eton school, where he showed an early inclination to poetry. His pastorals, and some other light pieces, were originally written in that seminary of learning, whence he was removed to the university of Oxford, where he pursued his classical studies with uncommon avidity, and sketched the plan of his 'Persian Letters,' a work which afterwards procured him great reputation, not only from the elegance of the language in which they were composed, but from the ingenious observations they contained on men and manners.

In the year 1728 he set out on the tour of Europe. On his arrival at Paris he accidentally became acquainted with the honourable Mr Poyntz, then our minister at the court of Versailles, who was so struck with the extraordinary capacity he displayed, that he invited him to his house, and employed him in many political negotiations, which he executed with great judgment and fidelity. During his continuance abroad, he constantly corresponded with Sir Thomas, his father; several of his letters are yet remaining, which place his filial affection in a very pleasing light. He soon after returned to his native country, and was elected representative for the borough of Okehampton in Devonshire, and behaved so much to the satisfaction of his constituents, that they several times re-elected him for the same place, without putting him to the least expense.

About this period he received many marks of friendship from Frederick, prince of Wales, who, in the year 1737, appointed him his principal secretary, and continued in the strictest intimacy with him till the time of his death. In the year 1742, he married Lucy, daughter of

Hugh Fortescue of Filleigh, Esq. in the county of Devon, a lady whose exemplary conduct, and uniform practice of religion and virtue, established his conjugal happiness upon the most solid basis. In 1744 he was appointed one of the lord-commissioners of the treasury, and during his continuance in that station constantly exerted his influence in rewarding merit and ability. He was the friend and patron of Fielding, Thomson, author of the 'Seasons;' Mallet, Young, Hammond, West, and Pope. On the death of Thomson, who left his affairs in a very embarrassed condition, Mr Lyttelton took the poet's sister under his protection. He revised the tragedy of 'Coriolanus,' which Thomson had not put the last hand to, and brought it out at the theatre royal in Covent-garden, with a prologue of his own writing, in which he so affectingly lamented the loss of that delightful bard, that not only Quin, who spoke the lines, but almost the whole audience, spontaneously burst into tears.

In the beginning of the year 1746 his felicity was interrupted by the loss of his wife, who died in the 29th year of her age, leaving him one son, Thomas, and a daughter, Lucy, who married Lord Viscount Valentia.

His masterly observations on the 'Conversion and Apostleship of St Paul' were written at the desire of Gilbert West, Esq. in consequence of Mr Lyttelton asserting, that, beside all the proofs of the Christian religion, which might be drawn from the prophecies of the Old Testament, from the necessary connection it has with the whole system of the Jewish religion, from the miracles of Christ, and from the evidence given of his resurrection by all the other apostles, he thought the conversion of St Paul alone, duly considered, was of itself a demonstration sufficient to prove Christianity to be a divine revelation. Mr West was struck with the thought, and assured his friend, that so compendious a proof would be of great use. Time has shown he was not wrong in his conjecture, as the tract is esteemed one of the best defences of Christianity which has hitherto been published.

In 1754 he resigned his office of lord of the treasury, and was made cofferer to his majesty's household, and sworn of the privy-council: previous to which he married a second time, Elizabeth, daughter of Field-marshal Sir Robert Rich, whose indiscreet conduct gave him great uneasiness, and from whom he was separated, by mutual consent, a few years after his marriage. After filling the offices of chancellor and under-treasurer of the court of exchequer, he was, by letters-patent, dated 19th November, 1757, created a peer of Great Britain, by the style and title of Lord Lyttelton, Baron of Frankley, in the county of Worcester.

His speeches in both houses of parliament, upon sundry occasions, exhibit strong marks of genius, sound judgment, and incorruptible integrity. His oration in the house of commons on the motion for the repeal of the Jew bill, in the session of parliament of 1753, is a model of composition. The last speech which added to his reputation, as a senator and orator, was delivered in the session of 1763, upon a debate concerning the privileges of parliament, in which he supported the dignity of the peerage with a depth of knowledge that surprised the oldest peers present. From about this period to that of his death his lordship courted retirement; and, in the enjoyment of a select society



of friends, he had an opportunity of exercising those literary talents for which he was so eminent: he now found leisure to correspond with many of his learned friends, and to finish his 'Dialogues of the Dead.'

In the month of July, 1773, this accomplished nobleman was suddenly seized with an inflammation in his bowels, which in a few days deprived the world of one of its most exalted characters. His last moments exhibited a pleasing, though an affecting scene; it was such as the exit of the great and good man alone can present. A complete collection of all his lordship's miscellaneous works was published after his death, in three volumes 8vo., by his nephew, George Ayscough, Esq. His 'History of Henry the Second' is a very impartial and valuable work. His anxiety with regard to the correctness of this production appears to have been remarkable. The whole work was printed twice over; many parts of it were passed three times, and some sheets four or five times, through the press. Three volumes of the history appeared in 1764; a second edition of them in 1767; a third in 1768; and the conclusion was published in 1771.

Lord Lyttelton's son and successor, a man of some talent but profligate manners, asserted, shortly before his death, that an apparition had not only warned him of his approaching decease, but had indicated the precise time when it would take place. It is said that he expired within a few minutes of the hour which he had mentioned as having been indicated by his unearthly visitant; and, for a considerable period, this was considered the best authenticated ghost story extant. But it has lately been stated, that Lord Lyttelton having resolved to take poison, there was no miracle in the tolerably accurate fulfilment of the prediction he had promulgated. "It was no doubt singular," says Sir Walter Scott, in one of his amusing letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, "that a man, who meditated his exit from the world, should have chosen to play such tricks upon his friends: but it is still more credible that a whimsical man should do so wild a thing, than that a messenger should be sent from the dead to tell a libertine at what precise hour he should expire."

## Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield.

BORN A. D. 1694.—DIED A. D. 1773.

THIS celebrated nobleman, of whom Dr Johnson once remarked, "that he was a wit among lords, but a lord among wits," was the eldest son of Philip, third earl of Chesterfield, by Lady Elizabeth Saville, daughter of the celebrated marquess of Halifax. He was born in London, on the 22d of September, 1694, and prosecuted his studies under private tutors until the eighteenth year of his age, when he was sent to Trinity college, Cambridge. Prior to attaining majority, he quitted the university, and made the tour of Europe without a governor.

In 1715 he became a gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales, and about the same time, took his seat in the house of commons as member for St Germans, in Cornwall. He tells us, "that he spoke in parliament the first month he was in it, and from the day

he was elected to the day he spoke, thought and dreamed of nothing but speaking." By a few months' residence at the Hague, in the interval between his leaving the university and the meeting of parliament, he had worn off the rust of his college pedantry. Frequenting the court, introducing himself into the best company, attentively studying and imitating the free, unaffected air, manners, and conversation of people of the first distinction; and, amongst these, of such especially as were remarkable for their politeness, were the means he made use of to familiarize himself to the great world. To a strong desire of pleasing, he added a fund of good humour, and great vivacity. With these qualifications he entered the senate, where it was soon discovered that he possessed talents to render him conspicuous.

On patriotic principles he espoused the cause of George I., and stood foremost in the ranks of those who tendered their lives and fortunes in support of his person and government, against the designs of the pretender and his adherents. In 1726 he succeeded to the title and peerage of earl of Chesterfield, on the demise of his father; and, in the course of the following year, soon after the accession of George II., he was sworn in one of his majesty's privy-council.

In the year 1728 his lordship was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the states-general, which high station he supported with great dignity. Upon his return to England in 1730, he was elected a knight-companion of the garter, and appointed steward of the household; and the same year he went back to the Hague with his former character. The following winter, in consequence of some misrepresentation of his conduct as lord-steward of the household, soon after his return from the Hague, a misunderstanding arose between his lordship and the king, which ended in his resignation of office. He now retired to his country-seat in Derbyshire. About the same time, his lordship married Lady Melosina de Schulenberg, countess of Walsingham, the natural daughter of George I. by the duchess of Kendal and Munster.

In the session of parliament in 1733, his lordship distinguished himself by the active part he took in all the important business of that period. In a warm debate he opposed the reduction of the army,—he strenuously opposed the excise-bill,—he supported the motion for ordering the directors of the South sea company to deliver in an account of the disposal of the forfeited estates of the directors in 1720,—and, upon the failure of another motion to appoint a committee to examine into the affairs of that company ever since the year 1720, he drew up and entered a spirited protest, which was signed by several other lords. In the spring of the year 1734, the duke of Marlborough brought a bill into the house of peers to prevent officers of the army being deprived of their commissions otherwise than by sentence of a court-martial; at the same time, the duke moved for an address to his majesty, to know who advised him to deprive the duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham of their régiments, for having voted in parliament against the measures of the ministry. Lord Chesterfield warmly seconded the motion and supported the bill; but they were both rejected by a great majority. In the following session he took the part of the six Scotch noblemen who presented a petition to the house of peers, complaining of an undue election of the sixteen peers to sit in parliament, and maintained their claim with uncommon spirit.



In 1737 Lord Chesterfield gave great disgust to the court by his speech in favour of the motion to address his majesty to settle £100,000 per annum on his royal highness, Frederick, prince of Wales. But his most remarkable speech in this session was against the bill for subjecting plays to the inspection and license of the lord-chamberlain. A bill to this effect had been brought into the lower house by Sir Robert Walpole, who had got into his possession the manuscript of a comedy designed for the stage, which was replete with the bitterest sarcasms upon administration. The bill was calculated to prevent all personal satire against public men, and it was well-contrived for the purpose, by subjecting all new pieces to a license from an officer of the court, who, *ex officio*, must be in the interest of the minister. It passed the lower house by a majority of two to one. In the upper house, upon a motion for committing it, after speaking of the precipitancy with which the bill had passed the house of commons, and of its being pushed into an empty house of lords at the end of a session, his lordship thus proceeds:—"I have gathered from common talk, while this bill was moving in the lower house, that a play was offered to the theatre, in order to be exhibited, which, if my account be right, was truly of a most scandalous and flagitious nature. What was the effect? Why, the manager to whom it was offered not only refused to act it, but carried it to a certain person in the administration, as a sure method to have it suppressed. Could this be the occasion of the bill? Surely no. The caution of the players could never occasion a law to restrain them; it is an argument in their favour, and a very material one, in my opinion, against the bill. It is to me a proof, that the laws are not only sufficient to deter them from acting what they know would offend, but also to punish them in case they should do it.

"My lords, I must own I have observed of late a remarkable licentiousness on the stage. There were two plays acted last winter—'Pasquin' and 'Charles I.'—that one would have thought should have given the greatest offence, and yet they were suffered without any censure whatever. In one of these plays the author thought fit to represent religion, physic, and the law, as inconsistent with common sense. The other was founded on a story, very unfit for theatrical entertainment at this time of day; a story so recent in the eyes of Englishmen, and of so solemn a nature, that it ought to be touched upon only in the pulpit. The stage may want regulation, the stage may have it, and yet be kept within bounds without a new law for that purpose.

"Every unnecessary restraint on licentiousness is a fetter upon the legs, is a shackle on the hands of Liberty. One of the greatest blessings we enjoy, one of the greatest blessings a people can enjoy, is liberty; but every good in this life has its alloy of evil. Licentiousness is the alloy of liberty; it is an ebullition, an excrescence; it is a speck upon the eye of the political body, which I can never touch but with a gentle, with a trembling hand, lest I destroy the body, lest I injure the eye upon which it is apt to appear. If the stage becomes at any time licentious, if a play appears to be a libel upon the government, or upon any particular man, the king's courts are open, the laws are sufficient for punishing the offender; and, in this case, the person injured has a singular advantage; he can be under no difficulty to prove who is the publisher, and there can be no want of evidence to convict him.

But, my lords, suppose it true, that the laws now in being are not sufficient for putting a check to, or preventing the licentiousness of the stage: suppose it absolutely necessary some new laws should be made for that purpose, yet it must be granted that such a law ought to be maturely considered; and every clause, every sentence, nay, every word of it well-weighed and examined, lest, under some of those methods presumed or pretended to be necessary for restraining licentiousness, a power should be concealed, which might be afterwards made use of for giving a dangerous wound to liberty. Such a law ought not to be introduced at the close of a session; nor ought we, in the passing of such a law, to depart from any of the forms prescribed by our ancestors for preventing deceit and surprise. There is such a connection between licentiousness and liberty, that it is not easy to correct the one, without dangerously wounding the other. It is extremely hard to distinguish the true limit between them. Like a changeable silk, we can easily see there are two different colours, but we cannot easily discover where the one ends or the other begins. There can be no great and immediate danger from the licentiousness of the stage. I hope it will not be pretended that our government may, before next winter, be overturned by such licentiousness, even though our stage were at present under no sort of legal control. Why then may we not delay till next session passing any law against the licentiousness of the stage? Neither our government can be altered, nor our constitution overturned, by such a delay; but by passing a law rashly and unadvisedly, our constitution may at once be destroyed, and our government rendered arbitrary. Can we then put a small, a short-lived inconvenience, in the balance with perpetual slavery? Can it be supposed that a parliament of Great Britain will so much as risk the latter for the sake of avoiding the former? Surely, my lords, this is not to be expected, were the licentiousness of the stage much greater than it is, were the insufficiency of our laws more obvious than can be pretended; but when we complain of the licentiousness of the stage, and of the insufficiency of our laws, I fear we have more reason to complain of bad measures in our polity, and a general decay of virtue and morality among the people. In public, as well as private life, the only way to prevent being ridiculed or censured, is to avoid all ridiculous or wicked measures, and to pursue such only as are virtuous and worthy. The people never endeavour to ridicule those they love and esteem, nor will they suffer them to be ridiculed: if any one attempts it, the ridicule returns upon the author; he makes himself only the object of public hatred and contempt. The actions or behaviour of a private man may pass unobserved, and consequently unapplauded, uncensured; but the actions of those in high stations can neither pass without notice, nor without censure or applause; and, therefore, an administration without esteem, without authority among the people, let their power be never so great, let their power be never so arbitrary, will be ridiculed. The severest edicts, the most terrible punishments, cannot entirely prevent it.

“If any man, therefore, thinks he has been censured, if any man thinks he has been ridiculed upon any of our public theatres, let him examine his actions, he will find the cause; let him alter his conduct, he will find a remedy. As no man is perfect, as no man is infallible, the greatest may err, the most circumspect may be guilty of some piece



of ridiculous behaviour. It is no licentiousness, it is an useful liberty always indulged the stage in a free country, that some great men may there meet with a just reproof, which none of their friends will be free enough, or rather faithful enough, to give them. When a man has the misfortune to incur the hatred or contempt of the people, when public measures are despised, the audience will apply what never was, what could not be designed, as a satire on the present times. Nay, even though the people should not apply, those who are conscious of guilt, those who are conscious of the wickedness or weakness of their own conduct, will take to themselves what the author never designed. A public thief is as apt to take the satire, as he is apt to take the money which was never designed him. We have an instance of this in a famous comedian of the last age,—a comedian, who was not only a good poet, but an honest man, and a quiet and good subject. The famous Moliere, when he wrote his 'Tartuffe,' which is certainly an excellent and a good moral comedy, did not design to satirize any great man of that age; yet a great man in France at that time took it to himself, and fancied the author had taken him as a model for one of the principal, and one of the worst characters in that comedy. By good luck he was not the licenser, otherwise the kingdom of France had never had the pleasure, the happiness I may say, of seeing that play acted; but when the players first proposed to act it at Paris, he had interest enough to get it forbidden. Moliere, who knew himself innocent of what was laid to his charge, complained to his patron, the prince of Conti, that, as his play was designed only to expose hypocrisy and a false pretence of religion, it was very hard it should be forbidden being acted, when, at the same time, they were suffered to expose religion itself every night publicly on the Italian stage. To which the prince wittily answered, 'It is true, Moliere, Harlequin ridicules heaven, and exposes religion; but you have done much worse; you have ridiculed the first minister of religion.' My lords, the proper business of the stage, and that for which only it is useful, is to expose those vices and follies which the laws cannot lay hold of; and to recommend those beauties and virtues which ministers and courtiers seldom either imitate or reward; but, by laying it under a license, and under an arbitrary court-license too, you will, in my opinion, entirely prevent its use; for though I have the greatest esteem for that noble duke, in whose hands this power is at present designed to fall; though I have an entire confidence in his judgment and impartiality, yet I may suppose, that a leaning towards the fashions of a court is sometimes hard to be avoided. It may be very difficult to make one who is every day at court believe that to be a vice or a folly, which he sees daily practised by those he loves and esteems. By custom, even deformity itself becomes familiar, and at last agreeable. To such a person, let his natural impartiality be never so great, that may appear to be a libel against the court, which is only a most just and a most necessary satire upon the fashionable vices and follies of the court. Courtiers, my lords, are too polite to reprove one another; the only place where they can meet with any just reproof is a free, though not a licentious stage; and as every sort of vice and folly, generally in all countries, begins at court, and from thence spreads through the country, by laying the stage under an arbitrary court-license, instead of leaving it what it is, and always ought to be, a gentle scourge

for the vices of great men and courtiers, you will make it a canal for propagating and conveying their vices and follies through the whole kingdom. From hence, my lords, I think it must appear, that the bill now before us cannot so properly be called a bill for restraining the licentiousness, as it may be called a bill for restraining the liberty of the stage, and for restraining it too in that branch, which, in all countries, has been most useful; therefore, I must look upon the bill as a most dangerous encroachment upon liberty in general. Nay, farther, my lords, it is not only an encroachment upon liberty, but it is likewise an encroachment upon property.

“ Wit, my lords, is a sort of property of those that have it, and too often the only property they have to depend on. Thank God! we, my lords, have a dependence of another kind; we have a much less precarious support, and, therefore, cannot feel the inconveniences of the bill now before us; but it is our duty to encourage and protect wit, whosoever’s property it may be. Those gentlemen who have any such property are all, I hope, our friends; do not let us subject them to any unnecessary or arbitrary restraint. I must own I cannot easily agree to the laying any tax upon wit; but by this bill it is to be heavily taxed, it is to be excised; for, if this bill passes, it cannot be retailed in a proper way without a permit; and the lord-chamberlain is to have the honour of being chief-gauger, supervisor, commissioner, judge, and jury. But what is still more hard, though the poor author, the proprietor I should say, cannot perhaps dine till he has found out and agreed with a purchaser, he must patiently submit to have his goods rummaged at this new excise office, where they may be detained for fourteen days, and even then he may find them returned as prohibited goods, by which his chief and best market will be for ever shut against him, and that without any cause, without the least shadow of reason, either from the laws of his country, or the laws of the stage. These hardships, this hazard, which every gentleman will be exposed to who writes any thing for the stage, must certainly prevent every man of a generous and free spirit from attempting any thing in that way; and, as the stage has always been the proper channel for wit and humour, therefore, my lords, when I speak against this bill, I must think I plead the cause of wit, I plead the cause of humour, I plead the cause of the British stage, and of every gentleman of taste in the kingdom. But it is not, my lords, for the sake of wit only; even for the sake of his majesty’s lord-chamberlain I must be against this bill. The noble duke, who has now the honour to execute that office, has, I am sure, as little an inclination to disoblige as any man; but, if this bill passes, he must disoblige; he may disoblige some of his most intimate friends. It is impossible to write a play, but some of the characters, or some of the satire, may be interpreted so as to point to some person or another, perhaps at some person in an eminent station. When it comes to be acted, the people will make the application; and the person against whom the application is made will think himself injured, and will at least privately resent it. At present this resentment can be directed only against the author; but when an author’s play appears with my lord-chamberlain’s passport, every such resentment will be turned from the author, and point directly against the lord-chamberlain, who, by his stamp, made the piece current. What an unthankful office are we,



therefore, by this bill, to put upon his majesty's lord-chamberlain ! an office which can no way contribute to his honour or profit, and yet such a one as must necessarily gain him a great deal of ill-will, and create him a number of enemies. The last reason I shall trouble your lordships with, for my being against the bill, is, that, in my opinion, it will no way answer the end proposed, I mean the end openly proposed ; and I am sure the only end which your lordships proposed. To prevent the acting of a play which has any tendency to blasphemy, immorality, sedition, or private scandal, can signify nothing, unless you can likewise prevent its being printed and published. On the contrary, if you prevent its being acted, and admit of its being printed and published, you will propagate the mischief ; your prohibition will prove a bellows, which will blow up the fire you intend to extinguish. This bill can, therefore, be of no use for preventing either the public or the private injury intended by such a play, and, consequently, can be of no manner of use, unless it be designed as a precedent, as a leading step towards another, for subjecting the press likewise to a license ; for such a wicked purpose it may indeed be of great use ; and, in that light, it may most properly be called a step towards arbitrary power. Let us consider, my lords, that arbitrary power has seldom or never been introduced into any country at once ; it must be introduced by slow degrees, and as it were step by step, lest the people should perceive its approach. The barriers and fences of the people's liberty must be plucked up one by one, and some plausible pretences must be found for removing or hoodwinking, one after another, those sentries who are posted by the constitution of every free country for warning the people of their danger. When these preparatory steps are once made, the people may then indeed, with regret, see slavery and arbitrary power making long strides over their land ; but it will then be too late to think of preventing or avoiding the impending ruin. The stage, my lords, and the press, are two of our out-sentries ; if we remove them, if we hoodwink them, if we throw them into fetters, the enemy may surprise us. Therefore, I must look upon the bill, now before us, as a step, and a most necessary step too, for introducing arbitrary power into this kingdom. It is a step so necessary, that if any future ambitious king, or guilty minister, should form to himself so wicked a design, he will have reason to thank us for having done so much of the work to his hand ; but such thanks, or thanks from such a man, I am convinced every one of your lordships would blush to receive, and scorn to deserve."

Lord Chesterfield's eloquence did not prevent the house of peers from passing this unconstitutional and pernicious bill. From this time, until the year 1744, he was constantly in opposition, not only to Walpole, but to whatever party happened to be in office, his animosity being, it seems, directed not against men or their measures so much as against government itself, by whomsoever it happened to be conducted. On the union of parties taking place in 1744, he connected himself with the administration ; and, in the following year, obtained his old office of ambassador to the Hague, whence he proceeded to Ireland, of which, while in Holland, he had been appointed lord-lieutenant. His administration, in that country gave such general satisfaction at that critical juncture, that most of the counties and chief cities exceeded the warmest

expectations of the ministry at home, by entering into voluntary associations for the support of his majesty's person and government against the designs of the pretender. In April, 1746, he left Ireland, to the general regret of the whole nation, having had the address to make himself equally esteemed by the Roman catholics and the protestants.

On the 29th of October this year, he succeeded the earl of Harrington in the office of one of the principal secretaries of state, and he held the seals till February, 1748; when, his health being greatly impaired, he was allowed to resign. In 1751, however, he delivered a speech in favour of the proposed alteration of the style, which procured him considerable applause. On this occasion he stated, that every one complimented him, and said, that he had made the whole matter very clear to them; "when, God knows," continued he, "I had not even attempted it. I could as soon have talked Celtic or Sclavonian to them, as astronomy; and they would have understood me full as well. Lord Macclesfield, who is one of the greatest mathematicians and astronomers in Europe, spoke afterwards, with infinite knowledge, and all the clearness that so intricate a matter would admit of; but as his words, his periods, and his utterance, were not near so good as mine, the preference was most unanimously, though most unjustly, given to me."

Being seized with a deafness in the year 1752, he amused himself with his pen and his books, and at this time contributed largely to the admired papers, intituled 'The World,' conducted and published by Edward Moore and his literary associates.

His lordship had no issue by his lady; but he had a natural son by Madame du Bouchet, a French lady, with whom he carried on intercourse for some years, chiefly during his residence at the Hague. This son, whose name was Philip Stanhope, as he grew up, became the chief object of his attention; and one cause of his lordship's resignation of all public employments was, that he might have the more leisure to correspond with him while he was on his travels. He could not leave his real estate to this youth, on account of his illegitimacy, and therefore he adhered to a plain strict economy, in order to raise him a fortune. The great pains he took to cultivate and improve his mind, and to form his manners, had not the desired effect; however, his lordship had interest to procure him the honourable employment of British resident at the court of Dresden; but all his labour and concern for this young gentleman became fruitless by his premature death in 1768. Lord Chesterfield could not get over this severe blow, but from this time grew feeble and languid; yet those flashes of wit and humour for which he had been celebrated by all who knew him, at times broke forth from the clouds of melancholy in which he seemed enveloped. His old friend, Sir Thomas Robinson, who was above six feet high, telling him one day, that if he did not go abroad and take exercise, he would die by inches; the earl drolly replied, "If that must be the case, then I am very glad I am not so tall as you, Sir Thomas."

About the latter end of the year 1772, his son's widow was ordered to visit him, and to bring with her his two grandsons. His lordship, upon this occasion, laid aside his crutch, with which he used to support himself, being then very lame, and attempted to advance to embrace the children; but he was no longer able to stand alone, and would have fallen, if a servant had not instantly succoured him. This



affected him much; but presently recollecting himself, he said, smiling:—"This is a fresh proof of my declension; I am not able to crawl without my three legs; the last part of the Sphynx's riddle approaches, and I shall soon end as I began, upon all fours." His prediction was but too soon verified, for he lost the use of his limbs in a short time after; but he retained his senses almost to the last hour of his life. His lordship died on the 24th of March, 1773.

His conversational wit was much applauded by his cotemporaries. Walpole says of him, "Chesterfield's entrance into the world was announced by his bon mots; and his closing lips dropped repartees, that sparkled with his juvenile fire." One night being asked, in the Haymarket theatre, if he had been to the other house, in Lincoln's-inn Fields, which, although preferred by their majesties, was not so fashionably attended as its rival, Chesterfield replied in the affirmative; "but," added he, "there was nobody there but the king and queen; and, as I thought they might be talking about business, I came away." His style as a writer was easy, pure, and brilliant. Pope once borrowed his diamond ring, and wrote the following extemporaneous couplet, in compliment to his literary abilities, on the window of an inn:—

Accept a miracle instead of wit,  
See two dull lines by Stanhope's pencil writ!

His collected works occupy several quarto volumes; but they have lost much of their interest, in consequence of the subjects on which he wrote being for the most part of a temporary nature. His biographer, Dr Maty, describes him as having been a nobleman unequalled, in his time, for variety of talents, brilliancy of wit, politeness, and elegance of conversation; at once a man of pleasure and business, yet never suffering the former to encroach upon the latter; an able statesman; a first rate orator; in public life upright, conscientious, and steady; in private, friendly and affectionate; in both, pleasant, amiable, and conciliating. "Lord Chesterfield's eloquence," says the same author, "though the fruit of study and imitation, was in a great measure his own. Equal to most of his cotemporaries in eloquence and perspicuity, perhaps surpassed by some in extensiveness and strength, he could have no competitors in choice of imagery, taste, urbanity, and graceful irony. This turn might have originally arisen from the delicacy of his frame; which, as on the one hand, it deprived him of the power of working forcibly upon the passions of his hearers, enabled him, on the other, to affect their finer sensations by nice touches of raillery and humour. His strokes, however poignant, were always under the control of decency and good sense. He reasoned best when he appeared most witty; and while he gained the affections of his hearers, he turned the laugh to his opposers, and often forced them to join in it."

## II.—ECCLESIASTICAL SERIES.

**Thomas Woolston.**

BORN A. D. 1669.—DIED A. D. 1733.

SCARCELY had the latest of the illustrious band of Christian advocates, who so nobly maintained the fight against irreligion, intolerance, and infidelity, in the seventeenth century, ceased from their labours and entered into rest, when a melancholy reaction took place. "The outward condition of the church was tranquil, and to a mere cursory observer might even seem prosperous. Liberty of conscience, under the name of religious toleration, was conceded to the various denominations of protestant dissenters, though under restriction which neither sound policy nor impartial justice could approve. Some liberal and enlightened churchmen—among whom were included several distinguished members of the hierarchy—were prompted by a spirit of liberality and forbearance, that did them the highest credit, to attempt the removal of the causes of separation by a measure of general comprehension: on the other hand, some influential members of the dissenting body manifested a disposition to meet the wishes and second the exertions of their brethren of the established church by at least equal concessions on their part. A hope began to be cherished by the moderate and liberal of both parties, that the period was not far distant in which former divisions would be effectually healed, and unity and peace restored to the protestant church. Yet, amidst these circumstances of external prosperity, it soon became but too evident that the glory had departed from our British churches; and that, instead of the spiritual vigour by which they were formerly characterized, a moral decay preyed upon their vitals. The truly pious both within and without the pale of the national church, could not but perceive that the internal symptoms were most alarming. Religious apathy and indifference, under the specious names of liberality and candour, pervaded and paralysed the far greater portion of the community. A cold system of ethics, scarcely superior to the morality of the pagan world, superseded the faithful and energetic preaching of former times. A spirit of daring speculation betrayed many into pernicious errors, or disposed them to universal scepticism. The 'watchmen on the walls of Zion,' instead of sounding an alarm at this peculiar crisis, for the most part either slumbered at their posts or basely deserted them; and even where the trumpet of alarm was heard, it gave but an uncertain sound. The congregations which had been accustomed to listen with devout attention to the evangelical doctrine and truly Christian eloquence of their late pastors, were now either scattered and broken up as sheep having no shepherd; or they also, being infected with the moral contagion of the time, yielded to the same spiritual torpor and deadly lethargy of soul. While this cold and heartless semblance of Christianity was substituted by the great majority of its professors for vital and spiritual religion, there were others who, justly apprehensive of danger from the latitudinarian



spirit which then prevailed, rushed to the contrary extreme, which proved in its results scarcely less injurious. They cherished and diffused around them a controversial spirit; they contended with equal zeal and bitterness for the circumstantial as for the essentials of the Christian faith,—for dogmas of human invention, and the distinguishing peculiarities of human systems, as for the great principles of revealed truth. The war of words was fiercely carried on both in the pulpit and from the press; whilst, in the meantime, the spirit of Christianity, which is that of meekness and love, deserted the combatants on either side.” The truth and accuracy of these remarks, for which we are indebted to the judicious essay prefixed by Mr Morell to a recent edition of the ‘Miscellaneous works of Doddridge,’ will be frequently made apparent to the reader in the hasty sketches which follow of the ecclesiastical men of the period now under review. At the same time, an age adorned with such names as Waterland, and Doddridge, and Butler, and Berkeley, and Lardner,—an age whose master-minds had received an impulse at one extreme by a Bentley, and at the other by a Warburton,—an age too, in which a Chubb, and a Tindal, and a Collins, laboured to destroy the foundations of the Christian creed, and a Woolston, a Whiston, a Sykes, and a Clarke, eagerly maintained tenets at variance with some of the most essential doctrines of revelation,—such an age, we say, must be one of more than ordinary interest to the student of ecclesiastical history.

Thomas Woolston, one of the most stirring if not the most powerful spirits of his age, was born at Northampton in 1669. He was entered of Sidney college, Cambridge, in 1685; and became a fellow on that foundation, after taking the usual degrees.

His first appearance as an author was in 1705, when he published a work, entitled ‘The old Apology for the Truth of the Christian Religion against the Jews and Gentiles revived.’ The design of this work is to prove that all the actions of Moses were typical of Christ, and many of them not real but merely typical relations of what was afterwards to take place. Whiston gives this account of the progress of his mind towards error:—“He was in his younger days a clergyman of very good reputation,—a scholar, and well-esteemed as a preacher,—charitable to the poor, and beloved by all good men that knew him. Now it happened, that after some time he most unfortunately fell into Origen’s allegorical works, and poring hard upon them, without communicating his studies to any body, he became so fanciful in that matter that he thought the allegorical way of interpretation of the scriptures of the Old Testament had been unjustly neglected by the moderns, and that it might be useful for an additional proof of Christianity; insomuch that he preached this doctrine first in the college-chapel, to the great surprise of his audience, though (his intentions being known to be good, and his person beloved,) no discouragement was showed him there. . . . His notions appeared to be so wild, that a report went about that he was under a disorder of mind, which, when he heard, instead of that applause which he thought he had deserved by retrieving a long forgotten argument for the truth of Christianity, he grew really disordered; and, as I have been informed, he was accordingly confined for about a quarter of a year; after which, though his notions were esteemed in part the effect of some such dis-

order, yet did he regain his liberty. When he found himself pretty well, as he thought, he fell a writing to great men, and to his old friends, and insisted on the truth of his notions, and pretended that the reports of his disorders were only from the inability the learned were under to confute them. Nay, at length he wrote several pamphlets to prove that following the literal sense of the Old Testament was no better than antichristianism, though, in the meantime, he sometimes insinuated that Jesus Christ's own miracles were no other than allegorical miracles, and not real facts; and exposed these miracles, taken in the literal sense, after such a manner and with such a mixture of wit and scoffing, as if he in earnest intended to abuse and oppose the Christian religion, which design, however, he utterly denied, and seemed to wonder that any should impute such a thing to him."

In 1720 he published a Latin dissertation, '*De Pontii Pilati ad Tiberium Epistolâ, circa res Jesu Christi gestas; per Mystagogum.*' In this piece he endeavours to prove that Pontius Pilate wrote a letter to Tiberius Cæsar concerning Christ and his miracles, but that the epistle bearing his name, and inserted in some of the fathers, is a forgery. In the same year he published two Latin epistles addressed to Whitby, Waterland, and Whiston, in defence of the allegorical mode of interpreting. These publications he followed up by other more popular treatises on the same subject. He was now deprived of his fellowship, and went to London, where he supported himself on a small annuity allowed him by his brother. In 1722 he published a piece entitled, '*The Exact Fitness of the time in which Christ was manifested in the flesh, demonstrated by Reason against the objections of the Old Gentiles and Modern Unbelievers.*' This was an old college exercise, and was well enough received; but in 1723 and 1724 came out his abusive pamphlet, entitled '*Free Gifts to the Clergy,*' which raised a loud cry against him.

Pursuing his own way, he published, in 1726, a '*Defence of the Thundering Legion, against Moyle's Dissertations;*' and then thrust himself into the controversy with Collins, as a kind of umpire, in a pamphlet entitled '*Moderator between an Infidel and Apostate,*' to which he subsequently added two supplements. In these latter pieces he pushed his objections to the reality of the miracles of Christ to such an indecent length, that, to use the words of Whiston, "the government fell upon him, and had him indicted in Westminster-hall for blasphemy and profaneness." Whiston succeeded in getting the indictment quashed for this time; but Woolston, undeterred by the experience of the past, between the years 1727 and 1730, published a series of '*Discourses on the Miracles of Christ,*' and two '*Defences*' of them, in which he attempts to prove that all the miracles of our Saviour, as recorded by the evangelists, were only so many allegories, and to be interpreted not in a literal but only a mystical sense. Not content with aiming to establish this extraordinary theory, he indulged in a strain of the most scurrilous and indecent language on the alleged reality of these miracles, and likewise assailed the prelates, to whom he addressed his '*Discourses,*' in very abusive terms. Legal proceedings were again commenced against him, and the case, *King v. Woolston*, has been treated by lawyers as a leading case in the law of religious libels. At his trial in Guildhall, before Lord-chief-justice Raymond, he spoke several times himself; but he was found guilty, and sentenced to a year's imprison-



ment, and to pay a fine of £100. Dr Samuel Clarke interfered to procure a mitigation of punishment for him; but his exertions were rendered needless by Woolston's death in January, 1733.

Woolston was unquestionably a learned man, and perhaps was to a certain extent sincere in his notions; but there appears to have been a great want of judgment as well as prudence about him,—to such an extent even as to afford some foundation for the doubts which have been entertained of his sanity.

## William Derham.

BORN A. D. 1657.—DIED A. D. 1735.

THIS excellent man was born at Stoughton, near Worcester, on the 26th of November, 1657, and educated in grammar-learning at Blockley in the same county. He took his degrees at Oxford, and was ordained by Compton, bishop of London, in 1681. In July, 1682, he was presented to the vicarage of Wargrave in Berkshire, and in 1689 obtained the valuable living of Upminster in Essex. In this convenient retirement he paid considerable attention to natural history, and began to collect the materials for his 'Physico-Theology, or Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of a God from the Works of the Creation;' and his 'Astro-Theology, or Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God from a survey of the Heavens.' The former of these works was first given to the public at the Boyle lectures for 1711 and 1712.

In 1716 he was made a canon of Windsor; and at the same time became chaplain to the prince of Wales. He revised and printed the 'Miscellanea Curiosa,' in three volumes, in 1726; and, in 1730, received the degree of D. D., by diploma from Oxford, on account of the service he had rendered religion by the culture of natural knowledge. In the same year he published his 'Christo-Theology, or a Demonstration of the Divine Authority of the Christian Religion.' In addition to these productions he was the author of several scientific papers communicated to the Royal society, of which he was a fellow. He also edited Ray's 'Epistolary Correspondence;' and Albin's 'Natural History of Birds and British Insects,' in four volumes 4to. He deservedly obtained considerable reputation. The scientific portion of his works, although modern discoveries have convicted him of numerous errors, display profound knowledge of natural philosophy, such as it was in the early part of the last century. He died on the 5th of April, 1735, leaving several children, the eldest of whom became president of St John's college, Oxford.

## Daniel Waterland, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1683.—DIED A. D. 1740.

DANIEL WATERLAND, one of the most eminent divines of an age peculiarly rich in theological talent, was born at Waseley in Lincoln-

shire—of which parish his father was rector—on the 14th of February, 1683. His early education was conducted by his father and his father's curate, Mr Sykes; he was afterwards sent to Lincoln school, then one of the most celebrated provincial seminaries for the education of youth. At this school, young Waterland exhibited uncommon proficiency in the classics. The masters were proud of their pupil, and used to exhibit his exercises in particular as a specimen of what their school could produce.

In 1699 Waterland was admitted of Magdalen college, Cambridge, where he had for his tutor Samuel Barker. In December, 1702, he obtained a scholarship; and in February following was elected fellow. In 1706 he commenced A. M. On the death of Dr Gabriel Quadrin, master of Magdalen college, the earl of Suffolk, in whose family the patronage of this mastership is vested, presented Waterland to it, and at the same time gave him the rectorship of Ellingham in Norfolk. He remained at his college, and about this period wrote his 'Advice to a young Student, with a method of study for the first four years,' a book which was favourably received, and went through several editions.

In 1714 he took the degree of B. D. His dissertation upon this occasion is a famous one in the annals of English theology. His first question was, 'Whether Arian subscription be lawful?'—"a question," says his eulogist, Seed, "worthy of him who had the intrepidity to abhor with a generous scorn all prevarication, and the capacity to see through and detect those evasive arts by which some would palliate their disingenuity. When Dr James, the professor, had endeavoured to answer his thesis, and embarrass the question, with the dexterity of a person long practised in all the arts of a subtle disputant, he immediately replied in an extempore discourse of above half-an-hour long, with such an easy flow of proper and significant words, and such an undisturbed presence of mind, as if he had been reading what he has since printed, 'The case of Arian subscription considered,' and the 'Supplement' to it. He unravelled the professor's fallacies, reinforced his own reasonings, and showed himself so perfect a master of the language, the subject, and himself, that all agreed no one ever appeared to greater advantage. There were several members of the university of Oxford there who remember the great applauses he received, and the uncommon satisfaction which he gave. He was happy in a first opponent, one of the greatest ornaments of the church and finest writers of the age, who gave full play to his abilities, and called forth all that strength of reason of which he was master."<sup>1</sup> This opponent was Dr Thomas Sherlock, afterwards bishop of London. The unusual circumstance of a public debate between two heads of houses, the subject of discussion itself, and the well-known talents and learning of the combatants, drew a more than ordinary share of public attention to this disputation. "They were both," says Dean Monk, speaking of the disputants on this occasion,—“they were both young men, distinguished by talent and erudition; and they exhibited, on their elevation, great aptitude for business and discretion, as well as activity, which speedily gave them influence and authority in the body.”<sup>2</sup>

Waterland, who was a steadfast supporter of the Hanoverian succes-

<sup>1</sup> Seed's Funeral Sermon for Dr Waterland.

<sup>2</sup> Life of Bentley, p. 291.



sion, having been elected vice-chancellor, according to the usual rotation, on Nov. 14th, 1715, took measures for suppressing those disturbances which had disgraced the university on the king's birthday, the preceding year; he also succeeded in getting the address of congratulation to the king, on the suppression of the rebellion, which had been stopped in the caput in April, 1716, passed without opposition in the senate, and by large majorities in the Non-Regent and Regent house. Dr Bentley, alluding to this circumstance, in a letter to Dr Samuel Clarke, says: "The fury of the whole disaffected and Jacobite party here, against me and Mr Waterland, is inexpressible. One would think that the late address had given them a mortal blow, by the desperate rage they are in. I suppose you have seen a virulent lying paper, printed at London, about the address, wherein Mr Waterland and I are described as objects of their universal hatred. Nothing now will satisfy them but I must be put by the professor's chair; and the church is in great danger from my New Testament." Dr Van Mildert says that there is a letter in the Harleian collection, in the hand-writing of Middleton, addressed to the earl of Oxford, in 1716, giving an account of the motives of his lordship's friends, the Cambridge Tories, in opposing the address. The Tories, he alleges, were not actuated on this occasion by disaffection to the house of Hanover, but by a conviction that the address was a job, intended to procure preferment for Waterland and impunity for Bentley, who had written and promoted it. "Whether," says the learned biographer, "the foundation of Middleton's hostility to Waterland was laid at this, or at an earlier period, is not certain; nor whether it had its rise in political rather than in literary or personal jealousy." There is certainly no evidence that Waterland was actuated either by party or personal motives in the share which he took in the politics of the university.

We have elsewhere alluded to the manner in which Bentley obtained the regius professorship of divinity in 1717. It is stated by some authorities that on this occasion Waterland would most likely have received the appointment, had not his connexion with Bentley prevented him from exerting his interest to obtain the vacant chair.<sup>3</sup> Waterland was present at Bentley's famous prelection on the disputed verse in St John's first epistle, and is said to have replied to the interrogatory whether Bentley's reasonings had convinced him that the verse was spurious, "No, for I was convinced before." Yet Waterland has not in any of his writings disputed the genuineness of this verse. On the occasion of the king's visit to Cambridge, in the latter part of this same year, Waterland was honoured with the degree of D. D.

Waterland had hitherto published only two short pieces, viz. 'An Assize Sermon,' preached at Cambridge, July 21, 1713, and 'A Thanksgiving Sermon,' preached before the university, June 7, 1716, on the suppression of the rebellion. In 1719 he published his first considerable work, entitled, 'A Vindication of Christ's Divinity, being a Defence of some Queries relating to Dr Clarke's scheme of the Holy Trinity, in answer to a Clergyman in the Country.' The following hasty sketch from Van Mildert, of the previous state of this important controversy, may not be unacceptable to the reader. For nearly thirty years

<sup>3</sup> Biographia Britannica.

Bishop Bull had taken the lead in defence of the Trinitarian doctrines. His 'Defensio Fidei Nicenæ,' was principally directed against the Jesuit Petavius, the Socinian Zwicker, and the Anti-trinitarian Sandius. His subsequent tract, 'Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ,' had more immediate reference to Episcopus and his disciple Curcellæus. His last great work, 'Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio,' was written expressly against Zwicker. The chief abettors of Anti-trinitarianism in England, at this period, were Biddle, Firmin, and Gilbert Clerke. The next English divine who took the field on Bull's side was Dr William Sherlock, father of Bishop Sherlock. He was not, however, very happy in his mode of explaining the doctrine of a Trinity in unity. Dr Wallis thought that his hypothesis approached to Tritheism, and Dr South was loud in his condemnation of it upon similar grounds. Both these writers, however, were so unfortunate in their own theories as to be charged with leaning towards Sabellianism. Bull's last controversial treatise on this subject was published in 1703. In 1712 Dr Clarke published his 'Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity,' with which a new era in polemics commences. This work was generally regarded as a revival of the Arian heresy; and was animadverted on with more or less ability by Wells, Nelson, Knight, Gastrell, Edwards, Welchman, Potter, Bennett, and Mayo. On the other side, Whitby, Sykes, and Jackson, appeared in favour of Dr Clarke. It was at this period of the controversy that Dr Waterland entered the field, in the work already named. "It obtained for him," says Van Mildert, "general confidence as a fit leader in the cause he had undertaken; and, notwithstanding the acknowledged ability of many who had already entered the lists on the same side, it seemed as if all were now willing to transfer to him its chief direction." Dr Clarke's reply, entitled 'The Modest Plea continued, or a brief and distinct Answer to Dr Waterland's queries relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity,' appeared in 1720. "Dr Clarke's replies to each query are ingenious, subtle, and acute. But the great, and, as it seems, insuperable difficulty he had to contend with, was that of allowing to our Lord the title of God, in any legitimate acceptation of the term. It is a vain attempt to disguise the absurdity upon the Arian principle, of ascribing real divinity to the Son. Whenever Dr Clarke finds this express term given to him, he is evidently perplexed and troubled how to evade its force. Generally he is under the necessity of either adding to the text some expository word or phrase, or of expressing it by some mode of circumlocution which may confine it to the particular signification his system requires. Where he conceives the term God to denote the Father, he inserts *Supreme* before it, that the divinity of the Son may appear to be inferior; where it is predicated of the Son, some qualifying terms are introduced from other texts of Scripture, to give it a dependent and subordinate meaning; and again, when it is used absolutely, denoting the essence or being of the Deity, the personal pronouns *I* and *Me*, *He* and *Him*, are insisted upon as proofs that it relates individually and exclusively to the Father; thus assuming the very points in question. Dr Clarke's system, indeed, necessarily supposes a supreme God, and a subordinate God, and upon this principle rests his interpretation of every text which cannot otherwise be made to accord with his views. Dr Waterland's queries, and the arguments grounded upon them, tend to show, on the



other hand, that this is neither consistent with the true Scripture notion of the Divine unity, nor with that of the Trinity, as understood by the church, or even as professed to be received by Dr Clarke himself. "I do not charge you," says Dr W., "with asserting two supreme Gods; but I do charge you with holding two Gods; one supreme, another inferior,—two real and true Gods, according to the Scripture notion of the word *God*, as explained by yourself. To this charge the 'Modest Plea' gives no specific answer: the author contents himself with recriminating that his opponent also asserts two supreme Gods."<sup>4</sup>

About the year 1719 Dr Waterland, under the appointment of Bishop Gibson, preached the first in the series of Lady Moyer's lectures. These discourses, eight in number, the author professes to have prepared as a supplement to his 'Vindication;' but they form a valuable treatise in themselves. Soon after this, he was presented to the rectory of St Austin in the city of London, and, in 1723, to the chancellorship of the diocese of York.

We find Waterland next engaged in debate with Dr Whitby and Mr Jackson; but he found time to diversify his polemical labours with the preparation of a 'Critical History of the Athanasian Creed,' the first edition of which appeared in 1723. From the time of publishing his 'Farther Vindication' in 1724, Dr Waterland ceased to take a prominent part in the Trinitarian controversy until the year 1734, when he published one of his largest and most valuable pieces, with the title, 'The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity asserted, in reply to some late pamphlets.'

While Whiston, Emlyn, and Clarke, were assailing the doctrines of Christianity, another set of writers, among whom Chubb, Morgan, Collins, and Tindal, were conspicuous, united their forces against revealed religion. Tindal, who chose absurdly enough to call himself 'a Christian deist,' published a work, entitled 'Christianity as old as the Creation,' in which he attempts to prove that revealed religion is only a republication of the religion of nature. Waterland answered this treatise in the first part of his 'Scripture Vindicated.' Dr Conyers Middleton came to the aid of Tindal, and was replied to with much spirit and effect by Dr Zachary Pearce.

In 1730 Dr Waterland was collated to the archdeaconry of Middlesex by Bishop Gibson. In 1734 he produced 'A Discourse on the argument *à priori*, for proving the Existence of a First Cause,' in which he endeavoured to refute Clarke's opinions on that subject. During the same year he declined the office of prolocutor to the lower house of convocation. In our notice of Sykes, the reader will find a brief account of the controversy which Dr Waterland maintained with him on some points in Dr Clarke's 'Exposition of the Catechism.' In 1736 Dr Waterland preached a series of charges on the eucharist, in which he argued, on the one hand, against Bishop Hoadly, who considered it a mere commemorative feast; and, on the other, against that of Johnson and Brett, who held it to be a proper propitiatory sacrifice.

This able and indefatigable divine closed a life of useful and arduous labours in December, 1740. The Rev. Joseph Clarke edited his posthumous remains, consisting chiefly of sermons; but Dr Van Mildert

<sup>4</sup> Van Mildert.

has given some valuable additional pieces in his edition of Waterland's works. Waterland is unquestionably one of the acutest divines of the church of England. As a polemic, there are few to equal him. And it is to his praise that, much as he was engaged in controversy, and bitter and keen as his opponents often were, he seldom uses language calculated to irritate or offend. Mr Seed says, "controversy had not at all embittered or set an edge upon his spirits." Middleton indeed attempted to fix a stigma on his antagonist's reputation, and talked about "the wretched passions and prejudices with which he marched to his grave;" but Middleton's calumny had long ceased to be reckoned a reproach. Dr Aikin, whose sentiments were by no means in unison with Dr Waterland's, acknowledges that, "as a controversialist, though firm and unyielding, he is accounted fair and candid, free from bitterness, and actuated by no persecuting spirit."

### Archbishop Boulter.

BORN A. D. 1671.—DIED A. D. 1742.

THIS excellent prelate was descended from a reputable and opulent English family. He received the rudiments of learning in merchant-tailor's school, London, and afterwards studied at Oxford. Soon after the Revolution he was elected a demi of Magdalen college, his fellows being the celebrated Addison, the learned Bishop Wilcox, and Dr Welsted, a physician of great eminence and learning.

On the invitation of Sir Charles Hedges, principal secretary of state, Boulter went to London in 1700, in the quality of chaplain to Sir Charles, and soon thereafter was preferred to the same honour by Archbishop Tension. Among his patrons at court was Spencer, earl of Sunderland, who presented him to the rectory of St Olave in Southwark, and to the archdeaconry of Surrey. He accompanied George I. to Hanover in 1719, as chaplain to his majesty and tutor to Prince Frederic. During his residence in Hanover, the bishopric of Bristol becoming vacant, the king presented him to that see and the deanery of Christ-church, Oxford, on the 15th of November, 1719.

On the death of Dr Lindsay, he was elevated to the archbishopric of Armagh and the primacy of Ireland. In this station he gave much attention to the high duties of his office, and exerted himself most strenuously for the general welfare and improvement of Ireland. He was often heard to remark that "he would do all the good to Ireland he could, though they did not suffer him to do all he would."

He died in September, 1742. His published works consist of a few charges and occasional sermons, and a series of letters to the ministers of state, on the passing affairs of Ireland, from 1724 to 1738.

### Andrew Snape, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1670.—DIED A. D. 1742.

THIS learned divine and polemic was trained at Eton and Cambridge.



In 1697 he obtained a fellowship, and was elected lecturer of St Martin's-in-the-Fields, London. He was created D. D. in 1705, and represented the university of Cambridge in that faculty, at the Frankfort jubilee, in 1707.

On the breaking out of the Bangorian controversy, Snape took a zealous part against Hoadly. His 'Letter to the Bishop of Bangor' passed through seventeen editions in one year. In 1723 he was elected vice-chancellor of Cambridge. He died in 1742. Dr Berriman edited three volumes of his sermons in 1745. Dr Zachary Grey considered Snape as "by far the most powerful opponent Bishop Hoadly had."

## Daniel Neal.

BORN A. D. 1678.—DIED A. D. 1743.

DANIEL NEAL, the historian of the puritans, was born in London, on the 14th of December, 1678. He was educated in Merchant-tailor's school, of which he was head-scholar in 1697. He declined proceeding to St John's college, Oxford, having embraced dissenting principles, but entered Mr Rowe's academy for the education of young men for the dissenting ministry, and subsequently pursued his studies in Holland.

Soon after his return to London, in 1703, he began to preach; and in 1706 was called to the pastoral charge of the church in Aldersgate-street, which subsequently removed to Jewin-street. His first publication was his 'History of New England,' in two volumes 8vo. 1720. In 1722 he published a 'Letter to the Rev. Dr Francis Hare, dean of Worcester, occasioned by his reflections on the Dissenters in a late visitation sermon.' This is an acute and spirited tract. In the same year he published a short notice on the method of inoculating for the small-pox, as practised in New England. In 1732, the first volume of his great work, the 'History of the Puritans,' appeared. This publication originated in the following circumstances. Dr Edmund Calamy, had, in his abridgment of the 'Life of Baxter,' laid before the public a view of the state of non-conformity, and of the characters and sufferings of its principal adherents, during the period that immediately succeeded the passing of the act of uniformity in 1662. Dr John Evans on this formed a design of writing a history of non-conformity from the beginning of the Reformation to 1640, when the civil war broke out. He had proceeded a considerable way in the execution of his design, before his death in 1730. In the meantime, Neal had been requested by several of his dissenting brethren to take up the history from the year 1640, and to carry it on to the passing of the act of uniformity. He had completed his collections, and put them in order for the press, some time before the death of Dr Evans; that event made him pause, and review the ground Dr Evans had intended to occupy, and ultimately he determined to commence his history at the period of the Reformation. Between the publication of the successive parts of this work, we find Neal engaged in the Berry-street and Salters'-hall lectures. The former was preached at the request and by the encouragement of William Coward, Esq., a wealthy and zealous dissenter. It consisted

of fifty-four sermons on the principal doctrine and practical heads of the Christian religion, by Watts, Guise, Price, Hubbard, Jennings, and Neal. The course was published in two volumes 8vo. in 1735. It has passed through numerous editions, and is still regarded as an exceedingly valuable and judicious body of divinity. The other course of lectures was intended as a preservative against Popery, which appeared to be alarmingly on the increase in 1734. The gentlemen who engaged in this design were: Mr John Barker, Dr Chandler, Mr George Smith, Dr Wright, Dr Harris, Dr Hughes, Dr Hunt, Mr Joshua Bayes, Mr Newman, Dr Jabez Earle, Mr Lowman, Dr Grosvenor, Mr Leavesly, Mr Barcough, and Mr Neal. These lectures were afterwards published, and led to two conferences with some Catholic priests, an account of which was afterwards published. While his historical volumes were passing through the press, Mr Neal published an able answer to Dr Madox's remarks on his first volume. Had his health permitted he would doubtless have replied to Dr Zachary Grey's animadversions on the other volumes; but the hand of death was upon him before this could be accomplished. The task, however, was executed by Dr Toulmin of Birmingham, in his edition of Neal begun in 1793 and completed in 1797, in five volumes 8vo.

Mr Neal died in 1743. He was an able divine, an accurate and impartial historian, and a truly pious man. He was Calvinistic in his sentiments, but possessed the friendship of men of all parties.

## Archbishop Potter.

BORN A. D. 1674.—DIED A. D. 1747.

THIS learned prelate was the son of a Yorkshire linen-draper, and was born at Wakefield in 1674. He received his early education in that town, and Dr Parr affects to discover this in his Latin productions, which, says he, "abound with those faults which instruction at a higher seminary would have taught him to avoid."

At the age of fourteen he entered the university of Oxford, having the reputation at that early age of being an accomplished Grecian. After taking his bachelor's degree, he was employed by Dr Charlett in the compilation of a work for the use of students, entitled '*Variantes lectiones et notæ ad Plutarchi librum de audiendis Poetis, et ad Babillii Magni orationem ad juvenes.*' In 1694 he was chosen fellow of Lincoln college, and proceeded M. A. in the same year. In 1697 he produced his beautiful edition of Lycophron's *Alexandra*, and the first volume of his '*Archæologia Græca*,' which he completed next year.

In 1704 he proceeded B. D. and was appointed chaplain to Archbishop Tennison. In 1706 he proceeded D. D., and was made chaplain in ordinary to Queen Anne. His first professional publication was a '*Discourse of Church-government*,' in which he pleads for the divine institution of episcopacy. In 1708 he succeeded Dr Jane as regius professor of divinity at Oxford. This promotion he owed to the influence of the duke of Marlborough.

In 1715 he was raised to the see of Oxford; and about the same time he published an elaborate edition of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, with



an entirely new version of the 'Cohortations.' The celebrated Bangorian controversy soon afterwards commenced, in which, with Sherlock and others, he accused Hoadly, then bishop of Bangor, of holding opinions hostile to all establishments, and particularly to that of the church of England. In 1722 he entered into a correspondence with Atterbury, as to the period when the four gospels were written. He preached the sermon at the coronation of George II., who raised him to the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1737, on the death of Dr Wake. He died in January, 1747, leaving two sons and three daughters.

The archbishop's works were published in 1753, in three volumes octavo.

## Bishop Gibson.

BORN A. D. 1669.—DIED A. D. 1748.

EDMUND GIBSON, son of Edward Gibson of Knipe in Westmoreland, was born at Bampton, in that county, in 1669. He studied at Queen's college, Oxford.

The study of the Northern languages was at this time cultivated at Oxford by several eminent scholars. Young Gibson turned his attention to them also, and with the able assistance of Dr Hickes made great proficiency in them. In 1691 he published an edition of Drummond's 'Polemo-Middiana,' and James the Fifth's 'Cantilena Rustica.' His notes on these works are erudite and facetious. He next undertook an edition of the 'Chronicon Saxonicum,' the original of which, together with a Latin version and notes, he published in 1692. This work was undertaken at the request of Dr Mill, the learned editor of the Greek Testament. He also edited a valuable edition of Camden's 'Britannia,' in which he was assisted by Lhwyd, Smith, Johnson, and Kennet.

After having declined a small living in the Isle of Thanet which had been offered to him by Lord Somers, he accepted, in 1697, the appointment of morning-preacher at Lambeth-church; and, in 1698, that of domestic chaplain to Archbishop Tennison. About the same time he was made lecturer at St Martin's-in-the-Fields, and published the posthumous works of Sir Henry Spelman. In 1700 he was presented to the rectory of Stisted in Essex; two years afterwards the archbishop of Canterbury conferred on him the degree of D. D.; and in 1703 he obtained the rectory of Lambeth, and was made precentor and residentiary of the cathedral of Chichester. He next obtained the mastership of St Mary's hospital, with license to hold his other preferments; and in 1710 he was promoted to the archdeaconry of Surrey. In 1713 he published his famous 'Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani.' In 1715, on the death of his patron Archbishop Tennison, and the elevation of Wake to the primacy, he was raised to the bishopric of Lincoln; and on the death of Robinson he was translated to London.

Bishop Gibson's talents were considerable, and he was an excellent business man. During the long illness of Archbishop Wake, he formed a kind of regent-archbishop, the ministry consulting him on all occasions, and his advice being sought for by all his brother-prelates.

He died in September, 1748.

## Philip Doddridge.

BORN A. D. 1702.—DIED A. D. 1750.

FEW names stand higher in the estimation of the British public, for genius and piety, for eloquence, charity, and evangelic zeal, than that of Philip Doddridge. He was the son of a London merchant, and the grandson of a non-conforming rector. He was born on the 26th of June, 1702, and became an orphan at an early age, but not before his tender mind had received some salutary impressions from the instructions of his parents. His guardian having dissipated the small fortune which had been left him by his father, he was indebted to the kindness of Dr Samuel Clarke of St Alban's for the means of pursuing his studies.

In 1716 he began to keep a diary, in which he regularly accounted for every hour of his time. It was his custom at this period, although only fourteen years of age, to visit the poor, and discourse with them on religious subjects, occasionally administering to their necessities out of his own slender allowance. In 1718 he went to reside with his sister, the wife of Mr John Nettleton, a dissenting minister at Ongar in Essex. His uncle, who was steward to the duke of Bedford, soon afterwards procured him the notice of some members of that nobleman's family. The duchess offered to support him at the university, and to procure him preferment in the church, if she should live until he had taken orders; but Doddridge felt compelled to decline this kind proposal, on account of his scruples as to the thirty-nine articles. In the attainment of his favourite object, that of becoming a dissenting preacher, he met with serious obstacles. "I waited," he says, "on Dr Edmund Calamy, to beg his advice and assistance, that I might be brought up a minister, which was always my great desire. He gave me no encouragement in it, but advised me to turn my thoughts to something else." He received this advice with great concern, but resolving "to follow Providence, and not to force it," he was soon afterwards about to embrace an advantageous opportunity of entering upon the study of the law; but before coming to a final resolution on the subject, he devoted one morning to earnest solicitation for guidance from the Almighty; and, while thus engaged, a letter was brought to him from Dr Clarke, in which his benefactor offered to assist him in preparing for the pastoral office. Regarding this communication, to use his own words, "almost as an answer from heaven," he hastened to St Alban's; whence, after passing some time with his generous friend, he removed in October, 1719, to a dissenting academy kept by Mr John Jennings, at Kibworth, and afterwards at Hinckley, in Leicestershire, where he pursued his studies with extraordinary diligence and success; being not only very ardent but admirably methodical in his pursuit of knowledge.

He began his regular ministerial labours at Kibworth, preferring that retired village, with the larger opportunities for study which it afforded, to a more public situation. From large congregations in Worcester, Coventry, and London, he received repeated solicitations to become their pastor. Some of these he positively declined on account of the narrowness or exclusiveness of the opinions which were known to pre-



vail amongst them. With a modest distrust of his own qualifications, and from the high standard he had formed to himself of ministerial excellence; from a determination also to give himself in his early years to diligent study, and a generous affection to the people with whom he was first connected, he resisted all the temptations of fame and influence so flattering to one of his ardent temper, and resolutely remained for more than seven years at Kibworth and in its neighbourhood, where, as he tells us in one of his letters, his morning-audience seldom exceeded forty persons, and his annual salary was only £29.

In December, 1729, he felt himself at liberty to accept a call from Northampton, and was ordained to the pastoral charge of a church there in March, 1730. In the following December he married a lady named Maris, a native of Worcester. He had in his youth, before experience and matrimony had taught him judgment, been a great sufferer under that painful dispensation, which, beyond all the exactions of a Levitical or a ceremonial law, gendereth to bondage,—early and unrequited love. His exercises of mind under this trial have been recently laid bare to the public gaze, with either a thoughtless or an unfeeling hand, by a descendant of the venerated man himself, who has edited two volumes of Dr Doddridge's juvenile correspondence, for the purpose of proving that the doctor was a much more liberal and indulgent sort of personage than his evangelical brethren of the present day. These letters are, what they purport to be, the familiar letters of a young man, chiefly upon subjects of the most personal description, and written at a period of life when the ardour and the weakness of the character are most in danger of being betrayed. "They undeniably contain some things, and indeed not a few, that will surprise those who have associated only the images of sanctity and spiritual-mindedness with their idea of this amiable man. And even those, who, from the impartial life of him by his pupil, Dr Kippis, and from the letters of Mr Orton, may have been led to anticipate that admixture of infirmities to be found in the wisest and the best of our race, will yet regret the prominence here given to emotions of which the existence may be always safely enough inferred without the expression. In truth, no inconsiderable part of the collection before us, is made up from the earliest love-letters of Doddridge, in some of which the endearments of the tenderest affection, the hopes and fears, the suspicion or distrust, resentment and forgiveness, joys and agonies of his love, are uttered with a singular fulness and simplicity. And notwithstanding the large indulgence to be allowed for the period at which they were written—when he was between nineteen and twenty-seven—notwithstanding the private and the confidential nature of the correspondence, intended surely for no eye but that of the lady addressed, we are left to some wonder at the writer, and to much more at the publisher, who, after the lapse of a century, has chosen to bring into light what only a common respect for the name of his ancestor, and a common share of the prudence that dwells with discretion, should have constrained him to suppress, or rather to destroy. We would not, however, be understood as implying, that these letters exhibit much that is absolutely discreditable to the pure fame of their author. Many of them will reflect an added lustre to his character. But the sin of exposing without cause the infirmities of good men, we hold to be scarcely inferior to that of indulging the

infirmities themselves. Let it not, however, be forgotten, that amidst all that with a less susceptible spirit might pass for weakness, or that might justly bring into question the solidity of his judgment, Mr Doddridge never lost sight of his high and generous aims, of the claims of his profession, or of his habitual piety. At this very period he was a conscientious and faithful pastor, and, as fully appears from the memoirs both of Kippis and Orton, was preparing himself, by diligent study and the improvement of all his powers, for the usefulness and honour to which he was destined. These petty entanglements and disappointments of his heart—somewhat numerous, we confess, and perplexing for a wise man to suffer—were but passing clouds, that could not long obscure the beauty or the brightness of his ascending sun.”<sup>1</sup>

In the year of his settlement at Northampton and marriage, he published a treatise, entitled, ‘Free Thoughts on the most probable means of Reviving the Dissenting Interest, occasioned by the late inquiry into the Causes of its Decay;’ in 1732, ‘Sermons on the Education of Children;’ in 1735, ‘Sermons to Young Men;’ in 1736, ‘Ten Sermons on the Power and Grace of Christ, or the Evidences of His Glorious Gospel;’ in 1739, the first volume of his ‘Family Expositor,’ of which he produced a second in the following year. In 1741 appeared his ‘Practical Discourses upon Regeneration;’ and, in the two following years, ‘Three Letters to the Author of a Treatise, entitled, Christianity not founded in Argument.’ In 1743 he published ‘The Principles of the Christian Religion expressed in Plain and Easy Verse, divided into Lessons for the Use of Children and Youth;’ in 1745 ‘The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul;’ in 1747 ‘Remarkable Passages in the Life of Colonel James Gardiner;’ in 1748 the third volume of his ‘Family Expositor;’ and, also ‘The Expository Works and other Remains of Archbishop Leighton.’ His last production, published in his life-time, was ‘A Plain and Serious Address to the Master of a Family, on the important subject of Family Religion.’ He left the manuscript in short hand, but partly transcribed for the press, of the last three volumes of his ‘Family Expositor;’ which Orton published in 1754 and 1756. In 1763 appeared his ‘Lectures on the Principal Subjects of Pneumatology, Ethics, and Divinity,’ which were republished by Dr Kippis, with extensive additions, in 1794.

Dr Doddridge’s genius was by no means an original or powerful one. He cannot for a moment be placed by the side of such men as Baxter, and Howe, and Owen, and the glorious company of theologians of the seventeenth century. In his criticisms he is seldom original, nor is he always to be regarded as a sure guide for the religious inquirer. His catholicism and freedom from uncharitableness were carried to a dangerous excess, especially for a theological tutor; and the consequences became apparent, even in his own life-time, in the academy over which he presided as theological tutor. “Once I remember,” says Dr Kippis, “some narrow-minded people of his congregation gave him no small trouble on account of a gentleman, in communion with the church, who was a professed Arian, and who otherwise departed from the common standard of orthodoxy. This gentleman they wished either to be excluded from the ordinance of the Lord’s supper, or to have his attendance

<sup>1</sup> American ‘Christian Examiner.’



upon it prevented. But the doctor declared, that he would sacrifice his place, and even his life, rather than fix any such mark of discouragement upon one, who, whatever his doctrinal sentiments were, appeared to be a true Christian." He expresses, in one of his letters, his admiration of the catholic sentiments of his own theological tutor, Dr Jennings, who "does not," says he, "entirely accord with the system of any particular body of men; but is sometimes a Calvinist, sometimes a Baxterian, and sometimes a Socinian, as truth and evidence determine him." The fruits of the doctor's system were those which might have been anticipated. We shall give them in the words of one of his Unitarian admirers: "Notwithstanding the tutor's well-known attachment to what are usually denominated evangelical principles, or to a qualified form of orthodoxy, very many of his pupils imbibed under his care the most liberal sentiments; and, as they advanced in their profession, became, both by their preaching and their publications, distinguished advocates of Unitarian Christianity. Of these, one of the most eminent was Dr Kippis himself, the accomplished author of the '*Biographia Britannica*,' and entitled to honour, not more for his classical literature, than for his high place among the dissenting ministers of his time. Another, and among the first who entered his school, was Dr Hugh Farmer, author of the '*Essay on the Dæmoniacks of the New Testament*,' of the '*Dissertation on Miracles*,' of the '*Inquiry into the Nature of our Lord's Temptation*,' and of other learned and able treatises. Nor can we omit the name of Newcome Cappe, whose '*Practical Discourses*' are much read among us, and to whose youthful genius, industry, virtue, and promise, Dr Doddridge himself bears affectionate testimony." We are persuaded that the doctor erred considerably in his mode and spirit of lecturing to young men in an age far more remarkable certainly for its speculative than its practical tendencies;<sup>2</sup> yet, most assuredly, his indulgence towards error originated in no coldness of heart or blindness of understanding to the truth. His first acknowledged publication was directed to enforce the preaching of evangelical doctrines in a plain and experimental manner, as the only effectual means for preserving churches from religious decay, or reviving them when languid and declining. And that, when duty required, he could assume the part of a controversialist and contend zealously for the truth, is abundantly evident from his letters to the author of '*Christianity not founded on Argument*.'

Dr Doddridge's most valuable treatise, and that by which he is most familiarly known, is his '*Rise and Progress of Religion*.' His '*Family Expositor*' is his principal work in point of extent. Biblical criticism has made great advances since the period in which the '*Expositor*' was compiled; it was in fact but in its infancy then, and the life of Doddridge was too actively spent, moreover, to admit of his giving that time to study which would have been required in the full employment of such critical materials as did then exist. The principal charm and value of this work is its truly devotional and practical character. It has been translated into almost every European language. His '*Evidences of Christianity*' have long constituted one of the examination-books at St John's college, Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> See an excellent sketch of the religious features of the age referred to in Mr Morell's introductory essay to Doddridge's '*Miscellaneous Works*.'

A cold, caught in travelling to St Alban's to preach a funeral sermon for his friend and benefactor Dr Clarke, laid the foundation of that illness which ultimately terminated the life of this good and great man. By the advice of his physicians he repaired to Lisbon, in September, 1751, for change of air; but he died within a fortnight after landing in Portugal. "The name of Doddridge," says Mr Morell, "must be ever dear to all who cherish a cordial attachment to practical Christianity. His character and writings may be depreciated by the zealot who can only breathe in the turbid element of theological controversy, or by the sectarist who cannot look beyond the pale of his own narrow inclosure; but assuredly they will long continue to be revered and honoured by all who prefer scriptural truth to human systems, and in whom fervent piety is combined with the benignant spirit of the gospel. Though attached both by education and principle to one denomination of Christians above the rest, this distinguished philanthropist may be regarded as the property of the universal church, on every portion of which he has conferred incalculable benefits."

### Conyers Middleton.

BORN A. D. 1683.—DIED A. D. 1750.

THIS learned and celebrated person was born at York towards the close of the year 1683. He was the son of the Rev. William Middleton, rector of Hinderwell, near Whitby, in Yorkshire. His father possessed an easy competence, and gave him a very liberal education. At seventeen years of age he was admitted of Trinity college, Cambridge; and two years afterwards was chosen a scholar upon the foundation. He took his degree of A. B. in 1702; and having entered into orders, officiated for some time as curate of Trumpington, in the neighbourhood of his university. In 1706 he was elected a fellow of his college, and next year commenced A. M. About three years after this he married a widow-lady of large fortune, and took a small rectory in the isle of Ely, which was in the gift of his wife; but he resigned this charge within little more than a year, finding that the situation was unfavourable to his health.

On the occasion of George the First's visit to his pet university, in 1717, Middleton was one of those who were created doctors of divinity by mandate. He had already come into collision with Bentley, by joining the fellows of his college in their petition to the bishop of Ely against the tyrannical master; but his marriage, by divesting him of his fellowship, withdrew him for a time from the scene of warfare. He was now, however, destined to lead the assault against the indomitable Bentley, and he did so with a vigour and pertinacity before which 'the mighty master' almost quailed. We have already noticed the immediate cause of this renewed strife, namely, Bentley's demand of an unusual fee of four guineas for the presentation of the doctors of divinity created on the occasion of the royal visit, and how the master of Trinity, after bullying and nicknaming all around him, was condemned for contumacy, suspended from his degrees, prohibited from acting as professor, and finally degraded from all his academical honours



and privileges. In the war of pamphlets which ensued, Dr Colbatch, who had long headed the insurgents against Bentley's rule, again played a distinguished part; but the brunt of the battle was now to be borne by Middleton. The Quarterly reviewer of the 'Life of Bentley' has estimated the strength and prowess of the two great antagonists, on whom the eyes of the university were now directed, in a very accurate and satisfactory manner.

"No comparison, of course," says the reviewer, "can be instituted between the limited range chiefly of Latin scholarship for which Middleton was distinguished, and the boundless erudition of Bentley; nor are the superior vigour and originality of Bentley's mind less unquestionable; still it is curious to remark the different influence of the study of the ancient writers on the works of these two distinguished men. Surpassing all his contemporaries, if not all later scholars, in his universal acquaintance with classical literature, Bentley was a barbarian in style; rude force was the one great characteristic of his writing; purity, propriety, dignity of language, harmony of period,—all that natural artifice of composition,—that fine and intuitive perception of the great in thought and effective in expression,—that which is the life and immortality of the classic poets and historians, of the orators and philosophers,—Bentley altogether disdained. A consummate logician, never wanting in animation, Bentley, it must be acknowledged, was a most unclassical writer; he had no taste,—no selection,—every word, every metaphor, every illustration, however coarse, homely, strange, or out of keeping, if it was but nervous and told at the instant, was admitted without scruple; nothing could be less in the manner of the best ancient writers than the pedantic determination of speaking perpetually in their language, and expressing the simplest and plainest truths in the quaint and recondite phrase of some unknown or forgotten author. His scurrility and coarseness can scarcely be considered as unprecedented in the noblest remains of ancient genius by those who are familiar with the orators of Greece and Rome; but Demosthenes, Æschines, and Cicero, certainly had the art of throwing about their abuse, as Virgil his dung, like gentlemen. The pride of Bentley did not keep him above vulgarity. In fact, the character of the man was perpetually working in his style as well as his conduct; he was too arrogant to submit even his language to discipline, or to change one word in deference even to those masters whose fame he adored; what Bentley spoke could not be unworthy of Bentley. Middleton, on the other hand, was what we may perhaps presume to call an ultra-classicist; he was instinct with the spirit of the best Latin writers; but this spirit was not altogether identified with his own mind; it had become a second nature, yet it was evidently not inborn but acquired,—a faculty studiously formed, not one with which he had been freely gifted. In his terse, perspicuous, and fluent writings, we are perpetually reminded of the graceful sarcasm of Pope, if indeed intended as a sarcasm, on

'the easy Ciceronian style,  
So Latin, yet so English all the while.'

Such were the two formidable men now involved in a literary death-feud. Middleton was roused to the utmost, and laid about him with the desperation of a man who knows that he has no mercy to expect

from his opponent; he spared no bitterness of invective, and, in his fury, rushed fairly into Bentley's toils. He was prosecuted, found guilty, and obliged to brook the humiliation of paying the costs of suit, and making a submissive apology to Bentley. The university, however, rewarded his martyrdom in their cause with the honourable post of public librarian; and he pursued his aggressions on Bentley with at least equal bitterness if more guardedness. His last pamphlet, in this controversy, ends thus: "Being conscious of no offence that my name has ever given, nor of any infamy upon it to make it odious to any man, except to himself, I am not at all ashamed of producing it. And since it is, as he says, 'to die with me and to be buried shortly in oblivion,' he must excuse me the reasonable ambition of making the most of it while I live. And that I may have some chance for being known likewise to posterity, I am resolved to fasten myself upon him, and stick as close to him as I can, in hopes of being dragged at least by his great name out of my present obscurity, and of finding some place, though an humble one, in the public annals of his story. And being willing, before we part, to give him all the encouragement I can towards answering me, I here promise that, let him be as severe and scurrilous as he pleases upon my person, morals, or learning, I will not make myself so mean as to take the law of him, or prosecute printer, publisher, or author. I shall be contented to vindicate my character with the proper weapons of a scholar, and do myself justice as well as I can; being ambitious of no greater reputation in the world than that I shall find myself always well able to defend." Middleton's pieces in this famous warfare were: 1. 'A Full and Impartial Account of all the late proceedings in the University of Cambridge against Dr Bentley.' 2. 'A Second Part of the Full and Impartial Account.' 3. 'Some Remarks upon a Pamphlet entitled The Case of Dr Bentley further stated.'<sup>1</sup> 4. 'A True Account of the present state of Trinity College in Cambridge under the oppressive government of their master, Richard Bentley, late D. D.'

In his subsequent attack on Bentley's proposals for an edition of the New Testament, Middleton was less successful. His 'Remarks, paragraph by paragraph, upon the Proposals,' are exceedingly bitter, and often highly unjust, though he desires his readers "to believe that they were not drawn from him by personal spleen or envy to the author of them, but by a serious conviction that he had neither talents nor materials proper for the work he had undertaken." This is really too much for a mere Latinist to say of one who towered above all his fellows as a Greek critic. But Bentley—though he mistook his opponent this time, and directed his fury against Dr Colbatch—was not a whit behind his real antagonist in abuse, misrepresentation, and scurrility. His treatment of Colbatch was so scurrilous that the vice-chancellor and heads of the university pronounced his pamphlet a scandalous and malicious libel, and resolved to inflict a proper censure upon the author as soon as he should be discovered; for no names had yet appeared in this new controversy. Middleton then published, in his own name, an answer to Bentley's 'Defence' of his proposals, entitled 'Some Further Remarks, paragraph by paragraph, upon Proposals lately published.'

<sup>1</sup> By Sykes. Neither the 'Full and Impartial Account,' nor the 'Remarks' on Sykes's pamphlet, are inserted in the collection of Dr Middleton's Miscellaneous Works.



Upon the great enlargement of the public library of Cambridge by the addition of Bishop Moore's library, and his election to the office of principal librarian, Middleton published a little piece, with the title, '*Bibliothecæ Cantabrigiæ Ordinandæ Methodus.*' This pamphlet has been praised for its elegant Latinity; but, in the dedication to the vice-chancellor, its author made use of some incautious words in reference to the jurisdiction of the court of king's bench, for which he was prosecuted and fined. Poor Colbatch had, a little time previously to this prosecution, incurred the displeasure of the same tribunal for some expressions in his '*Jus Academicum,*' which Bentley's ingenuity contrived to represent as amounting to contempt of court.

In 1724 Dr Middleton, now a widower, accompanied Lord Coleraine to Italy. The author of the life of Middleton, in the '*Biographia Britannica,*' relates that when Middleton arrived at Rome, one of his first objects was to get himself introduced to his brother-librarian of the Vatican. He was received with great politeness by the learned keeper; but, upon his mentioning Cambridge, and the office he held there, he had the mortification to be informed by the Italian that he was now aware for the first time of the existence of a seminary of learning under that name in England. This touched the honour of our new librarian, says the writer referred to, who took some pains to convince his brother not only of the real existence, but of the real dignity of his university of Cambridge. At last the keeper of the Vatican acknowledged that, upon recollection, he had indeed heard of a celebrated school in England of that name, but understood it to be only a kind of nursery where youth were educated and prepared for their admission at Oxford. Dr Middleton with difficulty concealed his mortification at what was evidently a studied insult; but he resolved to make the inhabitants of Rome aware of the existence of Cambridge, and of the dignity of its librarian, by taking a handsome hotel, and launching out into a style of living somewhat disproportioned to his estate. The story is after all not highly probable; but if true, it tells only either for the ignorance or the rudeness of him of the Vatican.

Middleton returned to Cambridge towards the close of the next year. He had not been long in his study, however, before he contrived to get into a dispute with the medical faculty, by the publication of a tract, '*De Medicorum apud veteres Romanos degentium Conditione.*' Doctors Mead and Ward hastened to vindicate the honour of their profession, which they considered as called in question by Middleton's tractate; and the latter put forth a '*Defensio,*' in which he contrived to make up matters with his antagonists so well, that Mead and Middleton became afterwards and remained very good friends. Middleton's next publication was entitled '*A Letter from Rome, showing an exact conformity between Popery and Paganism; or the Religion of the present Romans derived from that of their Heathen ancestors.*' This work was favourably received by the Protestant public, and passed through several editions in a few years.

Thus far we may consider Middleton's character as standing rather high amongst his professional brethren; but he was now about to pursue a course which totally destroyed all reasonable prospect of preferment in the church, and brought his own Christianity into serious questioning. In the beginning of 1730, Tindal published his famous

work, 'Christianity as old as the Creation,' the design of which was to destroy revelation and to establish natural religion in its stead. Among others who met and satisfactorily refuted Tindal's reasonings was Dr Waterland. But Middleton, finding fault with his method of vindicating scripture, addressed a letter of remarks to him, in which he indulged in very unseemly language towards so popular a character as Waterland. Pearce, bishop of Rochester, took up the contest for Waterland, which drew from Middleton 'A Defence of the Letter to Dr Waterland.' Pearce replied, and treated his antagonist as an infidel or a disguised enemy to revelation; and Middleton was called upon either to vindicate himself from the imputations of the bishop of Rochester or resign his connexions with the university. He did so in 'Some Remarks on Dr Pearce's Second Reply,' and effected at least so much in the way of explanation and apology that he was allowed to retain his appointments. In 1733, however, Dr Williams, the public orator of the university, addressed some 'Observations' to Middleton, in which he attempted to prove that the librarian was certainly an infidel, and ought to be banished from the precincts of a Christian university. Middleton, in his answer to this attack, says: "I have nothing to recant on the occasion, nothing to confess, but the same four articles that I have already confessed: 1. That the Jews borrowed some of their customs from Egypt. 2. That the Egyptians were possessed of arts and learning in Moses's time. 3. That the primitive writers, in vindicating Scripture, found it necessary sometimes to recur to allegory. 4. That the Scriptures are not of absolute and universal inspiration. These are the only crimes that I have been guilty of against religion; and by reducing the controversy to these four heads, and declaring my whole meaning to be comprised in them, I did in reality recant every thing else that, through heat and inadvertency, had dropped from me,—every thing that could be construed to a sense hurtful to Christianity." In 1735 he published a 'Dissertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England,' in which he argues that Caxton introduced the art of printing into England, and first practised it here,—an hypothesis controverted in Bowyer and Nichols' 'Origin of Printing.'

In 1741 appeared his great work, 'The History of the Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero,' in two volumes quarto. It was published by subscription, and met with great support. The duke of Newcastle and Lord Hervey exerted themselves strenuously in procuring subscribers; although the former nobleman opposed Middleton's election to the mastership of the charter-house, and procured that office for Mr Mann. Wolfius, in his edition of the four controverted orations of Cicero, says that Middleton's life of that orator has three great faults: first, that the hero is frequently exalted beyond the bounds of truth into a character of ideal virtue; secondly, that the biographer has paid undue attention to his political as contrasted with his literary character; and thirdly, that too little critical acumen has been exercised in distinguishing the true from the false in the alleged historical facts interwoven in the memoir. There is some reason for all these grounds of censure. Middleton was an enthusiast in Roman literature, and had all a biographer's partialities for his subject. In the same year in which this work appeared, Tunstall addressed a Latin epistle to Middleton, in which he points out many erroneous conclusions in Middleton's 'Life of Cicero,' found-



ed upon corruptions or erroneous interpretations of Cicero's letters to Atticus, and his brother Quintus, and proposes a new edition of these epistles. Middleton soon afterwards published an English translation of the whole correspondence between Brutus and Cicero, with notes, and a preliminary dissertation in which he treats Tunstall with much severity. His adversary replied; and Markland engaged in the contest also by publishing 'Remarks on the Epistles of Cicero to Brutus, and of Brutus to Cicero.'

After the publication of some other dissertations on subjects connected with literary antiquities, Middleton got again involved in polemics by publishing 'An Introductory Discourse to a larger work, designed hereafter to be published, concerning the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Church from the earliest ages through several successive centuries.' This discourse, though, as announced in its title, preliminary only to a more extensive inquiry, excited much alarm, and was immediately attacked by Dr Stebbing and Dr Chapman: the former endeavoured to show that Middleton's reasonings struck at the evidences of Christianity, while the latter endeavoured to vindicate the impeached authority of the fathers. This attack Middleton parried by the publication of 'Remarks,' which were instantly followed by the appearance of the threatened 'Free Enquiry' itself. On the subject of the miraculous powers exercised in the early Christian church, Middleton's opinion is, in his own words:—"That in those first efforts of planting the gospel, after our Lord's ascension, the extraordinary gifts which he had promised were poured out in the fullest measure on the apostles, and those other disciples whom he had ordained to be the primary instruments of that great work; in order to enable them more easily to overrule the inveterate prejudices both of the Jews and Gentiles, and to bear up against the discouraging shocks of popular rage and persecution, which they were taught to expect in this noviciate of their ministry. But in process of time, when they had laid a foundation sufficient to sustain the great fabric designed to be erected upon it, and by an invincible courage had conquered the first and principal difficulties, and planted churches in all the chief cities of the Roman empire, and settled a regular ministry to succeed them in the government of the same, it may reasonably be presumed that, as the benefit of miraculous powers began to be less and less wanted in proportion to the increase of these churches, so the use and exercise of them began gradually to decline; and, as soon as Christianity had gained an establishment in every quarter of the known world, that they were finally withdrawn, and the gospel left to make the rest of its way by its own genuine strength, and the natural force of those divine graces with which it was so richly stored—Faith, Hope, and Charity,—graces which never fail to inspire all who truly possess them with a zeal and courage which no terrors can daunt nor worldly power subdue. And all this," he continues, "as far as I am able to judge from the nature of the gifts themselves, and from the instances or effects of them which I have any where observed, may probably be thought to have happened while some of the apostles were still living: who, in the times even of the gospel, appear on several occasions to have been destitute of any extraordinary gifts, and of whose miracles, when we go beyond the limits of the gospel, we meet with nothing in the later histories on which we

can depend, or nothing rather but what is apparently fabulous."<sup>2</sup> The publication of the 'Free Enquiry' excited an extraordinary sensation, and its author was accused of not merely "endeavouring to demolish the outworks of the church," but of assaulting the fortress itself, or at least throwing discredit on the general evidences of revelation. The 'Free Enquiry' has ceased to be regarded with so much alarm; and it is now considered a reasonable opinion that, after the death of the apostles and their immediate successors, the possession of miraculous aids was no longer vouchsafed to the church as a community, or to any individuals as its ministers; and, moreover, that all miracles which are related to have taken place after that period, must be subjected to the usual tests, and must stand or fall on their own merits, according to the degrees of evidence and probability.<sup>3</sup> Nor is this a question at all affecting the truth of Christianity, however much it may weaken the testimony of tradition on some points. So far then we regard the 'Enquiry' as a useful and acute rather than a hurtful publication. It is only to be regretted that its author should have occasionally indulged in remarks calculated to invalidate the proof from testimony for all facts involving effects exceeding the common operations of nature. Among Dr Middleton's opponents on this question, Dodwell and Church distinguished themselves by their zeal, and were complimented by the university of Oxford with the degree of D. D., for their exertions on behalf of the authority of the fathers. Middleton left unfinished a 'Vindication of the Free Enquiry,' against the objections of Church and Dodwell, which was published a few months after his decease.

While a host of assailants, excited by the publication of the 'Free Enquiry,' were gathering around him, Middleton found means to stir up a new controversy, and with a still more formidable opponent than any who had yet assailed the 'Enquiry.' In 1750 Sherlock published an edition of his 'Discourses on Prophecy,' with an additional dissertation on the Fall. This edition Middleton selected for the subject of an 'Examination,' which appeared in the same year. It has been alleged that the secret ground of Middleton's hostility towards Sherlock's theological opinions was personal pique and resentment, because he thought the bishop had opposed his election to the mastership of the Charter-house. There is no decisive evidence as to this, nor would the reader be much gratified, we presume, with any very elaborate inquiry into the fact. Middleton contends, in opposition to Sherlock, that there is no system of prophecy, but only particular, detached, unrelated prophecies. He supposes the Fall to be an allegory. "I agree it is so," says Warburton, speaking of Middleton's publication in a letter to his friend Hurd. "In this we differ: he supposes it to be an allegory of a moral truth, namely, that man soon corrupted his ways; and seems to think, by his way of speaking, that an allegory can convey no other kind of information. I say it is an allegory of a moral fact, namely, that man had transgressed that positive command—whatever it was—on the observance of which the free gift of immortality was conditionally given." Dr Rutherford, divinity professor at Cambridge, answered this 'Examination;' but Middleton pursued the argument no further, his attention being in the meantime turned upon the assailants of the 'Free Enquiry.'

<sup>2</sup> Preface to 'Free Enquiry.'      <sup>3</sup> Waddington.



In the midst of all this activity and strife, the hand of death arrested his career on the 28th of July, 1750. His miscellaneous works were published in five volumes, octavo. Very different opinions have been formed of Middleton's religious character. Dr Parr, usually a liberal judge on such a point, considered him "a concealed infidel." Others have praised him for his liberality of sentiment and unaffected pursuit of truth. His literary character is a point of less uncertainty. Parr was a great admirer of his style, and used to repeat particular passages in his works with much animation.<sup>4</sup> Bolingbroke, a still higher authority, says that Middleton is "the best writer in England;" he is indeed an admirable prose writer, superior perhaps to Addison, in what has been called the Middle-style of composition.

## William Whiston.

BORN A. D. 1667.—DIED A. D. 1752.

THIS singular and extraordinary character was the son of the Rev. Josiah Whiston, rector of Norton, near Twycrosse, in the county of Leicester. His education, which had been chiefly conducted at home, was finished at Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship in 1693, and soon after became chaplain to Moore, bishop of Norwich. While filling this office, he published a work, entitled 'A New Theory of the Earth, from its original to the consummation of all things.' He says that the manuscript was examined and approved by Bentley, Sir Isaac Newton, and Sir Christopher Wren. Locke, writing to his friend Molyneux, soon after the publication of this book, says, "I have not heard any one of my acquaintance speak of it, (the Theory,) but with great commendations, as I think it deserves; and truly, I think, he is more to be admired, that he has laid down an hypothesis whereby he has explained so many wonderful, and, before, inexplicable things in the great changes of this globe, than that some of them should not easily go down with some men, when the whole was entirely new to all."

In 1698 he was presented to the living of Lowestoft in Suffolk, and immediately applied himself most conscientiously to the discharge of his pastoral duties. In 1700 Sir Isaac Newton, who subsequently resigned in his favour, appointed him his deputy in the Lucasian professorship of mathematics, upon which he resigned his living, and removed to Cambridge. In 1702 he published 'A Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament, and of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists.' In 1703 he edited an edition of 'Tacquet's Euclid, with select theorems of Archimedes.' In 1706 he published an 'Essay on the Revelation of St John;' and the next year, 'Prælectiones Astronomiæ,' and an edition of Sir Isaac Newton's 'Arithmetica Universalis.' In 1707 he preached the Boyle lectures. During the following year he drew up an 'Essay upon the Apostolical Constitutions;' but the vice-chancellor refused to license it for the Cambridge press, on discovering that it contained what were considered heterodox notions upon the article of the Trinity. Whiston, however, was not a

<sup>4</sup> Butler's Reminiscences, vol. ii. p. 249.

man to be daunted by the opposition of others, and even the remonstrances of friends failed to persuade him to an ordinary measure of prudence in the promulgation of his peculiar sentiments. He insisted on openly avowing his Arian sentiments even from the pulpits of the university. His friend Dr Clarke besought him not to publish a piece which he had written on the family of Joseph and Mary, the reputed parents of our Saviour, arguing that its publication might do him much harm, and could be attended with little good, for the common opinion on the subject might go undisturbed. Whiston replied that "such sorts of motives were of no weight with him, compared with the discovery and propagation of truth." Dr Laughton and Mr Priest came to him, "in a way of kindness," to use his own words, "to dissuade him from going on with his publication of the 'Apostolical Constitutions,' and of his argument for their authority;" but he told them, "You may as well persuade the sun to come down from the firmament as turn me from this my resolution." Even the redoubtable Bentley's powers of entreaty—if he condescended to resort to entreaty—and threatening, were set at nought by the indomitable Whiston, who calmly says of the great master of Trinity: "he aimed prodigiously to terrify me with the irresistible authority of the convocation." The enthusiasm of the man, at this critical period of his fortunes, appears in the following passage from his autobiography:—"Continuing to act boldly, according to my duty and conscience, I enjoyed a great calm within, how roughly soever the waves and billows abroad seemed ready to overwhelm me. Nor do I remember, that during all the legal proceedings against me—which lasted in all four or five years at Cambridge and London—I lost my sleep more than two or three hours one night on that account. This affords a small specimen of what support the old confessors and martyrs might receive from their Saviour when they underwent such miseries and torments as we should generally think insupportable by human nature. But to proceed as to myself, when I saw that it was not unlikely that I might come into great trouble, by my open and resolute behaviour in these matters, and resolving to hazard all in endeavouring to restore the religion of Christ as he left it, which I well knew what it was in almost every single point, I took particular notice of the martyrdom of Polycarp, and learned that admirable prayer of his at his martyrdom by heart; and if it should be my lot to die a martyr, I designed to put up the same prayer in the same circumstances; being satisfied that no death is so eligible to a Christian as martyrdom, in case the preservation of his integrity and a good conscience make it necessary."

In the year of his banishment from the university, but before that transaction occurred, Whiston published his '*Prælectiones Physico-Mathematicæ*,' in which the doctrines established by Sir Isaac Newton were first popularly expounded. These prælections were afterwards published in English. They contain abundant proofs of Whiston's powers and acquirements as a mathematician. Had he confined himself to the science of demonstration, he would have taken a very high rank among the mathematicians of his country; but his head was unfortunately full of crude notions about "the genuine, canonical, and apostolical" constitutions, and his scheme for the revival of "primitive Christianity;" and upon these subjects he went on writing and blunder-



ing with a zeal and precipitation that defied either restraint or guidance. A single anecdote will suffice to illustrate the fervent zeal with which this mistaken but well-meaning man set about enforcing the authority of his favourite 'Constitutions.' Hoadly, he says, told him one day that Bishop Burnet, soon after the publication of his four volumes of 'Primitive Christianity,' had expressed his surprise, that a man of Whiston's erudition and sagacity should have fallen into such a wild theory on the subject of the constitutions. This was enough for Whiston. Without further ado, he waited upon the bishop to debate the point personally with him. "I desired to know his reasons against them," he says. His lordship replied, "that he certainly had had some reasons against them, but he could not now recall them. However," Whiston's narrative goes on, "he soon recollected one of these reasons, namely, the dryness and dulness of the prayers. I answered, 'Your lordship greatly surprises me by saying so, for I thought all who ever perused them have allowed that they were amongst the best prayers now in the world.' The bishop said further," he adds, "in excuse for his present unacquaintedness with such matters of antiquity, that it was thirty years ago since he read over the three first centuries." Whiston was now supporting himself mainly by lecturing on astronomy in the metropolis; and this source of income would probably have proved sufficient for all his wants, had he not neglected every thing in his passion for illuminating the world on points of high faith and doctrine, and primitive ecclesiastical antiquity. In the month of January, 1711, we find him addressing a letter to Tennyson, archbishop of Canterbury, in which he solicits a public hearing from his grace, in order that he might vindicate himself from the unjust reproaches and calumnies with which he had been assailed. The archbishop did not see proper to indulge him with an interview, whereupon the undaunted Whiston sent his humble duty to his grace, and proceeded with his theological investigations. "In the same year," says he, "that great general, Prince Eugene of Savoy, was in England. And because I did then, as I do now, interpret the end of the hour and day, and month and year, for the Ottoman devastations, (Apoc. ix. 15,) to have been put, by his glorious victory over the Turks, September 1, 1697, O. S., or the succeeding peace of Carlowitz, 1698, I printed a short dedication of my first imperfect 'Essay on the Revelation of Saint John,' and fixed it to the cover of a copy of that essay, and presented it to the prince, upon which he sent me a present of fifteen guineas." From this period we find Whiston applying various Scripture prophecies to passing events; of course his absurd predictions were continually falsified; but his confidence in his ability to interpret prophecy sustained no shock from repeated failures. In 1712 he discovered "the ancient error of the baptism of uncatechized infants," and wrote a book on the subject with his usual precipitation and confidence. His affairs were still before the convocation; but the queen seemed to discourage any further proceedings against him, by delaying to confirm the censure of convocation when forwarded to her for her approbation. "This was not unacceptable," observes Burnet, "to some of us, and to myself in particular. I was gone into my diocese when that censure was passed; and I have ever thought that the true interest of the Christian religion was best consulted when nice disputing about mysteries was laid aside and

forgotten.”<sup>1</sup> In the beginning of the next year, Whiston published “Reflections on a Pamphlet of Mr Anthony Collins, entitled ‘A Discourse of Free-thinking.’” “I have been informed,” says he, “that when Bishop Burnet had read this paper of mine, he liked it so well, that he said, ‘for its sake I forgive him all his heresy.’”

The court of delegates now took up Whiston’s publications for prosecution, and the duke of Newcastle gave him ten guineas to fee Mr Lechmere as his counsel; “with leave,” adds he, “to keep these ten guineas to myself if he would not accept of them.” Lechmere allowed him to keep the duke’s gratuity, and “gave me,” says he, “the best advice in the world, as I thought, and, what I highly approved of, gratis, namely, not to trust to an extempore defence, but to write it down, to print it, to read it in open court, and to publish it the next day.” Lord-chief-justice Dod at last put an end to the prosecution of Whiston, by declaring that “he would not sit as a judge upon heresies;” and Whiston complimented the court by presenting each member with “a single sheet, wet from the press;” which, on examination, instead of a petition for mercy, as at first they supposed it to be, turned out a ‘Demonstration of the Cause of the Deluge!’

‘A new Method of discovering the Longitude,’ and a ‘Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles,’ were the next subjects that employed Whiston’s pen. Meanwhile, he got up a meeting for the purposes of Christian worship, according to his new views of Scripture. “On Easter day, 1715,” he says, “we began to have a solemn assembly for worship and the eucharist, at my house in Cross-street, Hatton-garden, according to the form in my liturgy. About fifteen communicants present. On Whitsunday the same year we had a second solemn assembly for the same purpose, which was continued several years, at least three times in a year, at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. In pursuance of my proposals for erecting societies for promoting primitive Christianity, such a society was erected about this time, and met weekly at the primitive library, which was at my house in Cross-street, Hatton-garden, in which house I have heard the famous Mr Flamsteed once also lived. It lasted about two years, from July 3d, 1715, to June 28th, 1717, of which society, its chairman, and secretary, and rules, see Dr Clarke’s life.<sup>2</sup> However, I will here add one particular circumstance, not related elsewhere, which concerns this society. When we first met, and were very desirous no bar should be laid in the way of any that pretended to be Christians from joining with us, Mr Josiah Martin, the most learned of all the people called Quakers that I ever knew, offered himself to be a member, and was readily received as such. I then proposed that we should use some short collects taken out of our Common Prayer book, before we began, and after we ended every meeting, to implore the blessing of God upon our inquiries: to which proposal all readily agreed but Mr Martin, who entirely scrupled joining with us in such prayers unless when the Spirit moved him, which occasioned a good deal of difficulty to the society.”

While poor Whiston was struggling with bishops and delegates, and unruly quakers, who would not conform to his ideas of primitive worship, the eclipse of 1715 came in good time to replenish his exhausted

<sup>1</sup> History of his own Times.

<sup>2</sup> 1st edition, pp. 86—91.



purse, and supply his family with the means of livelihood. "This most eminent eclipse," says he, "was exactly foretold by Mr Flamsteed, Dr Halley, and myself. Its beginning came to one minute, and its end within four of the calculations. And it was perhaps more exactly observed by the French astronomers in London, and by our own at the Royal society and elsewhere, than any other eclipse ever was. I myself, by my lectures before,—by the sale of my schemes before and after,—by the generous presents of my numerous and noble audience, who, at the recommendation of my great friend, the Lord Stanhope, then secretary of state, gave me a guinea apiece,—by the very uncommon present of twenty guineas from another of my great benefactors, the duke of Newcastle, and of five guineas at night from the Lord Godolphin, gained in all about £120 by it. Which," he adds, with affecting naïvete, "in the circumstances I then was and have since been, was a very seasonable and plentiful supply, and, as I reckoned, maintained me and my family for a whole year together." This eclipse of the sun, he afterwards discovered, must have been intended as a divine signal that the end of that overbearing persecution in two of the ten idolatrous kingdoms, which arose in the fifth century in the Roman empire, namely, the Britons and the Saxons, had come or was nigh at hand. Whiston's memoirs of himself abound with curious notices of his life, habits, and opinions, all told in the most simple and inartificial manner. His great passion appears to have been to discover and introduce what he conceived to be the order, discipline, and doctrines of primitive Christianity. Every day threw some new light upon his researches, and his conclusions were as enthusiastically adopted in his own practice and pressed by him upon the attention of others, as they were rapidly arrived at. For example, he found out that he could produce more evidence, as he thought, for the observance of half-fasts, or the Wednesday's and Friday's stations, than for that of the Lord's day itself; and straightway he became a rigid observer of these two stations, beyond any of the Roman Catholic persuasion; for he tells us, that he could not in his observance of these half-fasts avail himself of the Catholic maxim, "*liquidum non solvit jejunium*." "I once went," says he, "to speak with the learned Dr Woodward, the physician. It was on a Wednesday or Friday, I do not know which. He offered me a dish of chocolate, which I refused, telling him that I kept the old rule of Christians, and should not take any more food till three o'clock in the afternoon. He replied that I might drink chocolate—if it were milled, and thereby made a liquid—and be fasting still. And, to prove his assertion, he produced a thin book in quarto, written by a cardinal, to that very purpose; however, neither did the cardinal's authority nor reason move me to alter my own Christian practice." Dr Halley, provoked by a similar exhibition of Whiston's pertinacity, observed to him he was afraid he had a Pope in his belly; to which the undaunted Whiston promptly replied, that, had it not been for "the rise now and then of a Luther and a Whiston" he would himself have gone down on his knees to St Winifred and St Bridget. Again, he cautions the reader to observe that, "though he sometimes complies with custom as to the denomination of great men, both in church and state, to prevent giving too much offence,—such as 'His most excellent Majesty,' 'His royal Highness,' 'The right reverend Father in God,'—yet is he not quite satisfied with the justness of such

flattering titles." He tells us how greatly scandalized he was, when on accepting an invitation from Mr Rundle, a member of his society, "to eat a cheese-cake, as he termed it," he found that the said Mr Rundle had so far passed from the strict letter of his invitation as to set before him "a collation of wine and sweet-meats." In the midst of his many trials, and especially those arising from the indifference with which the public received his statements of primitive doctrine and practice, he says he received great consolation from comparing himself to Milton's Abdiel, whose case he thought "near fitting his own." Yet Whiston appears to have met with rather a generous public after all, for we have numerous notices in his memoirs of his being presented with sums of money by private individuals, and of subscriptions which were made for him. In the latter part of the year 1721 a sum of £470 was raised for him.

In 1724 he published a work on 'Solar eclipses without parallaxes,' a book which he says is full of mistakes, but declares that he is too old to revise it, and comforts himself with the assurance that the world will excuse him this trouble, "well-knowing that he is about things of much greater consequence." Two years afterwards, we find him delivering a series of public lectures at London, Bristol, Bath, and Tunbridge, upon the temples of Solomon, Zorobabel, Herod, and Ezekiel. These lectures were, in the modern phrase, illustrated by models made under Whiston's directions at a considerable expense; the lectures he regarded as preparatory to the restoration of the Jews, which subject, says he, in his usual strain of satisfaction and perfect complacency, "I take to be my peculiar business at present; since I have, I think, plainly discovered that it will not be many years before the Messiah will come for the restoration of the Jews and the first resurrection, when the last of these temples, the temple of Ezekiel, will be built upon Mount Sion, as the three former had been upon Mount Moriah." Whiston was greatly delighted, while at Bristol, with the conversion of a Mr Catcot, a schoolmaster there, to his theory on the temples; but, he adds with extreme naïvete, that in a very short time afterwards this hopeful pupil became a proselyte "to that wild Hebrew enthusiast, Mr Hutchinson."

In 1737 Whiston published the work by which he is most generally known to the English public, namely, his translation of Josephus's works, with notes. This is a very able performance, and highly illustrative of the extraordinary erudition of the translator. In 1745 he published a survey of the English coast, which had been executed under his direction by Mr John Renshaw. The board of longitude gave him £500 for this work, but he declares that that sum did not cover his expenses. We next find him engaged in a newspaper controversy about the case of one Christopher Lovel of Bristol, who, Whiston maintained, had been cured of the king's evil, at Avignon, by the touch of "the eldest lineal descendant of a race of kings;" and likewise zealously maintaining the efficacy of extreme unction, one of the primitive ordinances, as he had now discovered, of the Christian church. His speculations on these two points are extremely wild and fanciful, and would bear a comparison with those of some enthusiasts of our own day, who have discovered the continued existence of miraculous powers in the church.

About the year 1748 Whiston heard of one Dr Gill, and of his pro-



found acquaintance with the Oriental languages, and resolved to hear him preach; but, on being informed that he had written a folio book on the Canticles, "I declined," says he, "to go to hear him." He next "had a mind to know somewhat authentically of the Moravians," but was cured of his fancy by the perusal of a small book of Moravian sermons, in which he says he found a mixture of much weakness and great seriousness. His last famous discovery was that the Tartars are no other than the lost ten tribes. He died, after a brief illness, on the 22d of August, 1752.

Towards the close of his career, Whiston was thus spoken of by Bishop Hare:—"He has, all his life, been cultivating piety, and virtue, and learning; he is rigidly constant in all his duties; and both his philosophical and mathematical works are highly useful. But it is the poor man's misfortune (for poor he is, and like to be, not having any preferment) to have a warm head, and to be very zealous in what he thinks the cause of God. He thinks prudence the worldly wisdom condemned by Christ and his apostles; and that it is gross prevarication and hypocrisy to conceal the discoveries he conceives he has made. And thus, though he designs to hurt nobody, he is betrayed into some indiscretions. But he is very hardly dealt by: his performances are run down by those who never read them, and his warmth of temper is denounced as pride, obstinacy, and innate depravity. Some, too, say he is a madman, and, low as he is, will not leave him quiet in his poverty."

Collins, in his 'Discourse on Christianity,' says of him, "His ardent temper frequently leads him into strange mistakes: for instance, an Arabic manuscript coming into his hands, of which he understood not one word, he fancied it was a translation of an ancient book of Scripture, belonging to the New Testament, styled, 'The Doctrine of the Apostles;' and on this he reasoned and wrote, as if it had been indisputable, till, on its being read by persons skilled in Arabic, it proved quite a different matter. He lives in London, and visits persons of the highest rank, to whom he discourses freely on doctrinal points, and especially about Athanasianism, which seems his chief concern. There is an anecdote told of George II. and Whiston, somewhat similar to one already given in this memoir. The king, conversing with Whiston one day in Hampton Court gardens, observed that, however right he might be in his opinions, it would have been better if he had kept them to himself. "Had Martin Luther done so," replied Whiston, "where, let me ask, would your majesty have been at this moment?"

"He was much esteemed," says his son, "by Queen Caroline, who made him a present of £50 yearly. She usually sent for him once in the summer, whilst she was out of town, to spend a day or two with her. Loving his free conversation, she asked him, at Richmond, what people in general said of her. He replied, that they justly esteemed her a lady of great abilities, a patron of learned men, and a kind friend to the poor. 'But,' says she, 'no one is without faults; pray, what are mine?' Whiston begged to be excused speaking on that subject, but she insisting, he said, 'Her majesty did not behave with proper reverence at church.' She replied, 'The king would talk with her.' He said, 'A greater than kings was there only to be regarded.' She owned it, and confessed her fault. 'Pray,' says she, 'tell me what is my next.'

He replied, 'When I hear your majesty has amended of that fault, I will tell you of your next;' and so it ended."

The following anecdote is related on the same authority:—"Being in company with Addison, Steele, Secretary Craggs, and Sir Robert Walpole, they engaged in a dispute, whether a secretary of state could be an honest man. Whiston, being silent, was asked his opinion, and said, 'he thought honesty was the best policy, and if a minister would practise it, he would find it so.' To which Craggs replied, 'It might do for a fortnight, but would not do for a month.' Whiston demanded, 'If he had ever tried it for a fortnight.' To which he, making no answer, the company gave it for Whiston."

## Joseph Butler.

BORN A. D. 1692.—DIED A. D. 1752.

THIS celebrated theologian of the English church was born at Wantage, in Berkshire, in 1692. Of his father, Thomas Butler, scarcely any thing is recorded, except that he was a respectable tradesman in that town, and belonged to the Presbyterian communion. The subject of this memoir was the youngest of eight children. Having early given indications of superior capacity and genius, he was destined by his father for the work of the ministry in his own denomination. Accordingly, after the usual course of elementary instruction at the grammar-school of Wantage, Butler was sent to a dissenting academy, then established at Gloucester, but afterwards removed to Tewkesbury. This institution was at that time under the superintendence of Mr Jones, a man of uncommon talents and learning, of whose pupils many attained to great subsequent eminence, both in the church of England and among the dissenters. While a member of this academy, Mr Butler, at the early age of nineteen, entered into a correspondence with Dr Samuel Clarke, on some of the arguments advanced in the doctor's celebrated 'Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God.' This correspondence was anonymous on Butler's side; and the transmission of the letters was managed for him by his friend and fellow-student Secker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. The same reach and sagacity of intellect, which characterize all Butler's subsequent performances, are exhibited to the greatest advantage in these letters to Dr Clarke. His objections are aimed at Clarke's (professed) demonstrations of the omnipresence and the unity of God. With regard to the first of these, the doctor's answers seem to have wrought considerable conviction in Mr Butler's mind. And, indeed, if the method of arguing from original and absolute necessity, as the ground or reason of existence, be admitted, it seems impossible to invalidate Dr Clarke's demonstration of the Divine ubiquity. To us, however, it appears, that the fundamental principle of this pretended demonstration is untenable and fallacious.<sup>1</sup> As to the metaphysical argument in support of the unity of God, Butler remained unsatisfied to the last; and, indeed, if we could forget the influence of system, and the force of that parental affection with which

<sup>1</sup> See our notice of Dr Samuel Clarke.



even the most unbiassed minds almost always regard their own opinions, we might be surprised that Clarke himself did not yield to the arguments of his anonymous correspondent. It is only fair to add that all the doctor's letters are written in a friendly and respectful tone; and that, after he ascertained the name of his acute antagonist, he always manifested the greatest esteem and kindness for him. It was about this time that Butler entered upon a serious, and, we doubt not, a conscientious examination of the reasons of non-conformity; the result of which determined him to enter the established church. The accession of so illustrious a proselyte has, of course, been celebrated with the loudest exultation by the apologists of the English hierarchy. But, without detracting one particle from the acknowledged acumen and piety of Butler, no intelligent advocate of independency will find much to wonder at in this conversion, which the zealots of episcopacy have "voiced so regardfully."<sup>2</sup> It was the weakness of this great man to attach a disproportionate, and almost preposterous importance to the external observances of religion. Indeed we suspect that it would be difficult to produce another protestant divine of the eighteenth century, whose sentiments upon this point bordered so nearly upon Romanism. To this it must be added, that the theological system of Butler was never by any means sufficiently evangelical. Though he admitted them into his creed, he seems to have had no idea of giving due weight and prominence to those principles which constitute the spirit and vitality, the very element and essence of the gospel. Hence he would easily be led to acquiesce in an ecclesiastical system of which it is one of the worst features, that it not only does not provide in any adequate degree for the exhibition of those principles, but actually operates, with most calamitous effect, to counteract and destroy them.—After some opposition from his father, Butler was allowed to follow his inclinations, and in 1714 he entered as a commoner of Oriel college, Oxford. Here he became the intimate friend of Edward Talbot, second son of Dr William Talbot, a prelate of some eminence in the English church.

In 1718, through the recommendation of Mr Talbot and Dr Clarke, Sir Joseph Jekyll bestowed upon Butler the appointment of preacher at the Rolls, which he retained till 1725. In the beginning of this year he gave to the world a volume entitled, 'Fifteen Sermons preached at the Rolls' Chapel;' of which a second edition was published in 1729. To these were subsequently added, 'Six Sermons preached upon public occasions.' Of these sermons, considered as disquisitions on the philosophy of morals and religion, it is difficult to speak in terms of proper and commensurate commendation. They exhibit a rare combination of nearly all the excellences of which compositions of this class are susceptible, and are, generally, remarkably free from most of the defects and blemishes of abstrusely argumentative sermons. They are chargeable, however, with one serious and capital deficiency, a deficiency of evangelical statement. Without falling in with those who demand that a man shall empty the whole of his theological system into every sermon, we must unequivocally deplore and condemn the almost total omission of evangelical sentiment and principle which so unfavourably distinguishes the sermons of Butler. As there is scarcely any

<sup>2</sup> Shakspeare's *Timon of Athens*.

thing in any of his reasonings or remarks inconsistent with the leading truths of the gospel, he might have incorporated those truths with the profoundest of his disquisitions without in the last impairing their scientific exactness, or weakening their impression. On the contrary, it would have been a task entirely worthy of his mighty intellect to show how the deepest researches into the foundation of morals, and the structure and operations of the human mind, only tend to sustain and illustrate the divine philosophy of the gospel. The preface and the first three sermons are chiefly occupied with discussions on the nature and authority of conscience, and on the social nature of man. It is surprising with what depth, comprehensiveness, and clearness he has succeeded in treating these subjects, the native obscurity of which has, in every age, been so greatly augmented, in part by the errors of the wise and the good, but chiefly by the "perverse disputings" of the licentious. We greatly doubt whether there is any thing of importance in the settlement of the first principles of morals which may not be found in the preface and the first three sermons of this volume. The discourses on the character of Balaam, on Self-deceit, on the Love of God, and on the Ignorance of Man, may be noticed as of peculiar excellence. From the last of these we are tempted to extract a short passage, which, for depth of thought and beauty of illustration, has not often been excelled. "Due sense of the general ignorance of man would also beget in us a disposition to take up and rest satisfied with any evidence whatever which is real. I mention this as the contrary to a disposition, of which there are not wanting instances, to find fault with and reject evidence, because it is not such as was desired. If a man were to walk by twilight, must he not follow his eyes as much as if it were broad day and clear sunshine? Or if he were obliged to take a journey by night, would he not 'give heed' to any 'light shining in the darkness, till the day should break, and the day-star arise?' It would not be altogether unnatural for him to reflect how much better it were to have day-light; he might, perhaps, have great curiosity to see the country round about him; he might lament that the darkness concealed many extended prospects from his eyes, and wish for the sun to draw away the veil: but how ridiculous would it be to reject with scorn and disdain the guidance and direction which that lesser light might afford him, because it was not the sun himself."

In 1722 he was presented by his patron, Bishop Talbot, with the benefice of Houghton, which, three years after, he exchanged for that of Stanhope. In this last place he remained for seven years. The retirement of a country parish, however, tended so powerfully to aggravate Butler's constitutional melancholy, that his friends became very desirous to remove him to a superior scene. It is said that when his name was mentioned to Queen Caroline, she asked whether he was not dead; to which it was answered "No, madam, but he is buried." In 1733 Butler was appointed chaplain to the Lord-chancellor Talbot; and in the same year he was admitted to the degree of D. C. L. by the university of Oxford. In 1736 he was made clerk of the closet to her majesty. Shortly after appeared his great work, entitled, 'The Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of nature.' The great scope and bearing of this immortal treatise is to destroy the force of the chief antecedent exceptions against natural and revealed religion,



by showing that the doctrines objected to in both, coincide and harmonize with what we know to be the ordinary operations of nature and providence. He proceeds, throughout, on the assumption of the being and perfections of God, which, he observes, "have often been proved with accumulated evidence." He commences in his introduction with some acute remarks on the nature and measures of probability, and the unquestionable force of analogical evidence in innumerable matters of daily practice and observation. Here we may observe, that throughout the work Dr Butler employs the word "analogy" in its most extended sense, as synonymous with similarity or resemblance. Hence he affirms that it is from the evidence of analogy that we collect that "the sun will rise to-morrow, and be seen, where it is seen, in the figure of a circle, and not that of a square." It is important to keep this usage of the term steadily in mind; since there are two other senses in which it is used by writers of authority, neither of which would quadrature with the reasonings and illustrations of Dr Butler. By Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and almost all the ancients, and by Berkeley, Johnson, A. Ferguson, Coplestone, and Whately, among our own writers, "analogy" is employed to signify *equality or similarity of relations*: hence it is said by Aristotle that the roots of a tree are "analogous" to the mouth of an animal; for both draw in nourishment.<sup>3</sup> By most of our later metaphysicians, however, "analogy" is used to signify a vague and general similarity, in contradistinction from those more exact and complete resemblances which constitute the foundation of what is called the testimony of experience.<sup>4</sup> From inattention to this diversity in the use of the term, the arguments of Butler have frequently been greatly misunderstood. In the first part of the work, which treats of natural religion, he considers successively the doctrines "of a future life;" "of the government of God by rewards and punishments;" "of the moral government of God;" "of a state of probation as implying trial, difficulties, and danger;" "of a state of probation as intended for moral discipline and improvement;" "of the opinion of necessity considered as influencing practice;" and "of the government of God considered as a scheme or constitution imperfectly comprehended." In the second part, which is devoted to revealed religion, he discusses, seriatim, "the importance of Christianity;" "the supposed presumptions against a revelation, considered as miraculous;" "our incapacity of judging what were to be expected in a revelation;" "Christianity considered as a scheme or constitution imperfectly comprehended;" "the appointment of a Mediator;" "the want of universality in revelation, and the supposed deficiency in the proof of it;" "the particular evidence for Christianity;" and "the objections which may be made against arguing from the analogy of nature to religion." On each of these well-selected and momentous subjects he offers a variety of original and masterly remarks and arguments, the general impression of which is to prove that unless we are prepared to reject the first principles of all religion and of common sense, we are bound in consistency to embrace and act up to every one of the enumerated doctrines. To the whole treatise are appended two dissertations, "on personal identity," and "on the nature of virtue." In the first of these he briefly considers and refutes Mr Locke's account of

<sup>3</sup> See note to Bishop Coplestone's second sermon on the Calvinistic controversy.

<sup>4</sup> See Stewart's Elem. vol. ii.

personal identity, in a style which shows that had he concentrated his attention upon the philosophy of the human mind, he might have eclipsed the fame of some of the greatest metaphysicians. In the second he propounds and illustrates with great perspicuity the same theory of virtue on which he had before insisted in the preface to his sermons. The 'Analogy,' ever since its first publication, has been universally considered as beyond comparison the ablest treatise on the philosophy of religion.<sup>5</sup> As a preparation for the study of the evidences of natural and revealed religion, it is invaluable; since it both annihilates the most formidable *a priori* objections of the infidel, and is admirably fitted to form the mind to the serious and earnest pursuit of the truth. To good men of a speculative turn of mind, who are tormented by the frequent recurrence of sceptical doubts, it has always proved an inestimable blessing; and even infidels have been compelled to acknowledge its superlative excellence as a piece of reasoning. If we were required to specify particular portions of merit, superior to the rest, we should mention the chapter on the moral government of God, especially the argument drawn from the necessary tendencies of virtue, and that which treats of the want of universality in religion, and of the supposed deficiency in the proof of it. It is to be regretted that the author did not extend his work so as to embrace some other important doctrines, in support of which, the argument from analogy might have been employed with perfect success. We also desiderate in this, as in his other publications, that full decided exhibition of evangelical sentiment, which would have been the crowning excellence to a work in most other respects beyond all praise.

In 1738 Dr Butler was raised to the bishopric of Bristol, and two years after received the deanery of St Paul's. In 1750 he was translated to the see of Durham. The following year he delivered to the clergy of his diocese a charge, which was subsequently published. In this he insists very strongly on the value and effect of external forms and institutes in religion. He was answered by an anonymous writer of considerable ability, who is reported to have been a clergyman of the church of England, and who certainly had by many degrees the best of the argument. Shortly after his elevation to the see of Durham, the health of Dr Butler began to decline; and in 1752 he died at Bath, in the sixty-first year of his age. His body was interred in the cathedral at Bristol.

In the mind of Bishop Butler, all the elements of the true philosophic intellect were developed in their utmost strength and finest proportion. His metaphysical sagacity, while scarcely less profound than that of Leibnitz or of Edwards, was chastened and controlled by a sound practical reason, which neither the German nor the American ever possessed. In that Baconian grasp and comprehensiveness of mind which embraces a complex and extensive subject in all its parts and bearings, he has rarely, if ever, been surpassed. The greatness of his genius is remarkably displayed in that simplicity and sobriety of mind which he preserved entire and undisturbed, amidst his most abstruse and elevated speculations. He never attempts to prop a weak position, or to bear too heavily upon a strong one. He never understates the

<sup>5</sup> See, in particular, Sir James Mackintosh's Dissertation on the History of Ethical Science, Encyc. Brit. New Edition.



argument of an antagonist, never conceals the difficulties which encumber his own. In short, he exhibits nothing of the artifice and generalship which usually render controversial divinity so comparatively unproductive of conviction. But indeed he could afford the negligent simplicity of greatness; for at the same time that his speculations were uniformly sound and just, they were infinitely more original than all the brilliant paradoxes that ever flashed across the imagination of Horsley or of Warburton. The style of Bishop Butler has, we think, been condemned undeservedly. It certainly is not formed to any thing like Ciceronian harmony and elegance; but it seldom offends the ear, or violates the purity of the English idiom. The charge of obscurity may be confidently repelled; and indeed it is difficult to conceive how it should ever have been advanced by any but a brainless sciolist,

“too weak to bear  
The insupportable fatigue of thought.”

Dr Butler was a man of great liberality and benevolence. He is said to have expended, in the repairs and embellishment of the episcopal palace at Bristol, more than he received from the bishopric during his whole tenure of that see. It is reported that, when he was bishop of Durham, he one day asked his steward how much money was in the house; to which it was answered, “Five hundred pounds.” “Five hundred pounds!” exclaimed the worthy prelate, “what a shame for a bishop to have so much money in the house at one time!” On this he ordered a great part of it to be distributed to the poor. His piety, though not free from a tincture of austerity and mysticism, was full of seriousness, humility, and fervour. Fifteen years after his decease, the religious world was startled by the affirmation of an anonymous writer that Bishop Butler died in the communion of the church of Rome. For this, when the subject came to be examined, no better evidence was produced than Butler’s excessive predilection for the external ceremonials of religion, and the fact that he had a *cross* set up in his chapel at Bristol. Archbishop Secker, with a pious and affectionate regard for the memory of his illustrious friend, entered zealously into his defence, and entirely refuted this gratuitous and monstrous calumny.<sup>6</sup>

## Bishop Berkeley.

BORN A. D. 1684.—DIED A. D. 1753.

THIS learned and eminent prelate was the son of William Berkeley, Esq. of Thomastown, in the county of Kilkenny, a cadet of the family of Earl Berkeley. He was born at Kilerin, on the 12th of March, 1684; and had the first part of his education at Kilkenny school on the Ormond foundation under Dr Hinton. Swift had preceded him a few years before at this provincial seminary. At the age of fifteen he was entered a pensioner of Trinity college, Dublin, under the tuition of Dr Hall. In 1707, whilst bachelor of arts, he obtained a fellowship of Trinity.

<sup>6</sup> See Dr Halifax’s ‘Account of the Character and Writings of Bishop Butler.’

In the latter year he first appeared as an author, in the little tract entitled, '*Arithmetica absque Algebra aut Euclide demonstrata*,' which he seems to have written before he was twenty years old, but in which the natural bent of his mind towards the demonstrative and metaphysical sciences already appears. In 1709 he published his '*Theory of Vision*,' which was the first attempt ever made in this country to distinguish the immediate and natural objects of sight, and the operations of the senses, from the conclusions we have been accustomed from infancy habitually to deduce from our sensations.<sup>1</sup> A ray of light, proceeding as all rays do in a straight line, must, however great its length, affect the eye, retina, and optic nerve, as if it were a single point. From this obvious fact Berkeley asserted that a man born blind, who should be suddenly made to see, would at first perceive nothing without him,—would distinguish neither the distance, size, figure, nor situation of external objects; in such a case, he said, the individual would only see in his eyes themselves, or to speak more properly, would only experience new modifications in his mind, until joining touch to sight, he formed an actual communication with the external world, and learned by the simultaneous exercises of the two senses that natural language in which the visible is the sign of the tangible. This truth—which Berkeley arrived at merely by contemplating the nature of sensation in his own mind, and the known laws of optics—after having been laughed at for more than twenty years, as one of the dreams of a visionary genius, was completely confirmed by the famous case in which Cheselden successfully couched a young man who had been born blind.<sup>2</sup>

The year following this successful effort, he published a work entitled '*The Principles of Human Knowledge*,' in which he attempts to prove the non-existence of that solid, extended, and inert substance called matter, and to demonstrate that what we consider the qualities of external substances, are not external to but exist in the mind, being in fact nothing more than sensations. Considerable misrepresentations have been given of this theory. For example, when the author of the '*Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth*' represents Berkeley as affirming that "independent of us and our faculties, the earth, the sun, and the starry heavens, have no existence at all; that a lighted candle hath not one of those qualities which it appears to have,—that it is not white, nor luminous, nor round, nor divisible, nor extended,—but that, for any thing we know or can ever know to the contrary, it may be an Egyptian pyramid, the king of Prussia, a mad dog, the island of Madagascar, Saturn's ring, one of the Pleiades, or nothing at all;" when such a representation is given of Berkeley's doctrines, we think he is totally and grossly misrepresented. Both in his '*Principles*,' and in his '*Dialogues*,' in defence of his system, published in 1713, he distinctly declares his belief that the universe has a real existence in the mind of the infinite God, in whom we all "live, and move, and have our being;" that, so far from being deceived by our senses, we are never deceived by them; and that all our mistakes concerning matter and its qualities, are the result of false inferences from true sensations. "I am of a vulgar cast," he says: "simple enough to believe my senses, and leave things as I find them. It is my opinion that the real things are

<sup>1</sup> Reid.<sup>2</sup> See Cheselden's *Anatomy*.



those very things I see, and feel, and perceive, by my senses. That a thing should really be perceived by my senses, and at the same time not really exist, is to me a plain contradiction. When I deny sensible things an existence out of the mind, I do not mean *my* mind in particular, but *all* minds. Now it is plain they have an existence exterior to my mind, since I find them by experience to be independent of it. There is, therefore, some other mind wherein they exist during the intervals between the times of my perceiving them; as likewise they did before my birth, and would also after my annihilation. And as the same is true with regard to all other finite created spirits, it necessarily follows there is an omnipotent Eternal Mind, which knows and comprehends all things, and exhibits them to our view in such a manner, and according to such rules, as He himself hath ordained, and which are by us termed 'the laws of Nature.' Again he says: "When in broad daylight I open my eyes, it is not in my power to choose whether I shall see or no, or to determine what particular objects shall present themselves to my view; and so likewise as to the hearing and other senses, the ideas imprinted on them are not creatures of my will; there is, therefore, some other spirit or will that produces them. The question between the materialists and me is not, whether things have a real existence out of the mind of this or that person; but, whether they have an absolute existence distinct from being perceived by God, and exterior to all minds. I assert, as well as they, that since we are affected from without, we must allow powers to be without in a being distinct from ourselves. So far we are agreed. But then we differ as to the kind of this powerful being: I will have it to be spirit,—they, matter, or I know not what third nature. Thus I prove it to be spirit: From the effects I see produced, I conclude there are actions; and because actions, volitions, for I have no notion of any action distinct from volition; and because there are volitions, there must be a will. Again, the things I perceive must have an existence,—they, or their archetypes,—out of my mind; but being ideas, neither they nor their archetypes can exist otherwise than in an understanding; there is therefore an understanding. But will and understanding constitute in the strictest sense a mind or spirit; the powerful cause therefore of my ideas is, in strict propriety of speech, a spirit." Thus then Berkeley conceives that matter cannot be the pattern or archetype of ideas, because an idea can resemble nothing but another idea, or the sensation of which it is a relict. Matter, he thinks, cannot be the cause of ideas; for every cause must be active, and matter is defined to be inert and incapable of action. He therefore infers that all our sensations, of what we call the qualities of external substances, are produced by the immediate agency of Deity upon our minds; and that corporeal substances have no existence, or at least that we have no indisputable evidence of their existence. Now that such may possibly be the origin of our sensations, no man will deny who reflects on the infinite power and wisdom of the agent from whom they are said to proceed.<sup>3</sup> Dr Reid himself, the ablest of all Dr Berkeley's opponents, frankly acknowledges that no man "can show, by any good argument, that all our sensations might not have been as they are, though no body or quality of body had ever existed."

<sup>3</sup> See Duncan's Essay.

Dr Beattie indeed affirms that Berkeley's theory is utterly monstrous, and that "in less than a month after the non-existence of matter should be universally admitted, he is certain there could not, without a miracle, be one human creature alive on the face of the earth." But this assertion is evidently made in consequence of mistaking Berkeley's non-existence of matter, for the non-existence of sensible objects. "We are sure," says the bishop, "that we really see, hear, feel; in a word, that we are affected with sensible impressions; and how are we concerned any further? I see this cherry; I feel it; I taste it; and I am sure *nothing* cannot be seen, or felt, or tasted; it is therefore real. Take away the sensations of softness, moisture, redness, tartness, and you take away the cherry." All this is equally true, and equally conceivable, whether the combined sensations which indicate to us the existence of the cherry, be the effect of the immediate agency of God, or of the impulse of matter upon our minds; and to the lives of men there is no greater danger in adopting the former than the latter opinion. The good bishop should have stopped here, and not endeavoured to prove that matter cannot possibly exist. But this he also attempted to do; and, as we think, completely failed.

We do not know that the question raised by Berkeley has been more satisfactorily disposed of, than in an article on Drummond's 'Academical Questions,' in the 7th volume of the 'Edinburgh Review,' from which the following is an extract:—"We think that the existence of external objects is not *necessarily* implied in the phenomena of perception; but we think that there is no complete proof of their non-existence, and that philosophy, instead of being benefited, would be subjected to needless embarrassments by the assumption of the ideal theory. The reality of external existences is not necessarily implied in the phenomena of perception; because we can easily imagine that our impressions and conceptions might have been exactly as they are, although matter had never been created. Belief, we know, to be no infallible criterion of actual existence; and it is impossible to doubt, that we might have been so framed as to receive all the impressions which we now ascribe to the agency of external objects, from the mechanism of our own minds, or the particular volition of the Deity. The phenomena of dreaming, and of some species of madness, seem to afford experimental proofs of the possibility we have now stated, and demonstrate, in our apprehension, that perception, as we have defined it, (*i. e.* an apprehension and belief of external existences,) does not necessarily imply the independent reality of its objects. It is absurd to say that we have the same evidence for the existence of external objects, that we have for the existence of our own sensations. It is quite plain, that our belief in the former is founded altogether on our consciousness of the latter; and that the evidence of this belief is consequently of a secondary nature. We cannot doubt of the existence of our sensations, without being guilty of the grossest contradiction; but we may doubt of the existence of the material world, without any contradiction at all. If we annihilate our sensations, we annihilate ourselves; and, of course, leave no being to doubt or to reason. If we annihilate the external world, we still leave entire all those sensations and perceptions which a different hypothesis would refer to its mysterious agency on our minds. On the other hand, it is certainly going too far to assert, that the non-



existence of matter is proved by such evidence as necessarily to command our assent; since it evidently implies no contradiction to suppose that such a thing as matter may exist, and that an omnipotent being might make us capable of discovering its qualities. The instinctive and insurmountable belief that we have of its existence, certainly is not to be surrendered, merely because it is possible to suppose it erroneous, or difficult to comprehend how a material and an immaterial substance can act upon each other. The evidence of this universal and irresistible belief is not to be altogether disregarded; and, unless it can be shown that it leads to contradictions and absurdities, the utmost length that philosophy can warrantably go, is to conclude that it may be delusive; but that it may also be true. The rigorous maxim, of giving no faith to any thing short of direct and immediate consciousness, seems more calculated, we think, to perplex than to simplify our philosophy, and will run us up, in two vast strides, to the very brink of absolute annihilation. We deny the existence of the material world, because we have not for it the primary evidence of consciousness, and because the clear conception and indestructible belief we have of it, *may be* fallacious, for any thing we can prove to the contrary. This conclusion annihilates at once all external objects; and, among them, our own bodies, and the bodies *and minds* of all other men; for it is quite evident that we can have no evidence of the existence of other minds, except through the mediation of the matter they are supposed to animate; and if matter be nothing more than an affection of our own minds, there is an end to the existence of every other. This first step, therefore, reduces the whole universe to the mind of the individual reasoner, and leaves no existence in nature but one mind, with its complement of sensations and ideas. The second step goes still further; and no one can hesitate to take it, who has ventured deliberately on the first. If our senses may deceive us, so may our memory;—if we will not believe in the existence of matter, because it is not vouched by internal consciousness, and because it is conceivable that it should not exist, we cannot consistently believe in the reality of any past impression, for which, in like manner, we cannot have the direct evidence of consciousness, and of which our present recollection may possibly be fallacious. Even upon the vulgar hypothesis, we know that memory is much more deceitful than perception; and there is still greater hazard in assuming the reality of any past existence from our present recollection of it, than in relying on the reality of a present existence from our immediate perception. If we discredit our memory, however, and deny all existence of which we have not a present consciousness or sensation, it is evident that we must annihilate our own personal identity, and refuse to believe that we had thought or sensation at any previous moment. There can be no reasoning, therefore, nor knowledge, nor opinion; and we must end by virtually annihilating ourselves, and denying that any thing whatsoever exists in nature, but the present solitary and momentary impression."

In the year 1713, Berkeley visited London for the purpose of printing his 'Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous,' already mentioned. The year preceding, he had printed three sermons in support of the doctrine of passive obedience, a subject to which, he says, he was led by the perusal of Locke's treatises of government. These sermons were

the cause of his being introduced to Queen Anne, and obtained for him also the reputation of being a Jacobite. While in the metropolis, he gained the acquaintance and friendship of the earl of Peterborough, Swift, Arbuthnot, Pope, Addison, and Steele. Sir Richard Steele had just commenced the 'Guardian,' and, it is said, procured Berkeley's assistance on the terms of a guinea and a dinner for every paper that he contributed. Of these papers the greater portion are employed in defending Christianity against the attacks of the free-thinkers, and especially against Collins. In November, 1713, Mr Berkeley accompanied the earl of Peterborough's embassy to Sicily, in the quality of chaplain and secretary; and during his absence on this occasion, he became senior fellow of his college, and was, in 1717, created D.D., by diploma.

Upon his return to England, in August, 1714, he was seized with fever. Arbuthnot, who attended him, speaking of his convalescence, in a letter to Swift, says: "Poor philosopher Berkeley has now the idea of health, which was very hard to produce in him; for he had an idea of a strange fever on him so strong, that it was very hard to destroy it by introducing a contrary one." With the dismissal of ministers, which had taken place during Berkeley's absence on the continent, his hopes of preferment were dissipated, and he readily accepted an offer of making the tour of Europe with Mr Ashe, son of the bishop of Clogher. As tutor to this gentleman, he passed four years upon the continent. While at Paris, he took the first opportunity of waiting upon the celebrated metaphysician, Pere Mallebranche,—a visit which, in its effects, proved fatal to the great French philosopher. "Mallebranche had laboured for some time under an inflammation of the lungs, and when Berkeley appeared before him, was assiduously employed in cooking, in a small pipkin, a medicine for his complaint. As the system of Berkeley was familiar to the Frenchman, through the medium of translation, he seized with avidity the unexpected opportunity of conversing with its author on the subject, and, entering with warmth into the discussion, disputed with so much energy and enthusiasm, that the exertion of voice rapidly increased his disorder; and, in a few days, death closed the career of the virtuous and venerable Mallebranche."<sup>4</sup>

On arriving in London, in 1721, Berkeley found the nation involved in universal distress by the failure of the South sea scheme. He immediately directed his mind to the subject, and rapidly put through the press 'An Essay towards preventing the ruin of Great Britain.' Lord Burlington now obtained for him, through the duke of Grafton, the king's grant of the deanery of Down, worth £2000 per annum. The lords-justices, however, recommended back for this preferment Swift's Dean Daniel, celebrated for having, in a state-sermon, styled Pompey 'an unfortunate gentleman;' and Berkeley, with the greatest humility, instantly relinquished the preferment. Lord Burlington procured for him afterwards the deanery of Derry, the next best in Ireland to that of Down. Before either of these appointments, however, Berkeley had obtained a singular and very unexpected accession to his property by the death of Esther Vanhomrigh, Swift's far-famed Vanessa, with whom he had had only a single interview. Struck, it is probable, with his

<sup>4</sup> Drake.



affable manners and high conversational powers, that ill-used lady, when she renounced the idea of making Swift her heir, resolved to divide her property equally between Judge Marshall and Dr Berkeley. By this arrangement, Berkeley, to his great surprise, acquired the sum of £4000.

Before the resignation of his fellowship for the deanery of Derry, Dr Berkeley had for some time meditated upon a scheme for Christianizing the wild Americans. Of this scheme, the erection of a college in the Bermudas formed a principal part; and with such zeal and success did he follow up his designs, that he obtained a parliamentary grant of £20,000 for the latter purpose, to which were added several large private subscriptions. The queen, with whom he was a great favourite, tried to dissuade him from his project, and offered him an early bishopric if he would remain in the country; but Berkeley replied, that he should prefer the headship of St Paul's college at Bermudas to the primacy of all England. From that headship he was to enjoy a revenue of only £100 per annum, and was bound by his charter to resign his newly acquired deanery, worth £1100 per annum. Three junior fellows of Trinity college agreed to share his fate and fortunes, and relinquished flattering hopes of preferment at home for a settlement in the islands of the Atlantic ocean of £40 a year. Sir Robert Walpole, though personally disinclined to the affair, at the command of the king, introduced the necessary bill, which passed with only one dissentient voice. A charter was accordingly granted for the erection of a college, to consist of a president and nine fellows, who were under the obligation to maintain and educate Indian scholars at the rate of £10 per annum for each. Every thing now presaged the complete success of our author's fondest hopes, and, in the fulness of his heart, he poured forth the following effusion:—

The muse, disgusted at an age and clime  
Barren of every glorious theme,  
In distant lands now waits a better time,  
Producing subjects worthy fame.

In happy climes, where from the genial sun  
And virgin earth such scenes ensue,  
The force of art by nature seems outdone,  
And fancied beauties by the true,—

In happy climes, the seat of innocence,  
Where nature guides, and virtue rules,  
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense,  
The pedantry of courts and schools,—

There shall be sung another golden age,  
The rise of empire and of arts,  
The good and great inspiring epic rage,  
The wisest heads and noblest hearts,

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay,  
Such as she bred when fresh and young,  
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,  
By future poets shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes its way,  
The four first acts already past,  
A fifth shall close the drama with the day:  
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

In August, 1728, he entered into marriage with Anne, the eldest daughter of Mr Forster, speaker of the Irish house of commons, and immediately thereafter he embarked for the western continent. Having reached Rhode island, he took up his abode there until the arrangements for his college should be completed; but the minister entirely failed in his promises, the grant was never placed in Berkeley's hands, and, after lingering for a few years in the vain expectation of ultimately obtaining the promised assistance of the British government, he was compelled reluctantly to abandon his design and return home. At his departure, he presented a farm of one hundred acres, which he had purchased, to Yale and Harvard colleges, and this benefaction has since become, from the rise in the value of the property, one of the most valuable endowments possessed by these leading American seminaries.

In February, 1732, he preached before the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts. During the same year he published his 'Minute Philosopher,' the result of his leisure hours in America. It is an elegant and learned defence of religion against the systems of the atheist, fatalist, and sceptic. It is written in the form of a dialogue, on the model of Plato,—a philosopher of whom he is said to have been very fond, and betwixt whom and Berkeley the reader may perhaps be able to trace not a few points of resemblance. Dr Sherlock presented this work to Queen Caroline, who was highly delighted with it, and procured for him the bishopric of Cloyne, to which he was consecrated in May, 1734. On this see, with the exception of one winter, during which he attended parliament in Dublin, he resided constantly for eighteen years, until the declining state of his health compelled him to resign his episcopal functions. He was offered, by the earl of Chesterfield, the see of Clogher, which was double the value of that of Cloyne, and wherein, he was told, he might immediately receive fines to the amount of £10,000, but declined the offer, and respectfully intimated that he was resolved never to accept of a translation.

Shortly after his arrival at Cloyne, he produced his 'Analyst,' in which he endeavours to show that Sir Isaac Newton's doctrine of fluxions is more incomprehensible than any mystery in the Christian religion. This controversy, which made a great noise at the time, originated in the following circumstances. Addison, many years before, had given Berkeley an account of Dr Garth's behaviour on his death-bed, and had told him, that amongst other things which the dying man said to him when he visited him, and wished to enter upon religious conversation with him, he had exclaimed, "Surely, Addison, I have good reason not to believe these trifles, since my friend Halley, who has dealt so much in demonstration, assures me that the doctrines of Christianity are incomprehensible, and religion itself an imposture." The principal answer to the 'Analyst' was supposed to have been written by Dr Jurin, under the title, 'Philaethes Cantabrigiensis.' To this the bishop replied in 'A Defence of Free-thinking in Mathematics,' which excited a second answer from Philaethes, under the title, 'The Minute Mathematician.'

In 1735 the bishop published his 'Querist,' in which he discusses a number of points connected with the welfare of the Irish community. It was the great object of this, and of most of the other political tracts of its admirable author, to persuade the people of Ireland that they had vast



internal resources of wealth and comfort, of which they might avail themselves by their own exertions, and that sloth was the only formidable evil with which they had to contend. At this time, Ireland was placed under many restrictions as to foreign trade, while the advantages of that branch of industry, over every other, were greatly exaggerated. According to the theory which then prevailed, foreign trade was reckoned the only means of bringing money into the country; and money was *par excellence* riches. Without money, it was thought there could be no circulation; and without circulation, no industry; therefore Ireland was doomed to helpless slothfulness. Berkeley aimed at convincing his countrymen of this truth, that money is not riches; that riches consist in valuable commodities; the possession of such things as minister to the comforts and the necessities of society; that money is only useful as facilitating the exchange of these commodities for one another; and that, if exchanges could be made without it, money might be dispensed with altogether.

In 1744 he produced a singular book. Having received, as he thought, much benefit, while suffering under a nervous colic, from the use of tar-water, his benevolence incited him to make its virtues known to the whole world; and, with this view, he published his ‘*Siris*, a chain of Philosophical Reflections and Enquiries concerning the virtues of Tar-water.’ It underwent a second impression, with additions and amendments, in 1747; and was followed by ‘*Farther Thoughts on Tar-water*,’ in 1752. This treatise, he has been heard to declare, cost him more labour than any other single production of his pen; and no wonder, for it is in fact a dissertation *de omni scibile*,—curious for the multifarious erudition it embraces, and for the marvellous ingenuity with which the good bishop, while disserting on the virtues of his simple medicament, contrives to introduce the most profound speculations on philosophical and religious subjects. “Many a vulgar critic has sneered at Berkeley’s *Siris*,” says Dr Warton, “for beginning at tar and ending with the Trinity; incapable of observing the great art with which the transitions in that book are finely made, where each paragraph depends upon and arises out of the preceding, and gradually and imperceptibly leads on the reader from common objects to more remote,—from matter to spirit,—from earth to heaven.”

The infirm state of the bishop’s health,—his love of lettered retirement,—and a wish to superintend the education of his son, recently admitted a student of Christ church, Oxford, led him to apply for leave to resign his bishopric in 1751, or exchange it for a canonry at Oxford. His wish was not complied with; the king declaring that Dr Berkeley “should die a bishop in spite of himself;” but permission was granted to him to reside wherever he might think proper. He accordingly removed to Oxford; but before he left Cloyne, he let the lands of his demesne at the rent of £200, which sum he directed to be annually distributed among the poor until his return. Only a few months, however, elapsed after his arrival at Oxford, ere this great and good man was called to another world. On Sunday evening, the 14th of January, 1753, as he was sitting in the midst of his family, and had just concluded an extemporaneous comment on the 15th chapter of 1st Corinthians, he was in an instant deprived of existence by a paralytic affection of the heart.

Bishop Berkeley, in early life, was tall and robustly formed; but his intense application to study prematurely wore down his personal graces and strength. His countenance was highly expressive and benign. Pope has summed up his moral character in one line, in which he ascribes "to Berkeley every virtue under heaven." His intellectual powers were very great; but he had, perhaps, too large a proportion of enthusiasm and imagination in him for the strictly philosophical temperament.

## Simon Browne.

BORN A. D. 1680.—DIED A. D. 1753.

THIS learned protestant dissenter was born at Shepton-Mallet in Somersetshire. While yet a very young man he became minister to a considerable congregation at Portsmouth. In 1716 he accepted a call from the congregation assembling in the Old Jewry, London. Here he laboured for seven years with great acceptance, but at length became incapacitated for office by a most extraordinary mental hallucination, brought on by grief for the loss of his wife. He imagined that God, by a singular exertion of Divine power, had, in a gradual manner, annihilated in him the thinking principle, and utterly divested him of consciousness; and that thus, though he retained the human shape and the faculty of speech, in a manner even that appeared to others rational, he was, nevertheless, utterly unconscious of a single idea. Though fully possessed by this singular fancy, he saw no inconsistency in applying himself diligently to study, and even preparing some works for the press. A friend once called upon him, and found him engaged compiling a Greek and Latin dictionary. He expressed his satisfaction at perceiving his friend so fully employed; but Browne replied, "I am doing nothing that requires a reasonable soul; I am only making a dictionary. But you know, Sir," added he, "thanks are due to God for everything, and we should even praise him for dictionary-makers."

Browne's publications are pretty numerous, and some of them display a great variety of knowledge and considerable argumentative powers. To his 'Defence of the Religion of Nature and the Christian Revelation,' he prefixed a singular preface to Queen Caroline, which was suppressed by his friends, but first printed by Dr Hawkesworth in the 'Adventurer,' No. 88. It is as follows:—

"MADAM,—Of all the extraordinary things that have been tendered to your royal hand since your first happy arrival in Britain, it may be boldly said, what now bespeaks your majesty's acceptance is the chief. Not in itself indeed; it is a trifle unworthy your exalted rank, and what will hardly prove an entertaining amusement to one of your majesty's deep penetration, exact judgment, and fine taste. But on account of the author, who is the first being of the kind, and yet without a name. He was once a man, and of some little name, but of no worth, as his present unparalleled case makes but too manifest; for by the immediate hand of an avenging God, his very thinking substance has for more than seven years been continually wasting away, till it is wholly perished out of him, if it be not utterly come to nothing.



None, no not the least remembrance of its very ruins, remains ; not the shadow of an idea is left, nor any sense that, so much as one single one, perfect or imperfect, whole or diminished, ever did appear to a mind within him, or was perceived by it. Such a present from such a thing, however worthless in itself, may not be wholly unacceptable to your majesty, the author being such as history cannot parallel ; and if the fact, which is real and no fiction, nor wrong conceit, obtains credit, it must be recorded as the most memorable, and indeed astonishing event in the reign of George the Second, that a tract composed by such a thing was presented to the illustrious Caroline ; his royal consort need not be added ; fame, if I am not misinformed, will tell that with pleasure to all succeeding times. He has been informed that your majesty's piety is as genuine and eminent as your excellent qualities are great and conspicuous. This can, indeed, be truly known to the great searcher of hearts only. He alone, who can look into them, can discern if they are sincere, and the main intention corresponds with the appearance ; and your majesty cannot take it amiss, if such an author hints that His secret approbation is of infinitely greater value than the commendation of men, who may be easily mistaken, and are too apt to flatter their superiors. But if he has been told the truth, such a case as his will certainly strike your majesty with astonishment, and may raise that commiseration in your royal breast, which he has in vain endeavoured to excite in those of his friends ; who, by the most unreasonable and ill-founded conceit in the world, have imagined that a thinking being could, for seven years together, live a stranger to its own powers, exercises, operations, and state, and what the Great God has been doing in it and to it. If your majesty, in your most retired address to the King of kings, should think of so singular a case, you may, perhaps, make it your devout request, that the reign of your beloved sovereign and consort may be renowned to all posterity by the recovery of a soul now in the utmost ruin, the restoration of one utterly lost at present amongst men. And should this case affect your royal breast, you will recommend it to the piety and prayers of all the truly devout, who have the honour to be known to your majesty ; many such doubtless there are ; though courts are not usually the places where the devout resort, or where devotion reigns. And it is not improbable, that multitudes of the pious throughout the land may take a case to heart, that under your majesty's patronage comes thus recommended. Could such a favour as this restoration be obtained from heaven by the prayers of your majesty, with what a transport of gratitude would the recovered being throw himself at your majesty's feet, and, adoring the Divine power and grace, profess himself,—Madam, your majesty's most obliged and dutiful servant."

### Bishop Wilson.

BORN A. D. 1663.—DIED A. D. 1755.

THIS excellent prelate was born at Burton in Cheshire, in 1663. He received his first education at a private school in the city of Chester. He then went to Dublin and entered Trinity college, where he took his

degrees in arts, and remained till 1686, when he was ordained deacon by the bishop of Kildare.

Towards the close of that year he came over to England, having accepted of a curacy in the parish of Winwick in Lancashire, under his maternal uncle, Dr Sherlock. The income of this curacy was only £30; but the young incumbent managed to devote a considerable part of it to charitable purposes. In 1689 he obtained priest's orders; and in 1692 became domestic chaplain to the earl of Derby, and preceptor to that nobleman's son, Lord Strange.

In 1697 he was, to use his own words, "forced into the bishopric of the isle of Man." He would have declined the dignity; but the archbishop of Canterbury would not listen to his representations of unfitness and dread of responsibility. Although his episcopal revenues did not exceed £300 per annum, yet he contrived not only to support the dignity of his station, but to rebuild the palace at an expense of £1,400,—to erect a chapel at Castleton,—to establish parochial libraries,—to improve the agriculture of the island,—and to relieve many of the distressed among its inhabitants. Shortly after his appointment to the bishopric, he was offered by his patron, the earl of Derby, a rich living in Yorkshire, which he might have held *in commendam* with his see; but, being hostile to pluralities and non-residence, he declined to accept it.

In 1699 Bishop Wilson published a small tract, in Manx and English, entitled, 'The Principles and Duties of Christianity for the use of the Island.' This was the first work ever printed in the vernacular dialect of the isle of Man. Some years afterwards he had the church-catechism printed for popular use in the same manner. Meanwhile, the diligence with which he applied himself to the discharge of his episcopal functions was most exemplary. Both by exhortation and example he laboured to animate his clergy to the regular and faithful discharge of their pastoral duties; with this view, he had them frequently assembled in convocation at his palace, to consult with them as to the state of their respective charges, and the best means of rendering their ministry efficient and operative upon the rude and ignorant islanders. Soon after his arrival on the island, he drew up a set of ecclesiastical constitutions for the regulation of his diocese, with which Lord-chancellor King—himself a zealous student of ecclesiastical antiquities, and a zealous advocate for the restoration of primitive discipline—was so highly gratified, that he declared, that "if the ancient discipline of the church were lost, it might be found again, in pretty nearly its original purity, in the isle of Man."

We lose sight of the good bishop for several years, until we find him, in January, 1721, adopting very decided measures against the introduction of 'The Independent Whig' into his diocese. He denounced it as a dangerous and immoral publication, and even caused several copies of it to be seized. His zeal in this affair certainly exceeded the bounds of prudence, and placed him in hostility to the civil governor of the island. A copy of 'The Independent Whig' had been sent as a present to the public library. The bishop ordered the keeper to put it aside, and not allow it to appear in the library. Complaint was made against the keeper to the governor, who took up the case warmly, and committed the keeper to prison. The bishop remonstrated, and



urged that he had the king's commands to suppress every thing of an irreligious tendency throughout his diocese. The governor replied, that in this matter the bishop was stepping beyond his jurisdiction, and reminded him that he had omitted to use the form of prayer composed in the time of the rebellion of 1715, though that was a duty equally enjoined upon him by his majesty's commands. The issue of this affair was, that the book was produced, and the keeper set at liberty. Soon after this a more serious altercation betwixt these two high dignitaries took place. The governor's wife had been found guilty of defamation, but declining to make an apology to the parties, was pronounced contumacious, and interdicted by the bishop from church privileges. His archdeacon, however, who was also chaplain to the governor, admitted the lady to the communion-table, whereupon the bishop suspended him. The governor now thought himself entitled to interfere, and, irritated at the affront offered his wife, fined the bishop and his two vicars-general for neglect of duty; and, upon their refusing to pay the fines, sent all the three to prison. The islanders, who loved their bishop, it would appear, more than their governor, now rose *en masse* and threatened some acts of violence, from which they were only dissuaded by the exhortations of the bishop himself, addressed to them from the grated window of his prison. The case was heard before the lords-justices in July, 1723, when the proceedings of the governor were declared illegal, and his sentences reversed. The king promised to defray the bishop's expenses out of the privy purse; but the promise was never fulfilled, and the bishop was left to defray the greater part of them himself. He was indeed offered the bishopric of Exeter as a *solatium*, but he could not be prevailed upon to leave his beloved islanders; and he rejected several very flattering offers with equal constancy. This affair with the governor kept the bishop in London for above a year and a half, during which time he won golden opinions from all ranks, and was honoured with many marks of royal favour.

On the death of the earl of Derby, without issue, in 1739, the lordship of Man, as a barony in fee, became the property of the duke of Athol, who threatened to deprive the clergy of their livings by claiming the whole impropriations. This measure was, however, defeated by the bishop, who, after a most laborious search, succeeded in bringing to light the deeds of conveyance by a former earl of Derby to Bishop Barrow, who had purchased a third of the impropriations for the support of the clergy.

Bishop Wilson attained his ninety-third year, in the possession of all his mental faculties. He died, in consequence of the effects of a cold, in March, 1755; leaving it to his successor to complete the translation and publication of the Scriptures in the Manx language, which he had begun, but of which he had only accomplished the translation of the four gospels, and the publication of Matthew's gospel.

Bishop Wilson was one of the most nearly apostolic men that ever wore a mitre. His life was entirely devoted to the promoting of the spiritual interests, and the overlooking the temporal welfare also of the Manx population. His manners were simple and unaffected, and his benevolence unbounded. It is believed that he gave away the greater part of his very moderate revenues in charity.

## Bishop Conybeare.

BORN A. D. 1691.—DIED A. D. 1755.

THIS prelate was born at the vicarage of Pinhoe, near Exeter, on the 30th of January, 1691. His father was the incumbent of that place. He entered Exeter college, Oxford, in 1707, and was admitted a probationary fellow, upon Sir William Petre's foundation, in 1710. In June, 1714, he was chosen prelector, or moderator, in philosophy.

Having taken orders, he entered upon the curacy of Fetcham in Surrey, but was obliged to resign that charge in a short time on account of delicate health. He now returned to his university, and became a tutor in his own college. In 1722 he published a discourse on 'The Nature, Possibility, and Certainty of Miracles,' which was very favourably received. In 1724 he published another discourse with this title, 'The Mysteries of the Christian Religion credible.' This piece was also very highly thought of, and recommended him to the attention of Bishop Gibson, who obtained for him the appointment of Whitehall-preacher. Soon afterwards the lord-chancellor presented him with the rectory of St Clements, Oxford. In 1725 he published a visitation-sermon, preached before the bishop of Oxford. It was entitled, 'The Case of subscription to Articles of religion considered,' and was frequently referred to during the pending debate on that subject, in which some of the keenest controversialists of the day were engaged. Conybeare's position in this discourse is, that "every one who subscribes articles of religion does thereby engage, not only not to dispute or contradict them, but his subscription amounts to an approbation of, and assent to, the truth of the doctrines therein contained, in the very sense in which the compilers are supposed to have understood them."

Dr Conybeare succeeded Dr Hole, in the headship of Exeter college, in 1730. In 1732 he published his famous 'Defence of Revealed Religion,' in answer to Tindal's work. Warburton thought very highly of this performance; and it is perhaps the best of the four best answers which Tindal received.<sup>1</sup>

On the death of Dr Bradshaw, bishop of Bristol, and dean of Christ church, Oxford, Dr Conybeare was appointed to succeed him in the latter dignity; but it was not till the latter end of 1750 that he attained the mitre. On the translation of Dr Butler to the see of Durham, Dr Conybeare was appointed to the bishopric of Bristol. He did not, however, long enjoy his new dignity, dying on the 13th of July, 1755.

<sup>1</sup> The other three were:— Forster's 'Usefulness, Truth, and Excellency, of the Christian Revelation;' Leland's 'Answer to a late book, entitled, Christianity as old as the Creation;' and Simon Browne's 'Defence of the Religion of Nature, and the Christian Revelation.'



## Arthur Sykes.

BORN A. D. 1684.—DIED A. D. 1756.

ARTHUR ASHLEY SYKES, a celebrated polemical divine of the church of England, was born in London about the year 1684, and educated at St Paul's school by Mr Postlethway. He was admitted of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, on the 15th of April, 1701, under the tutorship of Dr Kidman, the first who introduced into that university Locke's great essay as a text-book. He took the degree of B. A. in 1704, and proceeded to that of M. A. in 1708. His first employment after leaving college was as an assistant in St Paul's school. From this situation he was preferred, on the presentation of the duchess of Bedford, to the vicarage of Godmersham in Kent, to which he was collated by Dr Tennison.

In the year 1712, Dr Thomas Brett published a sermon, with a preface addressed to dissenters, entitled, 'The Extent of Christ's Commission to Baptize,' in which he laboured to prove that dissenting teachers could not, on the authority of the laws of Christ's kingdom, administer Christian baptism, or either of the sacraments of the Christian church; and that none but such as had received episcopal ordination can be regarded as lawfully called to the work of the ministry. Mr Sykes replied to Dr Brett in a short 'Letter,' in which he admits the expediency of episcopal ordination, and that episcopacy has the warrant of scripture; but denies that the want of such ordination can affect the validity of the ordinances or offices performed by others. In 1714 Mr Sykes was instituted to the rectory of Dry-Drayton in Cambridge-shire.

In 1715 he published a tract, entitled 'The Innocency of Error asserted and vindicated.' The doctrines asserted in this piece are, that no errors, if involuntary, are or can be punishable; and that no heresy is so destructive of religion as a wicked life; no schism so damnable as a course of sin. The first argument adduced is, that in all perceptions the mind itself is passive; and the perceptions of things being, in numberless instances, quite different from what things are really in themselves, unless we are capable of bringing together and comparing a great many intermediate ideas to rectify these mistakes, we must necessarily fall into many errors. Secondly, that error, always consisting in a mistake of the judgment, must be in its own nature involuntary. Thirdly, that involuntary error cannot be punishable by God; for that would be an impeachment of his justice as well as mercy. Among the first to oppose Sykes's views of the moral quality of error was Thomas Sherwell, and Potter, then bishop of Oxford. Sykes replied in a 'Vindication,' in which he avowed himself the author of the treatise animadverted on by the bishop. Sykes's tract passed through a third edition in 1729, and a fourth in 1742.

To counteract the efforts of the high churchmen and Jacobites, Sykes published, in 1715, a tract, entitled 'The Safety of the Church under the present ministry considered,' in which he endeavours to show that the ecclesiastical establishment of the country was as likely to thrive

under the care and protection of George I., and the dukes of Marlborough and Devonshire, and Lords Townshend and Cowper, as under Queen Anne, the duke of Ormond, and Lords Bolingbroke and Harcourt. His next pamphlet was intended as a persuasive to moderation in religious disputes. He maintains in it that subscription is by no means to be regarded as implying uniformity of opinion: the sense, he says, which such as require subscriptions accept and tolerate is the rule of subscription; and, as the church accepts and tolerates contrary opinions, she evidently does not conceive identity of opinion necessary to her tranquillity. This doctrine was very ably replied to by the author of 'The Confessional.'

In 1716 Mr Sykes produced two political pamphlets, one of them, a plea for the suspension of the triennial bill, and the other entitled, 'The Thanks of an honest clergyman for Mr. Paul's speech at Tyburne.' William Paul was a non-juring clergyman, who retained his living of Orton, in Leicestershire, until the breaking out of the rebellion in 1715, when he joined the earl of Mar's forces. He was at the battle of Preston, but behaved with great pusillanimity. He was taken, pled guilty, and was condemned. Immediately after his execution, his letters written to the archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Townshend, and his petition to the king, all abject productions in the extreme, were published; and to these were added his speech at Tyburne, in which he contradicted all that he had so solemnly professed a few days before, while suing for mercy. In the same year, he also published 'An Answer to the Non-juror's charge of Schism upon the Church of England.'

On the publication of the bishop of Bangor's 'Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Non-jurors,' and his sermon on the nature of Christ's kingdom, Sykes descended into the polemical arena as an auxiliary of Hoadly's. He selected Dean Sherlock for his antagonist, and proved a very formidable assailant.

In the latter end of 1718, Mr Sykes was instituted to the rectory of Rayleigh in Essex, and soon afterwards was appointed to the afternoon preaching at St James's chapel. We now find him involving himself in Dr Bentley's famous quarrels with his university. On this occasion Middleton and Sykes assailed each other with very harsh terms. Sykes wrote 'The case of Dr Bentley truly stated,' and Middleton in 'Some Remarks' upon this pamphlet, "was led to exceed all the bounds of decorum."

After a brief controversy with Mr Rogers on church power, in answer to his discourse on the visible and invisible church of Christ, Mr Sykes got engaged with a very formidable antagonist, Dr Waterland, on the case of Arian subscription; and, when yet defending himself against Waterland, he undertook the cause of the quakers, while a bill was depending in parliament for relieving them from oaths. The London clergy petitioned against the passing of this bill, alleging that it would endanger the legal maintenance of the clergy by tithes, that it would endanger the administration of justice, and that it was uncalled for, as instances were rare in which any quaker had refused the solemn affirmation prescribed in the 7th and 8th of William III. The house of lords rejected the petition, but it was countenanced by a protest, signed by twenty lords, among whom were Sir William Dawes, archbishop of



York, Bishop Atterbury, and Dr Potter. Mr Sykes addressed a letter to the petitioning clergy, signed Joshua Freeman, in which he vindicates the right of the quakers to the relief sought for.

In 1723 he was made precentor of Winchester cathedral, in which Hoadly at the same time collated him to a prebend. In 1725 he published his 'Essay on the Truth of the Christian Religion,' in answer to Collins. In 1726 he proceeded to the degree of S.T.P., at Cambridge, on which occasion, it is said, with some confusion of metaphor, "he stood like a sturdy oak, to receive and return back the fiery darts of the orthodox."

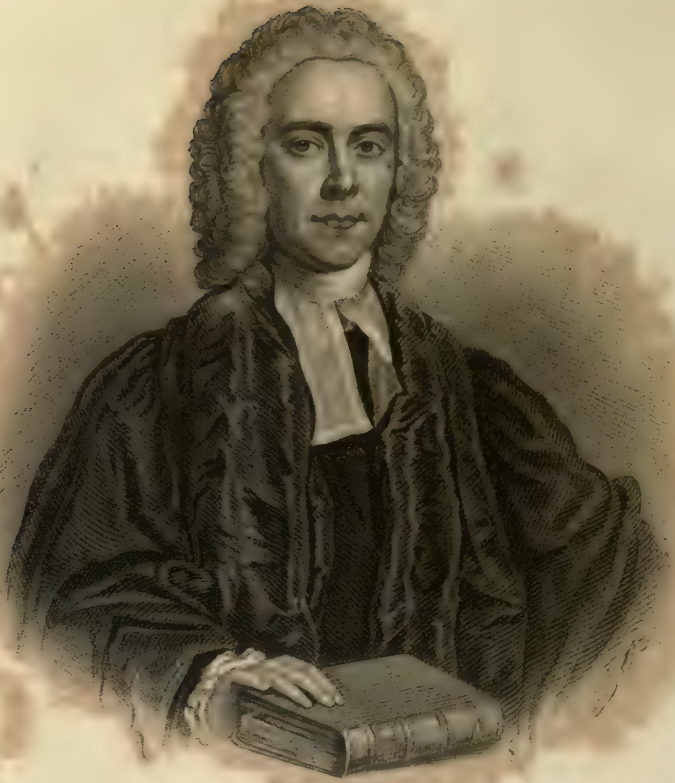
On the publication of Dr Samuel Clarke's 'Exposition of the Catechism,' after the author's death in 1729, and of Dr Waterland's remarks thereon, Dr Sykes stepped forward in defence of the 'Exposition,' and, in the course of his argument, threw out some views of the design and efficacy of the Lord's supper, which appeared to Waterland highly erroneous. The argument maintained by Sykes, after Clarke, was, "that the sacrament of the supper, and all other positive institutions, had the nature only of means to an end; and that, therefore, they were never to be compared with moral virtues, nor can ever be of any use or benefit without them." Dr Waterland's argument was, "that the sacraments are not merely means of virtue and holiness, but duties essential to the Christian covenant, and out of which all other Christian duties thrive and grow, so as to be productive of virtues, rather than instrumental to them."

The controversy with Waterland was scarcely closed, before Dr Sykes was engaged in another with Messrs Whiston, Chapman, and Douglass, on the eclipse which happened at our Saviour's passion. Early in the year 1736, he appeared as an advocate for the repeal of the corporation and test acts. In the next year, he published an 'Inquiry into the meaning of the Demoniacs in the New Testament,' which was replied to by Dr Twells. In 1739 Dr Sykes was advanced to the deanery of St Burien, in Cornwall, and next year he was collated to a prebend of Winchester. In this last year he published a work on the principles and connection of natural and revealed religion. In his preface to this book he says, that his design is "so to treat of religion, both natural and revealed, as to deduce it from its first principles, and to show that they are both rational and worthy of every serious man's attention, and to represent them in such a manner as may show what ground there is for a rational faith." Warburton attacked Sykes for denying the theory of a double interpretation of prophecy, in this last-mentioned work; and Sykes defended himself, and then proceeded to retaliate in an 'Examination' of some of the positions laid down in the 'Divine Legation.' Among his subsequent productions were, 'An Essay on the Nature, Design, and Origin, of Sacrifices;' 'Two Questions previous to Dr Middleton's Free Inquiry impartially considered;' and 'A Paraphrase and Notes upon the Epistle to the Hebrews.'

Dr Sykes died on the 23d of December, 1756. In private life, Dr Sykes was of easy and obliging manners. In his person he was of low stature, and inclined to corpulency. His numerous writings amply evidence his accurate and varied learning, and strong powers of mind. It is to be regretted that, in more than one important point, Dr Sykes should have held very heterodox opinions.







*Rev. James Hervey, A.B.*

*Engraved by J. P. Freeman.*

*Published by Arch<sup>d</sup>. Fullarton & Co Glasgow.*

## Archbishop Herring.

BORN A. D. 1691.—DIED A. D. 1757.

THOMAS HERRING was the son of the Rev. John Herring, rector of Walsoken in Norfolk. He received his education at Wisbeach school and Jesus' college, Cambridge. In 1716 he obtained a fellowship of Corpus Christi college. He took orders in 1719, and was successively minister of the several parishes of Great Sheeford, Stow, and Trinity in Cambridge. In 1722 he became domestic chaplain to Bishop Fleetwood, who presented him to the rectories of Rettenden in Essex, and Barclay in Hertfordshire. In 1726 he was appointed Lincoln's-inn preacher, and soon after chaplain in ordinary to the king.

He was elevated to the bishopric of Bangor in 1737; and, on the death of Blackburn, archbishop of York, was translated to that see. His elevation to the see of Canterbury took place in 1747, on the death of Dr Potter.

His grace was a man of moderate principles and moderate attainments. He owed his early popularity to a fine pulpit-manner; his subsequent elevation in the church was chiefly the result of circumstances unconnected with the individual himself. He died in 1757. Dean Swift, in revenge for his having denounced the 'Beggar's Opera' from the pulpit, calls him "a stupid, injudicious, and prostitute divine."<sup>1</sup>

## James Hervey.

BORN A. D. 1713.—DIED A. D. 1758.

THE author of so popular a work as the 'Meditations and Contemplations,' can scarcely be overlooked in such a work as the present, although many divines of much higher talent must pass without a notice in our limited catalogue of English divines.

Hervey was born at Hardingstone, near Northampton, in February, 1713, and was educated at Northampton and Oxford. While at the university he was a diligent, if not a highly and distinguished student. In 1736 he became his father's curate. He afterwards held the two livings of Weston-Favel and Collingtree. He died in 1758.

Hervey was a truly pious and benevolent man. He published several works in his short lifetime; the best known of which are the work already named, and the series of dialogues betwixt 'Theron and Aspasio.' The latter work contains some rather inaccurate and misleading views on the subject of imputation, which have been very ably pointed out and confuted by Bellamy, an American divine of the school of Jonathan Edwards. The 'Meditations and Contemplations' have passed through many editions, but have long ceased to be regarded as masterpieces of sentimental diction. Their best feature is the devout spirit which they everywhere breathe.

<sup>1</sup> *Intelligencer*, No. 3.



## Samuel Chandler.

BORN A. D. 1693.—DIED A. D. 1766.

THIS eminent dissenting clergyman was born at Hungerford in Berkshire, where his father was pastor of a dissenting congregation, in 1693. He was educated for the ministry under Mr Jones of Tewkesbury, who numbered among his pupils, Butler, afterwards bishop of Durham; and Secker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

In 1716 he was chosen minister of a presbyterian congregation at Peckham, in the neighbourhood of London. In 1725 he published a 'Vindication of the Christian Religion, in answer to the objections of Collins.' In 1726 he transferred his services as a preacher to the Old Jewry congregation.

While on a visit to Scotland, in company with the earl of Findlater and Seafield, he received the diploma of D.D. both from Edinburgh and Glasgow. The publication of a very infamous pamphlet, entitled 'The History of the Man after God's own heart,' excited Chandler to produce his 'Critical History of the Life of David,' a work of considerable reputation in theological literature. Besides the works we have mentioned, Dr Chandler wrote a number of treatises, chiefly on points of theology and the prevailing controversies of the day. Four volumes of his sermons were edited by Dr Amory. He died in 1766.

## Bishop Hoadly.

BORN A. D. 1676.—DIED A. D. 1761.

JOHN HOADLY, grandfather of Benjamin Hoadly, the subject of the present memoir, emigrated to America about the year 1639. The family remained in that place fourteen years, and then went back to England. From that period little is known of the grandfather, except that he became chaplain to the garrison of Edinburgh castle. His son Samuel was educated at Edinburgh, and at an early age commenced the employment of schoolmaster. He followed this vocation in different places, till he was called to be head-master of the public school at Norwich, which station he held during the remainder of his life. He was the friend and correspondent of Grævius, and several of his letters to that eminent critic have been preserved.

Benjamin Hoadly, son of Samuel Hoadly, was born at Westerham, Kent, November 14th, 1676, while his father was teacher of a private school in that place. He continued under his father's tuition till he entered the university of Cambridge, as a pensioner of Catherine hall. We hear little of him at the university, except that he took his degrees in due course, was elected fellow, and discharged the office of tutor with much credit for two years. During the first years of his life he was of a sickly constitution, and seldom in good health. By an accident also he contracted a lameness which never left him. He always

walked with a cane, or a crutch, and then with difficulty. But his constitution gained vigour as he advanced in age.

He took orders in 1700, and was appointed lecturer of St Mildred in the Poultry, London. This appointment he retained for ten years. The income was very small, and through the kindness of Dr William Sherlock, dean of St Paul's, he obtained in addition the rectory of St Peter's Poor, Broad street, in 1704. He soon began to be distinguished by his writings and sermons in vindication of natural and revealed religion, and of the principles of civil and religious liberty. In 1709 he was engaged in a dispute with Dr Atterbury, concerning passive obedience, occasioned by that divine's Latin sermon, entitled '*Concio ad Clerum Londinensem, habita in Ecclesia S. Elphegi.*' The doctor, in a pamphlet entitled '*Some proceedings in Convocation, A. D. 1705, faithfully represented,*' had charged Hoadly, whom he sneeringly calls "the modest and moderate Mr Hoadly," with "treating the body of the established clergy with language more disdainful and reviling than it would have become him to have used towards his Presbyterian antagonist upon any provocation; charging them with rebellion in the church, whilst he himself was preaching it up in the state." This induced Hoadly to set about a particular examination of Dr Atterbury's Latin sermon; which he did in a piece, entitled '*A large Answer to Dr Atterbury's charge of rebellion,*' &c.; wherein he endeavours to lay open the doctor's artful management of the controversy, and to let the reader into his true meaning and design. This '*Answer*' was added to another treatise, entitled '*The Original and Institution of Civil Government discussed, viz. 1. An Examination of the Patriarchal Government. 2. A defence of Mr Hooker's Judgment, &c. against the Objections of several late Writers.*' In this debate Mr Hoadly signalized himself in a very high degree; and, immediately after the publication of the last work, his constant labours in the cause of civil and religious liberty were most honourably distinguished by a vote of the house of commons in his favour, expressed in these terms: "Resolved, 1. That the Reverend Mr Benjamin Hoadly, rector of St Peter's Poor, London, for having often justified the principles on which her majesty and the nation proceeded in the late happy Revolution, has justly merited the favour and recommendation of this house. 2. That an humble address be presented to her majesty, that she would be graciously pleased to bestow some dignity in the church on Mr Hoadly, for his eminent services both to the church and state." The queen promised to comply with the wishes of the house, but she never found an opportunity to fulfil her promise. By Mrs Howland he was presented to the rectory of Streatham, Surrey. As a qualification for this appointment he became chaplain to the duke of Bedford. The degree of D. D. was conferred on him by Archbishop Wake; and when George I. came to the throne he was appointed king's chaplain. He had warmly espoused the cause of the Hanover succession, and deserved the patronage of a family whose interests he had so earnestly defended. In 1715 he was advanced to the bishopric of Bangor; and, in the course of the twenty years following, he was appointed successively Bishop of Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester. He died in 1761, at his residence in Chelsea, aged eighty-five years.

Bishop Hoadly was twice married, and had five children. One of



his sons became an eminent physician, and was the author of several works of merit in his profession, as well as of the popular comedy called 'The Suspicious Husband.' He died before his father. Another son, John Hoadly, obtained considerable preferment in the church; and, after his father's death, published a complete collection of his works in three folio volumes. It is remarkable that on the death of this person the name of Hoadly became extinct. The younger brother of bishop Hoadly, who was primate of Ireland, left no male descendants.

Justice could hardly be done to a biographical notice of Hoadly, without detailing many of the most important events in England, both ecclesiastical and civil, for nearly half a century. His writings had a wide and powerful influence, and contributed much to give a tone to public sentiment and feeling. They were admirably suited to the times; and, in the multitude of topics which they embrace, we always discover the same strong intellect, clear perception, forcible argument, and plain practical sense. In religion he admitted no authority but the scriptures; in civil government he built every thing upon the foundation of liberty and right. This was a bold stand to take at the beginning of the eighteenth century; and, to maintain it with dignity, required a firmness and zeal, as well as a weight of talents, not among the attributes of a common mind.

Hoadly's earliest writings are chiefly devoted to a defence of the reasonableness of conformity to the church of England. On this subject he was engaged in a controversy with Calamy. Hoadly argued for conformity on protestant principles, and not from the traditionary notion of hereditary right, nor from the pretence of any authority in the church, except what it derived from the good conduct and worthy character of its ministers. He desired peace and union, and attempted to show, that, whatever might be the abuses of the established church, they were not such as to interfere with the essentials of religion, nor as ought to drive any serious Christian from its outward forms and usages. He did not make it his object so much to prove the truth of doctrines, or the propriety of particular ceremonies, as to show, on the ground assumed by dissenters themselves, that no doctrines or ceremonies of the church were a necessary bar to such a conformity as would insure peace and harmony among Christians. This was stating the argument on broad and liberal principles. It was pursued with candour and forcible reasoning; but it will scarcely be denied, that the author sometimes lays a heavy tax on his ingenuity, and refines upon his subject in a manner more plausible than convincing. The discussion, however, was serviceable to the interests of religion. It excited public attention, and Hoadly next entered the lists of controversy with Bishop Atterbury, respecting the tendency of virtue and morality to promote the present happiness of man. In a published sermon Atterbury had maintained, that if there were no life after the present, the condition of man would be worse than that of the brutes, and that the best men would often be the most miserable. Hoadly considered this a dangerous doctrine, and opposed to the nature and true dignity of virtue. He proved it to be a sound position in morals, that virtue will always be in some degree its own reward, and that, under any conditions of human existence, the best men will be on the whole most happy. The controversy took a wide range, and several of Atterbury's sentiments were attacked as unscriptural and inconsistent

with themselves. In short, there were but few points of agreement between these eminent men. They disputed, as we have seen, on passive obedience and other topics peculiar to the religious and political state of the times. Hoadly was in favour of the sentence of perpetual exile passed against Atterbury by the house of lords, on a charge of being engaged in a conspiracy to restore the Stuart family.

In the year 1717, Hoadly preached before the king his celebrated sermon on the 'Nature of the kingdom, or church of Christ.' With this discourse commenced the famous *Bangorian Controversy*, so called from the circumstance of the author's being at that time bishop of Bangor. As this sermon embraced all the important topics then pertaining to the relations subsisting between church and state, it brought into action, on one side or another, many of the most able and learned men in the kingdom. No controversy, probably, ever attracted so much attention for the time it continued, nor enlisted so large a number of combatants. Hoadly was attacked from every quarter. He was put upon his defence against Sherlock, Snape, Hare, Potter, Wake, Cannon, Law, and a host of others. In all these contests he acquitted himself with great dignity and credit. It was the purpose of the author, in the sermon which gave occasion to this controversy, to make it appear from the scriptures that the kingdom of Christ is in all respects a spiritual kingdom, in which Christ himself is the only king and lawgiver. Temporal governments and laws have no just control in this kingdom. The authority of Christ and his apostles demands our undivided respect and submission. Human penalties and encouragements to enforce religious assent, are not consistent with the principles of the gospel. They may produce a unity of profession, but not of faith; they may make hypocrites, but not sincere Christians. These sentiments were thought by many to be a direct attack upon all religious establishments, and especially on that of the church of England. They were not intended as such by the author. He approved of establishments under certain conditions and modifications, and defended most ably all that was defensible in the English church. Yet we cannot wonder that tenets like these should have met with strenuous opposition from the credulous and timid on the one hand, and from the discerning, bigotted, and suspicious on the other. So great was the offence taken by the body of the clergy at the sentiments contained in this sermon, that it was resolved to proceed against the author in convocation, as soon as it should be convened. The lower house appointed a committee to draw up a representation, which was unanimously accepted. But when the king saw to what unreasonable length the clergy were suffering themselves to be carried, he exercised his royal authority, and prorogued the convocation before the subject was brought into the upper house. At this period may be dated the downfall of the convocation. It has never met since, except on business of form; and, if the Bangorian controversy had resulted in no other good, it would have been no trifling achievement to destroy the power of this engine of persecution and ecclesiastical tyranny. "We of the present day," says Mr Hughes in his memoir of Sherlock, "who happily are strangers to the disastrous scenes of an unsettled government, and are accustomed more to form our opinions from conclusions of the understanding, whether rightly or wrongly drawn, than to defer implicitly to authority, can scarcely gain a proper notion of the heats and animos-



sities which this dispute excited. To attempt it, we must take into consideration the peculiar state of parties, or rather of factions, which then existed both in church and state. The doctrines of the Revolution were at that time but partially admitted; the Jacobites were strong in many parts of the kingdom, and existed in all, while they sedulously fomented disaffection in other parties, and attached themselves to each as it seemed disposed to encourage their pretensions; non-jurors, non-conformists, and sectarians of every description, were constantly breaking out into acts of animosity against the established church and the government which protected it; nor did the popish pretender fail to take advantage of these circumstances, by hovering around the coasts, stirring up rebellion within the realm, and the hostility of foreign potentates from without. In the meantime, the country was divided generally into two great parties, tories and whigs,—terms which might be taken as synonymous<sup>1</sup> with those of high and low churchmen, so thoroughly were political opinions identified with theological tenets and rules of ecclesiastical discipline. The former of these, or at least the greater part of them, upheld the doctrines of indefeasible hereditary right, unlimited non-resistance, and inherent ecclesiastical authority, to a degree which went to chain down man's free spirit, and render him at once the slave and instrument of tyranny; a majority of the latter, on the contrary, in their hatred for popery, and love of that blessed Revolution which liberated us from its fetters, would have loosened the bands of church-authority inconsistently with the safety of the protestant establishment." We dissent entirely from the opinion that Hoadly and his party placed the establishment in peril; but the general view taken of the state of parties is correct and instructive.

A short time before this controversy commenced, Hoadly wrote a 'Dedication to the Pope,' which, for a deep knowledge of human nature, for wit and grave satire, has seldom been surpassed. It was prefixed to a short treatise by Sir Richard Steele, entitled 'The Romish Ecclesiastical History of late years.' This work professes to be a translation of an Italian manuscript, giving an account of the ceremonies attending a canonization of saints at Rome. The original narrative is occasionally broken by humorous descriptions and pointed reflections of the translator, designed to place in a strong light the absurdity and imposture of those ceremonies. The dedication appeared in Steele's name, and went out to the public as his own, although some few persons were in the secret. When the real author was generally known, Steele was severely censured, particularly by Hare and Swift, for shining in this borrowed dress. Hare, as the account says, "looked with an evil eye on this piece, as if his own province of wit were invaded," and Swift could not let so good an opportunity pass without taking his usual mode of revenge by hooking the matter into a rhyme, in which he holds up Steele as one

—— "who owned what others writ,  
And flourished by imputed wit."

The Dedication never was published in Hoadly's name during his lifetime, but it is contained in the folio edition of his works. The follow-

<sup>1</sup> Not absolutely so in every case, as we have already had occasion to remark.

ing is an extract from a letter written by Hoadly to Lady Sundon, nearly twenty years after the Dedication first appeared:—"I remember, when I last waited on you at Kensington, you were willing to see a certain dedication which you could not find among your books. Be pleased to accept of this, and, as you read it, remember that it had never been printed if it had not been first read over, and received the approbation of some of the best judges, in your parlour. Call to mind the excesses of joy with which Dr Clarke then received it." This extract, the testimony of his son, and the general consent of his friends, are a sufficient proof that he was the author of the Dedication, although he never published it with his name.

In 1719, Bishop Hoadly published, in one vol. 8vo, 'The Common Rights of Subjects defended; and the nature of the Sacramental Test considered; in answer to the Dean of Chichester's (Sherlock) Vindication of the Corporation and Test Acts.' In the preface to this very able performance, Hoadly says, "The following book is an answer to the most plausible and ingenious defence that, I think, has ever yet been published, of excluding men from their acknowledged civil rights, upon the account of their differences in religion, or in the circumstances of religion; and of making the sacrament of the Lord's supper, instituted by our Lord for the remembrance of himself, the instrument of this exclusion, by a new human institution." The bishop afterwards says, "In the course of his work the dean is repeatedly careful to observe, that, in vindicating the test and corporation acts, he endeavours to justify the legislature, and to justify the laws of his country, which he represents me arraigning and condemning. I beg leave, therefore, here to tell him, once for all, that there was a time when the laws of this country were on the side of a popish establishment; and that the writing on any side of any law, as such, is not a thing greatly to be boasted of; and that the whole of the question is, Whether the laws we defend be good and just, equitable and righteous? and not, Whether they be the laws of the land or not? I shall also observe, that it is so far from being a crime, or an affront to any legislature, to endeavour to show the evil consequences, or iniquitableness of any law now in being, that all law-makers, who act upon principles of public justice and honour, cannot but esteem it an advantage to have such points laid before them: and as to myself, I shall ever, I hope, esteem it as great an honour to contend against debasing any of Christ's institutions into political engines as others can do to plead on the side of an act of parliament. And I shall add farther, that I enter into this cause both as a Christian, and, I trust, as one truly concerned for the public good of the society to which I belong; considering it not as the cause of any particular body of men, or any particular sort of Christians distinct from others, but as the cause of all men equally, and of all sorts of Christians, who, in several places, and at several times, have an equal interest in it." After having very particularly and satisfactorily refuted the different arguments advanced by the dean, Hoadly concludes in the following words:—"I have now examined Dr Sherlock's arguments: first, for the exclusion of good civil subjects from offices, merely upon account of their disaffection to a church establishment; or rather of their lesser degree of affection for one church than for another: and then, for employing to this secular purpose the communion, a sacred



institution of our Lord himself, appointed for another purpose, wholly relating to another world. And I have shown that his arguments are inconsistent with the rights of all Christians, and contrary to the principles of the whole Reformation: that his plausible arguments for exclusive laws upon religious considerations, drawn from self-defence, or former behaviour of predecessors, hurt the church of England itself in other places, times, and circumstances, as much as they can pretend to help it here now: that they justify the heathen's exclusion of Christians, the papists' exclusion of protestants, and the worst of protestants' exclusion of the best from all offices, whenever power may be in their hands. I have also shown, that it is a prostitution of the holy sacrament to apply it to a purpose of a different nature from what the great Institutor solemnly appropriated it to; and to make that the tool of this world, which he ordered to have respect only to another. And I have proved that the test and corporation acts are repugnant to reason and to justice. What I have written may probably be misrepresented, but whatever imputations may be thrown out against me, neither the dean of Chichester, nor any one else, can rob me of the inward satisfaction I enjoy, in the sincere endeavours I have used in this piece, and in my former writings, to propose and recommend such principles as may at length, with the assistance of more able hands, effectually serve to establish the interests of our common country, and our common Christianity, of human society and true religion, of the present generation and the latest posterity, upon one uniform, steady, and consistent foundation." An abridgment of this work was published in 8vo, in 1787.

Besides his controversial and political writings, Hoadly published several works as aids to practical religion and a right understanding of the scriptures. At an early period of his life he wrote, besides pieces in defence of miracles and prophecy, four sermons on impartial inquiry in religion. He published two or three volumes of discourses, and many single sermons at different times, and also a life of Dr Samuel Clarke, prefixed to an edition of his sermons.

But one of his most celebrated and laboured performances was 'A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.' The character and objects of this work may be understood from the following remarks of the author. "As, for the sake of one sort of Christians," says he, "I never ceased to inculcate the necessity of universal obedience to the will of God, that there might be no help left to them of acceptance without this; so, for the defence and support of others in their sincere endeavours to please God, against all those uneasy impressions of superstition which they had a right to be freed from, I made it my care to state and explain the commands peculiar to Christianity, from the first declarations of Christ himself and his apostles, in such a manner, as that they might appear to honest minds to have as little tendency to create distress and uneasiness, as they were designed in their first simplicity to have." Of the same work, Dr Middleton observes, in a letter to Lord Hervey, "I like both the design and the doctrine, as I do every design of reconciling religion with reason, or, where that may not be done, of bringing them as near together as possible. His enemies will insult him with the charge of lessening Christian piety, but the candid will see, that he only seeks to destroy a superstitious devotion by establishing a rational one in its

place." As the 'Plain Account' is elaborate, and not well-adapted to common use, it was abridged and put into a more popular form by Dr Disney, in 1774.

The last publication of Hoadly was a spirited letter, written after he was eighty years old, vindicating himself from misrepresentations which had gone abroad, by reason of an impostor having forged a note against him. This letter was considered a remarkable performance, both in regard to its ability and the knowledge it discovered of the technical mysteries of the law. Horace Walpole said, in alluding to it, "the bishop has not only got the better of his adversary, but of his old age." The humanity and kind temper of the writer towards the person who had attempted to deceive and defraud him, are not the least striking excellences of this vindication.

Dr Akenside wrote an ode to Hoadly, in which he has not been unsuccessful in portraying some of the bolder features of his character. The lines quoted below are from this piece.

"O nurse of freedom, Albion, say,  
Thou tamer of despotic sway,  
What man among thy sons around,  
Thus heir to glory hast thou found?  
What page, in all thy annals bright,  
Hast thou with purer joy survey'd,  
Than that where truth, by Hoadly's aid,  
Shines through imposture's solemn shade,  
Through kingly and through sacerdotal night?"

"For not a conqueror's sword,  
Nor the strong powers to civil founders known,  
Were his; but truth by faithful search explored,  
And social sense, like seed, in genial plenty sown.  
Wherever it took root, the soul, restored  
To freedom, freedom too for others sought.  
Not monkish craft the tyrant's claim divine,  
Nor regal zeal the bigot's cruel shrine,  
Could longer guard from reason's warfare sage;  
Not the wild rabble to sedition wrought,  
Nor synods by the papal genius taught,  
Nor St John's spirit loose, nor Atterbury's rage."

## Bishop Sherlock.

BORN A. D. 1678.—DIED A. D. 1761.

THIS illustrious prelate was a younger son of Dr William Sherlock, dean of St Paul's, the author of the well-known and popular treatise on Death. He was born in London in 1678.

At Eton, where he was educated, he had Townshend, Pelham, and Walpole, amongst his school-companions; and to the intimacy thus formed in early life with individuals who afterwards acted such conspicuous parts in the government of the country, did Sherlock owe much of that good fortune which attended him throughout life. Among his class-fellows, the future prelate excelled not only in learning, but also in the more boisterous sports and games with which they filled up their hours of recreation. Warton, on the authority of Walpole, interprets Pope's expression, 'the plunging prelate,' applied to Sherlock in



the Dunciad, as allusive to the boldness and readiness with which young Sherlock, when bathing with his companions, used to plunge into the water, while the rest held back, and hesitated to commit themselves to the chilling element.

He entered Cambridge in 1693, where he was admitted of Catherine hall, under the tuition of Dr Long. His future great rival and contemporary, Hoadly, had entered this college one year before him; and it is a curious fact noticed by Mr Hughes, in his memoir prefixed to Valpy's edition of Sherlock's works, that the master, the tutor, the rival student, and himself, were all destined to attain the episcopal bench. Sir W. Dawes, master of Catherine, was made bishop of Chester in 1707; and Dr Long, bishop of Norwich, in 1723. The society of Catherine hall is small in numbers; it may be supposed, therefore, that incentives to emulation may not be found there equal to those which some of the other colleges supply; but, be this as it may, Sherlock, in the person of one single student, the future bishop of Winchester, found a rival worthy of him, and one whose rivalry continued to stimulate him to renewed exertions long after they had both exchanged the academic arena for a wider and more important field of combat. It is said that the two young men very soon discovered their destiny as rivals, and in consequence never regarded each other with feelings of peculiar complacency. One day, as they were returning together from their tutor's lecture on 'Tully's Offices,' Hoadly observed, "Well, Sherlock, you figured away finely to-day by help of Cockman!"<sup>1</sup> "No, indeed!" replied Sherlock, "I did not; for though I tried all I could to get a copy, I heard of only one; and that you had secured."<sup>2</sup>

There is no doubt that Sherlock was a very accomplished classical scholar. Warburton, in a letter to his friend Hurd, for whom he had been soliciting a Whitehall preachship from Sherlock, then bishop of London, says:—"It is time you should think of being a little more known; and it will not be the least thing acceptable in this affair, that it will bring you into the acquaintance of this bishop, who stands so supereminent in the learned and political world. I can overlook a great deal for such a testimony so willing to be paid to merit." And Pope, in a letter to Warburton, says, "We are told that the bishop of Salisbury (Sherlock,) is expected here daily, who, I know, is your friend; at least, though a bishop, he is too much a man of learning to be your enemy." These are quite satisfactory testimonies to Sherlock's extra-professional scholarship. Warburton even paid him the high compliment, though he differed in many points from him, of submitting portions of the 'Divine Legation' to his inspection as they were passing through the press. The bent of Sherlock's genius, however, was towards the more abstruse and ratiocinative departments of study. He applied himself with unremitting ardour to the study of the mathematical and metaphysical sciences: and the fruits of that course of rigid discipline to which he subjected his mind at this period of his life ap-

<sup>1</sup> A translator of the Offices.

<sup>2</sup> This story is sometimes told to the advantage of Hoadly:—"One day, when both freshmen, after being called to lectures in 'Tully's Offices,' Sherlock, somewhat nettled at the approbation which Hoadly had elicited from the tutor, sneeringly remarked, "Ben, you have made good use of L'Estrange's translation to-day." "No, Tom, I have not," replied Hoadly; "and I forgot to send the bed-maker for yours, which, I understand, is the only one in the college."—*Georgian Era*.

pear in the clear reasoning and logical precision which eminently distinguish his compositions.

He took his degree of A. B. in 1697. His name, on this occasion, appeared on the Tripes, or list of honours, in the same degree that Hoadly had obtained two years before, and the great Bentley in 1679. In August, 1698, he was elected fellow. Soon after, having reached cononical years, he entered into orders. It is told of him that he was severely reprimanded for being late in attendance on the bishop at his ordination. A fine turbot, intended for the prelate's table, happened to be brought by the same conveyance as that by which Sherlock travelled; and the bishop was under the necessity of apologizing to his company for the delay that occurred in serving up the dinner on account of the late arrival of the fish. Sherlock is said to have remarked, that "he and the turbot had both reached the palace time enough to get into hot water."

In 1701 he proceeded A. M. On the 28th of November, 1704, when only twenty-six years old, he was appointed to the mastership of the Temple, on the resignation of his father, who held that office. In this arduous situation he acquitted himself with great ability. His discourses at the Temple, which have been published, are first-rate pieces of their kind. Dr Nicolls also informs us, that "though his voice was not melodious, but accompanied rather with a thickness of speech, yet were his words uttered with so much propriety, and with such strength and vehemence, that he never failed to take possession of his whole audience and secure their attention. This powerful delivery of words, so weighty and important as his always were, made a strong impression on the minds of his hearers, and was not soon forgot."<sup>3</sup> A writer on pulpit eloquence says of Sherlock's pulpit compositions: "The calm and dispassionate disquisition on some text of scripture, or the discussion of some theological question, henceforward (after the Restoration,) to be the exclusive object of an English sermon, was carried by Sherlock to a perfection rarely rivalled, unless by Smalridge, nearly his own contemporary, and by Horsley in more recent times. The question is clearly stated and limited,—every objection anticipated,—and the language is uniformly manly and vigorous. Sherlock indeed occasionally breaks out in passages of greater warmth and earnestness,"<sup>4</sup> &c. In 1707 Sherlock entered into the marriage-state with Miss Judith Fountaine, a lady of a good Yorkshire family. By this act he of course forfeited his fellowship; but he was recalled to the service of his Alma Mater in 1714, when, on the resignation of Sir William Dawes, he was unanimously elected master of Catherine hall. In this year he held the celebrated disputation with Waterland, which has already been noticed at some length in our sketch of the latter divine. Sherlock in his mastership, and more especially in his official character of vice-chancellor of the university, had a good deal of wrangling with that learned Ishmaelite, Bentley; but contrived to silence him on one point at least, namely, that the right of granting probates of wills and administrations of effects to the heirs of members of the university, did not belong to the archdeacon of Ely. Bentley consoled himself, however, by fixing on his antagonist the nickname

<sup>3</sup> Gentleman's Magazine for 1762.

<sup>4</sup> Quarterly Review, No lviii.



of Cardinal Alberoni, by which he meant it to be understood that the vice-chancellor copied the intriguing politics of the celebrated Spanish minister.

It was during Sherlock's vice-chancellorship that the university of Cambridge received George the Second's munificent present of books, being the library of the deceased Bishop Moore, which the king had purchased for £6000, and with which he now, at the suggestion of Sherlock's friend, Lord Townshend, rewarded the loyalty of the Cambridge men at a period when their brethren of Oxford required a troop of horse to keep down their tory and Jacobite propensities. The correspondence relating to this donation is given by Mr Hughes in his memoir of Sherlock.

In November, 1715, Sherlock was promoted to the deanery of Chichester; but he retained his university preferment till 1719. Dr Disney declares that Sherlock conducted himself with great moderation and equanimity in his university-offices. And this testimony is the more valuable as coming from the biographer of Arthur Sykes, one of Sherlock's bitterest opponents. Sherlock and his party had been severely attacked by Sykes; but the powerful pen of the master of Catherine's completely vindicated himself and the academical aristocracy, of which he was believed to be the mainspring, from the censures of Sykes.<sup>5</sup>

In the preceding memoir we have adverted to the famous Bangorian controversy, and Dr Sherlock's appearance in that great debate. Sherlock was at the head of the committee of convocation which sat on Hoadly's publications, and the chief author of the report upon them. Very early in 1717 he defended himself by the publication of his 'Remarks on the Bishop of Bangor's treatment of the Clergy and Convocation.' Sykes answered this pamphlet. The dean replied in 'An Answer to a Letter sent to the Rev. Dr Sherlock;' which was met by a 'Second Letter' from Sykes, with a postscript by the bishop of Bangor himself. After a good deal of desultory warfare, the dean put forth his whole strength in his celebrated 'Vindication of the Test and Corporation Acts.' These absurd and disgraceful enactments—now happily blotted, and we trust for ever, from our statute book—originated in the reign of Charles II. The presbyterians had been active in bringing about the Restoration, and many of them were allowed for a time to retain their livings. On the other hand, the episcopalians clamoured loudly for exclusive possession of church preferments. The corporation act was originally designed to constitute a temporary tribunal for settling questions as to who were the rightful possessors of offices, with powers to remove all persons suspected of disaffection to the restored dynasty. For this purpose it was to be invested with power to administer the oath of allegiance and supremacy, together with an oath disclaiming the lawfulness of bearing arms against the king, and a disavowal of the solemn league and covenant. The lords, however, remodelled the bill when it came before them, and ultimately succeeded in foisting in a clause by which it was provided, that after the commission should expire (1663) no person should be placed in any office of magistracy, or place of employment in the government, who had not,

<sup>5</sup> Monk's Life of Bentley, p. 357.

within one year next before election, taken the sacrament of the supper according to the rites of the church of England. This state of things, for the present, was not felt to be any very great grievance by the protestant dissenters; for, in 1663, Baxter, at a meeting of ministers, advocated communion in the parish churches; and at another meeting, in 1666, it was agreed that communion with the church of England was in itself lawful and good. The first law, requiring the taking of the sacrament, was passed in the 3d James I., and imposed that ordinance as well as general conformity on converted recusants. But this measure was only considered as a test against Catholicism, and was objected to only by Catholics; there is no trace of the legislature conceiving that a protestant would object to such a conformity. Matters were indeed changed as soon as a protestant party in the kingdom felt themselves necessitated to declare their entire dissent from the episcopalian church, under the operation of the act of uniformity; but till then the Catholics alone were affected by the sacramental test. The second "bulwark of the constitution" against sectaries, viz. the test act, passed in 1672. At this time there was a general feeling of the necessity for as close a union as possible of all protestants; and, under this feeling, the protestant dissenters, "that an effectual security might be formed against popery," allowed an act to be passed, nay, assisted it through its various stages with a hearty and effectual co-operation, by which the taking of the sacrament, according to the usage of the church of England, was rendered a necessary qualification for any office, civil or military, under government. Different attempts were subsequently made to introduce a test which might distinguish between protestants and papists; but these were as often defeated by the court and high church party, who even scrupled not to resort to such a mean trick as that of stealing a bill for relieving the dissenters when waiting the king's signature. At the accession of William, the feeling against dissenters was still as strong, though that monarch, conscious of his obligations to his protestant dissenting subjects, struggled hard to relieve them. "I hope," he said to parliament, "you are all sensible that there is a necessity for some law to settle the oaths to be taken by all persons to be admitted to such places. I recommend it to your care to make a speedy provision for it; and as I doubt not but you will sufficiently provide against papists, so I hope you will leave room for the admission of all protestants that are able and willing to serve." The churchmen, however, succeeded in preserving their monopoly. Early in the reign of George I. some symptoms of relenting appeared amongst them in the repeal of the occasional conformity act; and it was in the debates and discussions attendant on this measure, that these controversies, in which Sherlock headed one party, and Hoadly the other, took their rise. Into a review of the arguments advanced on either side, our limits preclude us entering; nor will many of our readers think it at all necessary, now that these infamous statutes are repealed. Sherlock argued a bad case with great ability, and was supported by Snape, Trapp, Hare, and Stebbing; Hoadly maintained the opposite and better argument with equal ability, and confessedly better temper, and numbered Sykes, Jackson, Pyle, and Balguy, amongst his coadjutors.

Sherlock drew his pen in a far better cause when he took up An-



thony Collins's 'Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion,' wherein that celebrated freethinker having first endeavoured to fix the evidence of Christianity chiefly on the Old Testament prophecies, proceeds to explain these prophecies in such a manner, that they may seem to have no better foundation than the pagan oracles. The dean of Chichester answered Collins in six discourses 'On the Use and Intent of Prophecy,' which were most favourably received. In these discourses Sherlock shows that the prophetic portions of scripture form a regular and connected series, in opposition to Collins's assertion, that they were only so many isolated vaticinations; he proves that they were all subservient to one and the same administration of Providence, and that they could not be the effect of art or religious fraud.

In the first year of George II. Sherlock was advanced to the episcopal see of Bangor. Soon after his elevation he again appeared as the acute and successful defender of revelation in a very ingenious treatise, entitled 'The Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus,' which ran through fourteen editions in a very short time. In this treatise he applies himself to answer Woolston's allegorization of the miracles of our Lord; and he does so in a most acute and triumphant manner.

Very soon after he appeared in the house of lords, Sherlock vindicated his claims to the character of a first-rate debater, in an argument against the judgment of the court of king's bench in Dr Bentley's cause, respecting the visitatorial jurisdiction of the bishop of Ely over Trinity college, which had been carried by a writ of error to the lords. The judgment of the inferior court was reversed by a majority of 28 peers against 16, owing to the resistless reasonings of Sherlock. He had previously contended with equal though less worthy success against the famous pension bill, which had passed the commons unresisted by Walpole, who probably did not choose to incur the popular odium which would have attached to his resisting it. Sherlock spoke with great animation against the bill when brought up to the lords, and it was ultimately negatived after a very keen debate. His speeches on the following subjects are printed in the collection of parliamentary debates: Against Lord Bathurst's motion, in May, 1733, for an account of the produce of the South sea directors' forfeited estates;—for a clause in the Mortmain bill, in 1736, affecting the benefit of Queen Anne's bounty;—in the same year, against the bill for the more easy recovery of tithes from quakers;—in 1737, against the motion for declaring the sentence of the high court of justiciary against Captain Porteous. He also made a long speech in favour of the convention with Spain in 1738; and another, in 1740, against the bill for retailing spirituous liquors. In 1741 he strenuously exerted himself in defence of his patron, Sir Robert Walpole, when assailed by the whole weight of the opposition, and procured a prorogation of parliament for the purpose of screening the minister. Pope alludes to this in his 'Epilogue to the Satires,' when he says,—

" Sherlock, if he lives, will love the prince.

Strange spleen to Sherlock !

F.  
P.

Do I wrong the man ?

God knows, I praise a courtier when I can."

In 1734 he succeeded his old antagonist Hoadly in the see of Salisbury; and on the death of Archbishop Potter, in 1747, he was offered the primacy, but declined it on account of the ill state of his health. In 1749, however, he allowed himself to be translated to the see of London. In the same year he published that edition of his discourses on prophecy, which was attacked by Dr Middleton with so much fury, that Warburton, in a letter to Hurd, under date 11th July, 1750, says of Middleton's tract: "I think it the weakest as well as warmest pamphlet the Dr ever wrote. But I agree with you, there is no harm done. It may be of use to make people understand themselves."<sup>6</sup>

In 1750 the bishop of London published 'A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Inhabitants of London and Westminster, on occasion of the late Earthquakes.' The cause and design of this letter will be better understood from the following extract from Smollett's history of that year:—"The month of January and the beginning of February were distinguished, the first day by a very remarkable Aurora Borealis appearing at night to the north-east, of a deep and dusky red colour, like the reflection of some great fire, for which it was by many people mistaken; and the coruscations, unlike those that are generally observed, did not meet in the zenith, but in a point some degrees to the southward. February was ushered in by terrible peals of thunder, flashes of lightning, and such a tempest of wind, hail, and rain, as overwhelmed with fear and consternation the inhabitants of Bristol, where it chiefly raged. On the eighth day of the same month, between twelve and one in the afternoon, the people of London were still more dreadfully alarmed by the shock of an earthquake, which shook all the houses with such violence, that the furniture rocked on the floors, the pewter and porcelain rattled on the shelves, the chamber-bells rang, and the whole of this commotion was attended with a clap or noise resembling that produced by the fall of some heavy piece of furniture. The shock extended through the cities of London and Westminster, and was felt on both sides the river Thames, from Greenwich to the westward of London; but not perceptible at a considerable distance. On the very same day of the next month, between five and six o'clock in the morning, the inhabitants of the metropolis were again affrighted by a second shock, more violent than the first, and abundantly more alarming, as it waked the greater part of the people from their repose. It was preceded by a succession of thick low flashes of lightning, and a rumbling noise, like that of a heavy carriage rolling over a hollow pavement. The shock itself consisted of repeated vibrations, which lasted some seconds, and violently shook every house from top to bottom. Again the chairs rocked, the shelves clattered, the small bells rang, and in some places public clocks were heard to strike. Many persons, roused by this terrible visitation, started naked from their beds, and ran to their doors and windows in distraction; yet no life was lost, and no house overthrown by this concussion, though it was so dreadful as to threaten an immediate dissolution of the globe. The circumstance, however, did not fail to make a deep impression upon ignorant, weak, and superstitious minds, which were the more affected by the consideration that the two shocks were periodical; that the second, which happened exactly

<sup>6</sup> See our notice of Middleton.



one month after the first, had been the more violent; and that the next, increasing in proportion, might be attended with the most dismal consequences. This general notion was confirmed, and indeed propagated, among all ranks of people, by the admonitions of a fanatic soldier, who publicly preached up repentance, and boldly prophesied that the next shock would happen on the same day of April, and totally destroy the cities of London and Westminster. Considering the infectious nature of fear and superstition, and the emphatic manner in which the imagination had been prepared and prepossessed, it was no wonder that the prediction of this illiterate enthusiast should have contributed, in a great measure, to augment the general terror. The churches were crowded with penitent sinners; the sons of riot and profligacy were overawed into sobriety and decorum. The streets no longer resounded with execrations, or the noise of brutal licentiousness; and the hand of charity was liberally opened. Those whom fortune had enabled to retire from the devoted city, fled to the country with hurry and precipitation, insomuch that the highways were encumbered with horses and carriages. Many who had, in the beginning, combated these groundless fears with the weapons of reason and ridicule, began insensibly to imbibe the contagion, and felt their hearts fail in proportion as the hour of probation approached; even science and philosophy were not proof against the unaccountable effects of this communication. In after ages it will hardly be believed, that on the evening of the eighth day of April, the open fields that skirt the metropolis were filled with an incredible number of people assembled in chairs, in chaises, and coaches, as well as on foot, who waited in the most fearful suspense until morning and the return of day disproved the truth of the dreaded prophecy. Then their fears vanished; they returned to their respective habitations in a transport of joy, and were soon reconciled to their abandoned vices, which they seemed to resume with redoubled affection, and once more bade defiance to the vengeance of heaven." In this excited state of public feeling, the bishop's pamphlet was bought up and read with such avidity, that more than 100,000 copies were sold within a month. In 1759 Sherlock published an excellent charge to his clergy, in which, greatly to his honour, he expatiates very forcibly on the evils of non-residence.

This great man died at the advanced age of 84, on the 18th of July, 1761. He died worth £120,000, which Dr King asserts he had principally amassed out of the revenues of his metropolitan see, but which was certainly in great part the produce of his own private resources.

### William Law.

BORN A. D. 1686.—DIED A. D. 1761.

THIS popular divine was born at Kingscliffe, in Northamptonshire, in 1686. He was educated at Cambridge, where he took his degree of M. A. in 1712.

He refused to take the oaths after the accession of George I., and, in consequence, lost his fellowship, and was considered ever afterwards as a non-juror; yet it appears that he for some time officiated as a curate in the metropolis. Soon after his resignation of his fellowship

he went to reside at Putney, where he was tutor to Edward Gibbon, the father of the great historian. From Putney he removed to Kingscliffe, where he resided as chaplain to two widow-ladies of eminent piety, who, being of congenial sentiments, united their households, and placed them under the charge of this good man. He died in this situation in 1761.

His works are rather numerous. They consist of 'A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life;' 'A Practical Treatise on Christian Perfection;' 'Remarks on the Fable of the Bees;' 'The absolute Unlawfulness of Stage Entertainments;' 'The Case of Reason, or Natural Religion fully and fairly stated;' 'An Answer to Dr Trapp's Discourse on the Folly of Sin, and being righteous over-much;' 'The Grounds and Reasons of Christian Regeneration;' 'The Spirit of Prayer;' 'The Spirit of Love;' 'The Way to Divine Knowledge;' 'An Appeal to all that doubt or disbelieve the Truths of the Gospel;' 'An Answer to Hoadly on the Eucharist;' 'A Confutation of Warburton's Projected Defence;' with various other theological and controversial pieces, including some translations from Behmen, all of which have been collected and published in nine volumes octavo.

The historian of the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' has borne a very ample and interesting testimony to the singular worth of his father's tutor. "In our family," says he, "he left the reputation of a worthy and pious man, who believed all that he professed, and practised all that he enjoined. The character of a non-juror, which he maintained to the last, is a sufficient evidence of his principles in church and state; and the sacrifice of interest to conscience will be always respectable. His theological writings—which our domestic connexion has tempted me to peruse—preserve an imperfect sort of life, and I can pronounce with more confidence and knowledge on the merits of the author. His last compositions are darkly tinged by the incomprehensible visions of Jacob Behmen;<sup>1</sup> and his discourse on the absolute unlawfulness of stage entertainments is sometimes quoted for a ridiculous intemperance of sentiment and language. But these sallies of religious phrenzy must not extinguish the praise which is due to Mr William Law as a wit and a scholar. His argument on topics of less absurdity is specious and acute; his manner is lively,—his style forcible and clear,—and, had not his vigorous mind been clouded by enthusiasm, he might be ranked with the most agreeable and ingenious writers of the times. While the Bangorian controversy was a fashionable theme, he entered the lists on the subject of Christ's kingdom, and the authority of the priesthood; against the 'Plain Account of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper' he resumed the combat with Bishop Hoadly, the object of whig idolatry and tory abhorrence; and, at every weapon of attack and defence, the non-juror, on the ground which is common to both, approves himself at least equal to the prelate. On the appearance of 'The Fable of the Bees,' he drew his pen against the licentious doctrine that private vices are public benefits, and morality as well as religion must join in his applause. Law's master-work, the 'Serious Call,' is still read as a popular and powerful book of devotion. His precepts are rigid, but they are founded on the Gospel; his satire is sharp, but it is

<sup>1</sup> See Bishop Horne's 'Cautions to the Readers of Mr Law.'



drawn from the knowledge of human life; and many of his portraits are not unworthy of the pen of La Bruyere. If he finds a spark of piety in his reader's mind, he will soon kindle it to a flame; and a philosopher must allow that he exposes with equal severity and truth the strange contradiction between the faith and practice of the Christian world."<sup>2</sup> A still higher testimony to Law's powers is furnished by Dr Johnson: "When at Oxford," says he, "I took up Law's 'Serious Call to a Holy Life,' expecting to find it a dull book, (as such books generally are,) and perhaps to laugh at it. But I found Law quite an over-match for me; and this was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest of religion, after I became capable of rational inquiry." The same work, it is stated, produced such an effect on John Wesley, that no sooner had he perused it, than he resolved on devoting himself wholly to the service of God.

### Bishop Labington.

BORN A. D. 1683.—DIED A. D. 1762.

THE memory of this prelate is chiefly preserved by a more violent than judicious attack made by him upon what he was pleased to call the enthusiasm of the Methodists. He was born at Mildenhall, in Wiltshire, of which place his grandfather was rector; and was educated on Wykeham's foundation near Winchester. After a number of intermediate appointments, he was elevated to the see of Exeter, on the death of Bishop Claggett. He died in 1762. Warburton says that his work on the Methodists is only a bad copy of Stillingfleet's 'Fanaticism of the Church of Rome.'

### John Mason.

BORN A. D. 1705.—DIED A. D. 1763.

JOHN MASON, the son of a dissenting minister, was born at Dunmow in 1705, and educated principally by Mr Jennings of Kibworth. In 1728 he was chosen pastor of a congregation at Dorking, whence he removed, in 1746, to Cheshunt. Here, in addition to his ministerial labours, he superintended the education of several young men who afterwards became eminent preachers. Mason distinguished himself more as a writer than as a divine. His first work, 'A Plain and Modest Plea for Christianity,' was published anonymously; the name of its author, however, soon became known, and the university of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of M. A. by diploma. He subsequently published a valuable 'Treatise on Self-Knowledge;' 'Essays on Christian Morals;' 'Student and Pastor;' 'Essays on Elocution;' and fifty-two sermons on important subjects in divinity, under the title of 'Lord's Day Evening Entertainment.' His 'Treatise on Self-Knowledge' is, perhaps, one of the most popular books of its class extant. His death took place in October, 1763.

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon's Miscellaneous Pieces.

## John Leland.

BORN A. D. 1691.—DIED A. D. 1766.

THIS eminent writer in defence of Christianity was born at Wigan, in Lancashire, in 1691. He accompanied his father, in early life, to Ireland, where the family settled, and where he became a dissenting minister. The publication of Tindal's attack on the doctrines of revelation first drew him out as an author. His answer to Tindal appeared in 1733, and was very highly esteemed. In 1737 he replied to Morgan's 'Moral Philosopher.' These publications introduced him to the favourable notice of many eminent men, and he was honoured with the diploma of D.D. from the university of Aberdeen.

In 1742 he published an answer to a pamphlet, entitled 'Christianity not founded on argument;' and in 1753, 'Reflections on Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study and Use of History.' Next year appeared his 'View of the principal Deistical writers,' in the form of a series of letters to a friend. This friend was Dr Thomas Wilson, rector of St Stephen's, Walbrook. Popular as the 'View' soon became, no bookseller would give more than £50 for the manuscript, whereupon Dr Wilson printed a large edition at his own risk, and the subsequent editions sold with great rapidity and profit. His last work was on the 'Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation,' which he published when upwards of seventy years old. He died in January, 1766.

Leland is a calm, clear, and dispassionate writer.

## Nathaniel Lardner, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1684.—DIED A. D. 1768.

THIS very learned and meritorious divine was born at Hawkhurst, in Kent, on the 6th of June, 1684. After a grammatical education, to which great attention must have been given, and in which a no less rapid progress must have been made, he was sent first to a dissenting academy in London, then under the care of the Rev. Dr Joshua Oldfield, and thence, in his sixteenth year, to prosecute his studies at Utrecht under the celebrated professors D'Uries, Grævius, and Burman. He remained at Utrecht for more than three years, and then removed for a short space to Leyden. In 1703 he returned to England, and employed himself for some further time in close and diligent preparation for the profession of the ministry. In 1709 he preached his first sermon from Romans i. 16,—“a text,” his biographer Kippis remarks, “than which there could not have been a more proper one for a man who was destined, in the order of Divine Providence, to be one of the ablest advocates for the authenticity and truth of the Christian revelation that ever existed.”

A few years after this, Lardner was received into Lady Treby's family, widow of the lord-chief-justice of the common pleas, as her



domestic chaplain, and tutor to her youngest son. In this situation he continued till 1721, having within that period accompanied his pupil to the continent, and spent some time with him abroad.

By Lady Treby's death he was removed from a situation which seems to have been an agreeable one, and was thrown into circumstances of some perplexity and suspense. His own remarks will show the state of his mind at this time. "I am yet at a loss," says he, "how to dispose of myself. I can say I am desirous of being useful in the world. Without this, no external advantages relating to myself will make me happy; and yet I have no prospect of being serviceable in the work of the ministry, having preached many years without being favoured with the approbation and choice of any one congregation." Dr Kippis remarks, that "it reflects no honour upon the dissenters, that a man of such merit should so long have been neglected." But it must be observed, that in elections which are dependent upon the whole body of a congregation, a regard will be paid, not only to internal abilities, but to external qualifications. It is not probable that Mr Lardner, even in his best days, was possessed of a good elocution; and his simple mode of composition was not calculated to strike the multitude.

Two years after the death of Lady Treby, Mr Lardner met with another calamity which greatly affected him. This was the decease of his former pupil, Brindley Treby, Esq., a gentleman for whom our author had the highest affection and esteem. Indeed he felt so deeply the loss of his friend, that he imputed to it, in part, the increase of a deafness which had been coming upon him for some time before. In the beginning of the year 1724, he writes as follows: "Mr Comish preached; but I was not able to hear any thing he said, nor so much as the sound of his voice. I am indeed at present so deaf, that when I sit in the pulpit, and the congregation is singing, I can hardly tell whether they are singing or not."

Previously to this account of himself, and at least as early as 1723, Mr Lardner was engaged, in conjunction with a number of ministers, in carrying on a course of lectures, on a Tuesday evening, at the Old Jewry.

In 1727 Mr Lardner published, in two volumes 8vo, the first part of 'The Credibility of the Gospel History; or, the Facts occasionally mentioned in the New Testament confirmed by passages of ancient authors, who were contemporary with our Saviour, or his Apostles, or lived near their time.' An Appendix was subjoined concerning the time of Herod's death. Dr Kippis observes, that "it is scarcely necessary to say how well this work was received by the learned world. Not only was it highly approved by the protestant dissenters, with whom the author was more immediately connected, but by the clergy in general of the established church; and its reputation gradually extended into foreign countries. It is indeed an invaluable performance, and hath rendered the most essential service to the cause of Christianity. Whoever peruses this work—as to him that does not peruse it, it will be to his own loss—will find it replete with admirable instruction, sound learning, and just and candid criticism. It was not long before a second edition was called for, and a third was published in 1741."

In the beginning of February, 1728, the course of Mr Lardner's studies was interrupted, and his life threatened, by a violent fever, which

proved of long continuance. For some time his recovery was despaired of, but he was at length happily restored to health. His pious sentiments after his recovery are thus expressed: "I thankfully acknowledge the great goodness of God, who raised me up again, and desire that his great mercy may be had in perpetual remembrance by me. May I serve him the remainder of my time in this world with inviolable integrity, unshaken in my steadfastness by all the snares of a vain and uncertain world."

With all Mr Lardner's merit, he was forty-five years of age before he obtained a settlement among the dissenters. On the 24th of August, 1729, he happened to preach for the reverend Dr William Harris, at Crutched Friars; and the consequence of it was, that he was unexpectedly invited by the congregation to be assistant to their minister. After mature deliberation, he accepted the offer, which, as he declared in his letter of acceptance, was peculiarly agreeable to him, because it allotted him a part of service in the work of the gospel, with their honoured pastor, for whom he had entertained from his early youth a high regard and esteem. On the 14th of September he entered upon his new charge, and the subject of his first sermon was taken from 2 Cor. v. 20.

In 1731 Mr Lardner published the first volume of the second part of his 'Credibility of the Gospel History.' It was Mr Lardner's original intention, not to publish a part of the evidence for the principal facts of the New Testament, until the whole work was completed; but he was diverted from this purpose by the importunities of his friends. He wished, however, to have exhibited at once the whole evidence of the two first centuries of Christianity; but he thought it expedient to break off sooner, that he might not render the volume of an inconvenient size. Our author took this opportunity of expressing his gratitude for the favourable reception which had been given to the former part of his work. Besides its being universally well received at home, it was so much approved abroad, that it was translated by two learned foreigners; by Mr Cornelius Westerbaen, of Utrecht, into Low Dutch; and by Mr J. Christopher Wolff, of Hamburgh, into Latin. "I cannot but esteem it," says Mr Lardner, "as an uncommon happiness, that my thoughts have been so justly represented by persons well known in the republic of letters for compositions of their own."

In 1735 he published the second volume of the second part of the 'Credibility of the Gospel History.' The farther Mr Lardner proceeded in his design, the more did he advance in esteem and reputation among learned men of all denominations. Even the adversaries of religion could not withhold their testimony to his merit. The noted Dr Morgan—afterwards the writer of the 'Moral Philosopher,' in which revelation was attacked with the greatest virulence—in a letter to our author, containing some objections to the first chapter of St Luke's Gospel, compliments him highly on his integrity, impartiality, and candour.

In November, 1736, Mr Lardner was attacked by another severe and dangerous fever. The effects of it were such, that he did not recover his health, so far as to be able to preach, till late in the spring of 1737. In that year he published his 'Counsels of Prudence, for the use of young people.'

In 1738 Mr Lardner published the third volume of the second part of the 'Credibility,' and the fourth in the year 1740. In 1743 he pub-



lished the fifth volume of the second part of his 'Credibility.' In the same year the world was indebted to Mr Lardner for another valuable performance, the title of which was, 'The Circumstances of the Jewish People an Argument for the Truth of the Christian Religion.' It consists of three discourses on Romans xi. 11; in which the grand points insisted upon by our author, and maintained with great perspicuity and success, are, that the present state of the Jews was foretold by our Lord; that it is agreeable to many prophecies in the Old Testament; that it affords reason to believe that the Messiah is already come; that it furnishes an argument for the divine authority of the gospel; and that it exhibits an attestation to divers things upon which some evidences of Christianity depend.

In 1745 he published the sixth volume of the second part of his 'Credibility,' and the same year he received a diploma from the Marischal college of Aberdeen, conferring upon him the degree of doctor in divinity. In 1748 he published the seventh volume of the second part of his 'Credibility,' and the eighth volume two years after. In 1750 he published a volume of valuable sermons, the subjects of which are entirely of a practical nature. The following year he resigned the office of morning preacher at Crutched Friars. His reasons for this determination were, the increase of his deafness, the smallness of his auditory, and his desire of finding time for the completion of his long work. His 'Credibility' was not completed till the year 1755, when the twelfth and last volume appeared. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh volumes were published some time before. As the latter volumes did not sell so readily as the former during Dr Lardner's own life, he was considerably out of pocket by this great and important work, in which he had employed so many laborious years. He afterwards published a very valuable supplement in three volumes 8vo, and a large collection of ancient Jewish and heathen testimonies to the 'Truth of the Christian Religion' in three volumes 4to. He also occasionally published some smaller pieces, particularly one in 1759, without his name, under the following title, 'A Letter written in the year 1730, concerning the question, Whether the Logos supplied the place of a Human Soul in the person of Jesus Christ?' In the summer of 1768 he was seized with a decline, which carried him off in a few weeks, at Hawkhurst, the place of his nativity, and where he had a small parental estate. He had been removed thither, in the hope that he might recruit his strength by a change of air and relaxation from study. His remains were conveyed to town, and deposited in Tindall's burying-ground, commonly called Bunhill-fields. At his particular request no sermon was preached on occasion of his death; modesty and humility accompanied him to the last moment of his earthly existence. "A regard to God," says Dr Kippis, "appears to have been ever the governing principle of his actions. His piety, too, was of the most rational kind, being founded on just and enlarged views concerning the nature of religion."—"Correspondent to our author's piety was his love of truth, as is manifest from the whole of his works. No one seems ever to have preserved a greater impartiality in his inquiries, or to have been more free from an undue bias. He followed truth wherever it led him; and for the attainment of truth he was admirably qualified, both by the turn of his disposition and his understanding. With a mind so calm and unpreju-

diced, with a judgment so clear and distinct, he could scarcely fail of forming right apprehensions concerning most of the subjects which the course of his studies enabled him to investigate. The candour and moderation with which Dr Lardner maintained his own sentiments constituted a prominent feature in his character. Those he differed from in opinion he always treated with gentleness and respect; and in the controversies he carried on with them there is no severity of censure, no harshness of language. This circumstance is the more worthy to be mentioned and applauded, as it is so different from what we often meet with in the present day. Many of our writers seem to be reverting to that abuse of each other which was common among scholars some time after the revival of literature. They are not satisfied without casting illiberal reflections on the persons of the men whose tenets they oppose, and arraigning the motives of their conduct. What renders this disposition the more ridiculous is, that it is frequently exerted on the most trivial occasions. Apprehended mistakes in philology, or diversities of judgment in matters of mere taste, are treated with as great bitterness as if they were crimes of the deepest dye. How much more beautiful, and more worthy of imitation, was the manner of conducting disputable questions which was pursued by Dr Lardner! Such a method will be found, in the end, more favourable to the diffusion of truth, and more conducive to a lasting reputation. Circumstances, indeed, may arise, in which a sharpness of chastisement may appear to be justifiable. Uncommon insolence and uncommon bigotry may deserve to be strongly exposed: and yet, even here, a manly neglect and contempt of unmerited censure, may be the most honourable and the most useful mode of behaviour.

“Benevolence, as well as piety, entered deeply into Dr Lardner’s character. Though his retired life prevented him from taking a very active part in public designs, he was ready to promote every good work. To persons in distress he was ever willing to contribute to the highest degree which his fortune would admit. On some occasions he exerted himself with great vigour and success. When a gentleman came to London, in 1756, to solicit contributions towards building a church for the protestants of Thorn in Poland, our author was particularly serviceable to him, both by his advice and recommendation. He, in a great measure, took upon himself the management of the affair; on which account he afterwards received the thanks of the president and fellows of the college of Thorn, in an elegant Latin letter. Near the time of his decease he was engaged in assisting and recommending the Rev. Mr Finman, minister of the reformed congregation at Rutzon, in the duchy of Mecklenberg Schwerin, who had come once to England for a like purpose. Upon this occasion, a letter was written to Dr Lardner by Dr Secker, archbishop of Canterbury, which was the conclusion of a very long correspondence between two eminent persons, who were now, each of them, on the verge of dissolution. In his private deportment,” proceeds Dr Kippis, “Dr Lardner was very amiable. His manners were polite, gentle, and obliging, and he was attentive in every respect to the laws of decorum. On the learning of Dr Lardner it is not necessary to enlarge, since his character in this respect is known to all the world. With regard to that species of literature which was cultivated by him, he was accurate and profound in the greatest degree.



Some branches of knowledge there were to which he did not apply his attention ; for who is adequate to every object ? But as a divine, and especially with relation to his acquaintance with the New Testament and with Christian antiquity, perhaps he never had his equal."

### Archbishop Secker.

BORN A. D. 1693.—DIED A. D. 1768.

THIS eminent prelate was born in 1693, at the village of Sibthorpe in Nottinghamshire. His father was a protestant dissenter, a pious and well-informed man. Young Secker was early designed for the dissenting ministry, and with this view applied himself with great diligence and success to the preparatory studies, and, at the age of nineteen, was placed under the charge of Mr Jones of Tewkesbury. Here he became acquainted with Joseph Butler, afterwards bishop of Durham, who was the chief means of prevailing upon him to take orders in the church of England, after he had spent some years in the study of medicine. It appears that he had long entertained doubts on different points both of doctrine and discipline, and that, while his mind was in this unsettled state, he abandoned his original intentions with regard to the ministry, and went to Paris for the purpose of studying medicine. But on his friend Butler, now in the church, and preacher at the Rolls, writing him upon the subject, he resolved to take orders in the church of England. With this view, in April, 1721, he entered himself of Exeter college, Oxford, and in 1722 was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Talbot.

In 1724 Bishop Talbot presented him with the rectory of Houghton-le-Spring. Here he gave himself up entirely to the duties of a country pastor ; until the state of his wife's health rendered it necessary for him to remove to a more salubrious situation. On this account he exchanged his rectory for a prebend of Durham, where he resided until appointed chaplain to the king, and instituted to the rectory of St James's, in May, 1733.

His elevation to the mitre took place in 1735, when he was consecrated Bishop of Bristol. In two years afterwards he was translated to Oxford. Hitherto he had stood well at court, and especially high in favour of the queen ; but he allowed himself to get involved in the disputes betwixt the king and the heir-apparent, and for a time held rather a dubious situation betwixt St James's and Norfolk house. In 1750 he was made dean of St Paul's ; and at length, on the death of Archbishop Hutton, he was elevated to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. At this time Secker's character for moderation, and his attachment to the house of Hanover, were fairly established by his conduct in the different political struggles in which he, in common with all public men, had been engaged during the reign of George II. His chief political connexions were with the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Hardwicke, and his elevation to the primacy was due to that party ; but he seems to have kept pretty clear, upon the whole, of the toils of faction, and to have conciliated men of all parties. Unlike some, who like him have exchanged the dissenting for the established church, he

continued to cultivate the friendship of many of his earlier friends, long after he had risen to a prominent station within the pale of the establishment; and the fact that he maintained an intercourse of friendship with such men as Watts, and Doddridge, and Leland, and Lardner, is as creditable to his grace's memory as to theirs.

He died in 1768. His works were edited by Dr Porteous, in six volumes octavo.

## George Whitefield.

BORN A. D. 1714.—DIED A. D. 1770.

THIS pious and eloquent man was born at Gloucester, in December, 1714. His father was an innkeeper in that city. George was the youngest of several sons, and on the death of his father in 1716 was still very young. His mother tended him with great care, and he early became the subject of religious feeling,—but he himself describes his youthful days as vicious and degraded. At school, however, he made considerable progress in classical studies, and also distinguished himself by displays of eloquence. But at the age of fifteen, we find the youthful orator acting as his mother's assistant in the inn. In these circumstances, however, he indicated a different bent of mind, by composing sermons; and in the course of a year or two from his entrance on this situation, his mind assumed a religious tone, and both in public and in private he testified a regard for sacred things. At the age of eighteen, he entered the university of Oxford. Here he associated with a body of young men, including John and Charles Wesley, devoted to religious and charitable pursuits. Agreeably to the habits of this society, who received the appellation of *Methodists*, he took the sacrament weekly, and visited the gaol. In his self-denial he seems to have rivalled, if not exceeded, the strictest of his comrades. Bodily illness ensued. On his recovery, joy had taken the place of a depression under which he previously laboured. Proceeding to Gloucester for confirmation of his health, he there visited the poor, and held religious conversation with the young. Being now about twenty-one years of age, he was offered ordination by Dr Benson, bishop of Gloucester, and accordingly, in agreement with the solicitation of his friends, he prepared for orders, and, after prayer and self-examination, was ordained on Sunday, 20th June, 1736. On the following Sunday he preached at Gloucester. "As I proceeded," says he, speaking of that occasion, "I perceived the fire kindled, till, at last, though so young, and amidst a crowd of those who knew me in my childish days, I trust I was enabled to speak with some degree of gospel authority. Some few mocked; but most for the present seemed struck; and I have since heard that a complaint had been made to the bishop that I drove fifteen mad, the first sermon. The worthy prelate, as I am informed, wished that the madness might not be forgotten before next Sunday." He now proceeded to Oxford; but being soon called to London, to perform service in the Tower, he officiated there for two months. In November he was again summoned from Oxford, and entered on a short course of ministrations at Dummer, Hants. At this time he declined a good London curacy; and in January, 1737—in prospect of leaving his na-



tive country for Georgia, whither his friends John and Charles Wesley had gone—he went to visit his friends at Gloucester and Bristol. It was not until several months thereafter that he preached his farewell sermons in these cities. But, in the meantime, his services there and also in London and Bath were attended by numerous audiences.

At length, in December, 1737, he embarked for America. He persevered, and ultimately succeeded, in his attempts to establish religious services on board, and to introduce a moral improvement among his fellow-travellers. In regard to his own personal experience during the voyage, he thus expresses himself at a later period of his life:—"The remembrance of the happy hours I enjoyed in religious exercises on the deck is refreshing to my soul." In the colony he was well-received, and tokens of usefulness attended him. "I was really happy," says he, "in my little cure, and could have cheerfully remained among them, had I not been obliged to return to England, to receive priest's orders, and make a beginning towards laying a foundation for the orphan-house." The scheme to which he here refers, was the formation of an institution for orphans in the colony, an object which he kept in view in the course of his approaching visit to England. For this destination he embarked in September, 1738. The voyage was unfavourable, and the travellers were almost reduced to extremity by want of provisions. At length the ship anchored before an island on the Irish coast. In reference to this circumstance, he remarks in his Journal:—"Ever since I have been on board the *Mary*, these words, 'Howbeit we must be cast upon a certain island' (which were part of the lesson I read last at Savannah,) have been continually pressed upon my heart, so that I have often mentioned it to one of my companions. Behold, they are now fulfilled!" The bishop of Limerick received him kindly, and he preached in the cathedral of that town. From Dublin he set out for England, and reached Parkgate at the end of November. In January thereafter he received priest's orders from Bishop Benson. Certain ministers of the establishment, however, treated him with coldness, and several churches were refused him. But he preached in others to which access was allowed him, and met with his followers for social intercourse in Fetter-lane. At Bristol, after preaching in the churches for two or three Sundays, they were at length shut against him. He officiated, however, at Newgate; and at Kingswood, a neighbouring tract inhabited by colliers, who were at this time in a rude and neglected state, he, after a struggle with his own mind, began to preach in the open air. This he found a peculiarly interesting scene. "The first discovery," says he, speaking of the colliers who attended him, "The first discovery of their being affected was to see the white gutters made by their tears, which plentifully fell down their black cheeks, as they came out of their coal-pits. Hundreds and hundreds of them were soon brought under deep convictions, which (as the event proved) happily ended in a sound and thorough conversion." His own feelings he thus describes:—"The open firmament above me, the prospect of the adjacent fields, with the sight of thousands and thousands, some in coaches, some on horseback, and some in the trees, and at times all affected and drenched in tears together, to which sometimes was added the solemnity of the approaching evening, was almost too much for, and quite overcame me." At length, on John Wesley undertaking the post which he

himself had so successfully occupied at Kingswood, he proceeded to Wales; and, after preaching in various places, he returned to London. There, during several months, he officiated in the open air, at Moorfields, Blackheath, and Kennington common; and many of his audiences on these occasions have been reckoned at upwards of twenty thousand. Having collected more than £1000 for the orphan-house of Georgia, he set sail for America in August, 1739, and after landing at Philadelphia, and preaching in that city and various other places to audiences that flocked to hear him, he reached Savannah in January, 1740. There, in the succeeding March, he began the building of the orphan-house, which he named *Bethesda*. Fresh contributions being required for the institution, he again itinerated. Early in June he returned to Savannah; but, again setting out, he paid a successful and interesting visit to New England.

In January, 1741, Whitefield again embarked for England. His visit to his native country opened on a melancholy scene. He had written what he himself calls "two well-meant, though injudicious letters against England's two great favourites, 'The Whole Duty of Man,' and Archbishop Tillotson," and had also answered a sermon by John Wesley on the subject of election. On this, as on other points, Whitefield was Calvinistic; but he himself remarks, that he thought his "answer had some too strong expressions about absolute reprobation, which," he adds, "the apostle leaves rather to be inferred than expressed." On his arrival in England, accordingly, he found that he had given offence to many even of his former followers. His unpopularity he seems to have felt the more discouraging, as he was under great pecuniary embarrassment in regard to the orphan-house. A breach ensued between himself and the followers of Wesley; but a large shed was erected for him in London, near the Foundery, and multitudes attended his preaching. He also itinerated in England; and, being invited to Scotland, he arrived at Leith in the month of July. Proceeding to Dunfermline, he preached in the meeting-house of Ralph Erskine, one of the heads of the Secession; but a division soon occurred between himself and the Associate Presbytery, of which Erskine was a member, owing, apparently, to a difference of opinion in regard to the Solemn League and Covenant, and the propriety of his preaching for persons not of *their* communion. During his stay in Scotland he produced a powerful effect, and preached in a multitude of places. "I look," says Mr Willison of Dundee, in a letter dated October, 1741, "I look upon this youth as raised up of God for special service, and spirited for making new and singular attempts for promoting true Christianity in the world, and for reviving it where it is decayed; and I see him wonderfully fitted and strengthened both in body and mind for going through with his projects amidst the greatest discouragements and difficulties. I see the man to be all of a piece; his life and conversation to be a transcript of his sermons. It is truly a rare thing to see so much of God about any one man. . . . Many here are blessing God for sending him to this country, though Satan has raged much against it." Returning to England he there continued his zealous exertions; but, on the 2d of June, 1742, he again arrived in Scotland. A great religious excitement had, by this time, taken place in the west of that country, particularly at Cambuslang. This



parish Whitefield visited; and, in a letter which he wrote from that place, he expresses such views of the articles and constitution of the church of Scotland as may serve to explain, both why he was employed by ministers of that church, and how he was so acceptable to persons of that communion. Again leaving Scotland, he proceeded to London, and resumed his duties at the Tabernacle; but in the course of the following spring, summer, and autumn, he itinerated in England. In March he attended the assizes, in a case of prosecution for the maltreatment of certain Methodists. He gained his cause, and the prosecution is said to have had a good effect. In the following year, however, he was attacked, when in bed, by a man who had been admitted to his chamber. He was advised to prosecute; "but being better employed," says he, "I went on my intended journey, was greatly blessed in preaching the gospel, and upon my return was well-paid for what I had suffered; curiosity having led perhaps two thousand persons more than ordinary to see and hear a man that had like to have been murdered in his bed."

In August, 1744, he again embarked for America. He was ill during the voyage, and, on his arrival, appeared to be at the point of death. In this state, however, he preached a sermon which had been advertised; "and such effects," says he, "followed the word, that I thought it was worth dying for a thousand times." Gradually recovering from his illness, he went about preaching; but being annoyed with pain in the side, and advised to visit Bermudas, he landed there in March, 1748. He was kindly received, and preached both to whites and negroes. The effect of a farewell discourse he thus describes:—"Attention sat on every face; and when I came to take my leave, oh! what a sweet unaffected weeping was there to be seen every where! I believe there were few dry eyes. The negroes likewise without doors I heard wept plentifully. My own heart was affected, and though I have parted with friends so often, yet I find every fresh parting almost unmans me, and very much affects my heart." From this he set sail for England, and in the month of July arrived in London. On his arrival he visited Lady Huntingdon, and thereafter he preached, at her residence, in presence of several distinguished persons, including Lords Chesterfield and Bolingbroke. In September he paid another visit to Scotland, where he was followed by multitudes, and preached, as usual, with powerful effect. Returning to England he itinerated there, as, in 1751, he also did in Wales and Ireland. After again visiting Scotland, he re-embarked for America, where he arrived about the end of October. At the end of April he again proceeded to London, and after his arrival he itinerated in England and Scotland. "Fain," says he, in the course of these active labours, "Fain would I die preaching." After again travelling in America, he reached England in May, 1755. In the following year he opened a new place of worship in Tottenham-court road, and in 1758, alms-houses were begun for the benefit of poor widows. "If this be effected," says he, in reference to the latter scheme, "many godly widows will be provided for, and a standing monument left, that the Methodists are not against good works. During this visit he travelled, not only in England, but also in Scotland and Ireland, and large sums were collected, when he preached, for charitable purposes. During the latter part of his residence in this country,

bad health interfered with his exertions ; but in June, 1763, he embarked for America, and in December, 1764, reached Savannah. A scheme of building a college in Georgia, however, called him again to England, where he arrived in 1765. During this visit he lost his wife, and his own health proved broken. But in 1769 he again embarked for America, and, after visiting the orphan-house, set out on an itineracy. He reached Newbury-port, in the course of his tour, September 29th, 1770. He was to preach on the succeeding day ; but during the night he was distressed with asthma, and in the morning, at six o'clock, he expired. His life bears witness to the eloquence of his preaching, the worth of his character, and the influence he exerted both in this country and in America.

### John Jortin, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1698.—DIED A. D. 1770.

THIS very learned and excellent divine was born in London on the 23d of October, 1698. His father, Renatus Jortin, was a native of Bretagne in France ; he came over to England about the year 1687, when the protestants were obliged to quit France in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and was made a gentleman of the privy chamber in 1691 ; he afterwards became secretary to Lord Orford, Sir George Rooke, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel ; and was cast away with the last, on the 22d of October, 1707. His mother was Martha Rogers, of an ancient and respectable family in Bucks, distinguished by their abilities and learning. He was trained at the Charter-house school, where he made a good proficiency in Greek and Latin.

In May 1715, he was admitted of Jesus college, Cambridge ; and, about two years after, was recommended by his tutor, Dr Thirlby, who was then fond of him, and always retained a friendship for him, to make extracts from Eustathius for the use of Pope's Homer. In an account of this transaction, written by Jortin himself, are the following passages : " I cannot recollect what Mr Pope allowed for each book of Homer, but I have a notion that it was three or four guineas."—" I was in some hopes in those days—for I was young—that Mr Pope would make inquiry about his coadjutor, and take some civil notice of him. But he did not ; and I had no notion of obtruding myself upon him. I never saw his face."

Jortin took his bachelor of arts degree in January, 1718-19, and master's in 1722 ; he had been chosen fellow of his college soon after the taking of his first degree. This year he distinguished himself by the publication of a few Latin poems, entitled '*Lusus Poetici*,' which were well-received. In September, 1723, he entered into deacon's orders, and into priest's the June following. In January, 1726, he was presented by his college to Swavesey, near Cambridge ; but marrying a daughter of Mr Chibnall, of Newport-Pagnell, Bucks, in 1728, he resigned that living, and soon after settled himself in London. In this town he spent the next two and thirty years of his life ; for, though the earl of Winchelsea gave him the living of Eastwell in Kent, where he resided a little time ; yet he very soon quitted it, and returned to Lon-



don. Here for many years he had employment as a preacher in several chapels: with the emoluments of which, and a decent competency of his own, he supported himself and his family in a respectable though private manner, dividing his leisure hours between his books and his friends.

In 1730 he published 'Four Sermons on the Truth of the Christian Religion,' the substance of which was afterwards incorporated in a work of his, entitled 'Discourses concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion,' printed in 1746, in octavo. This is a very valuable work, and contains much good sense and erudition, and many excellent observations.

In 1731 he published 'Miscellaneous Observations upon Authors, Ancient and Modern,' in two volumes octavo. This is a collection of critical remarks,—of which, however, he was not the sole, though principal author; Pearce, Mason, and others, were contributors to it. In 1751 Archbishop Herring gave him, unasked, the living of St Dunstan in the East, London. This prelate, with whom he had been long acquainted, had entertained a high and affectionate regard for him, and endeavoured aforetime to serve him in many instances, with others; and afterwards, in 1755, conferred upon him the degree of doctor of divinity. This same year, 1751, came out his first volume of 'Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History.' This work was inscribed to the earl of Burlington, by whom, as trustee for the Boylean lecture, he had, through the application of Herring and Sherlock, been appointed in 1749 to preach that lecture. The 'Remarks' were continued in four succeeding volumes, down to the year 1517, when Luther began the work of Reformation;—two published by himself in 1752 and 1754; and two after his death in 1773.

In 1755 he published 'Six Dissertations upon different Subjects,' in octavo. The sixth dissertation is on the state of the dead as described by Homer and Virgil; the remarks in this, tending to establish the great antiquity of the doctrine of a future state, interfered with Dr Warburton in his 'Divine Legation of Moses.' This gave rise to a piece, which was published against him, under the title of 'A Dissertation on the Delicacy of Friendship.' This was a very artful, but a very illiberal attack on Dr Jortin, because he had too much dignity and independence of mind to compliment Warburton in the indiscriminate and absurd manner that was then become fashionable among his admirers. Jortin made no reply; but in his 'Adversaria' the following memorandum is found, which shows that he did not oppose the notions of other men from any spirit of envy or opposition, but from a full persuasion that the real matter of fact was as he had represented it. "I have examined," says he, "the state of the dead as described by Homer and Virgil, and upon that dissertation I am willing to stake all the little credit that I have as a critic and a philologer. I have there observed, that Homer was not the inventor of the fabulous history of the gods; he had those stories, and also the doctrine of a future state, from old traditions. Many notions of the Pagans, which came from tradition, are considered by Barrow, Sermon viii. vol. ii. in which sermon the existence of God is proved from universal consent. See also Bibl. Chois. i. 356. and Bibl. Univ. iv. 433."

In 1758 came out his 'Life of Erasmus,' in one volume quarto; and

in 1760 another volume quarto, containing 'Remarks upon the Works of Erasmus,' and an 'Appendix of Extracts from Erasmus and other writers.' In the preface to the former volume, he says, that "Le Clerc while he published the works of Erasmus at Leyden, drew up his life in French, collected principally from his letters, and inserted into the 'Bibliothèque Choisée;' that as this life was favourably received by the public, he had taken it as a ground-work to build upon; and had translated it, not superstitiously and closely, but with much freedom, and with more attention to things than to words; but that he had made continual additions, not only with relation to the history of those days, but to the life of Erasmus; especially where Le Clerc grew more remiss, either wearied with the task, or called off from these to other labours." Dr Hayter, bishop of London, with whom Jortin had always been upon intimate terms, dying in 1762; and Dr Osbaldeston, who was also his friend, succeeding to that see; he was made domestic chaplain to this bishop in March, admitted a prebend of St Paul's the same month, and in October presented to the living of Kensington, whither he went to reside soon after.

In 1764 he was appointed archdeacon of London, and might have had the rectory of St James's, Westminster; but chose rather to continue at Kensington, that being a situation he much liked, and better adapted to his then advanced age. Here he lived, occupied—when his pastoral functions permitted—amongst his books, and enjoying himself with his usual serenity, till the 27th of August, 1770, when, being seized with a disorder in his breast and lungs, he grew continually worse, notwithstanding all assistance; and, without undergoing much pain in the course of his illness, or losing his understanding in the least, died the 5th of September, in the 72d year of his age. He was buried in the new churchyard at Kensington.

Besides his principal works, which have already been mentioned, and his sermons and charges, there are some things of a smaller kind; as, 'Remarks upon Spencer's Poems,' 1734, octavo, at the end of which are some Remarks upon Milton; 'Remarks on L. Annæus Seneca,' printed in 'The Present State of the Republic of Letters, for August, 1734;' 'A Sermon preached at the Consecration of Pearce, Bishop of Bangor, in 1747;' 'A few Remarks on Tillotson's Sermons,' given to his friend Dr Birch, and printed in the Appendix to Birch's Life of that prelate, in 1752; 'Letter to Avison, concerning the Music of the Ancients;' subjoined to a second edition of Avison's Essay on Musical Expression, in 1753; and 'A few Remarks on Phillips' Life of Cardinal Pole;' printed in an Appendix to Neve's Animadversions upon that History, 1766.

This learned and excellent person was of a very pleasant and facetious turn, as his writings abundantly show. He had nevertheless great sensibility, and could express himself with warmth, and even some degree of indignation, when he thought the occasion warranted him so to do.

In 1772 seven volumes of Dr Jortin's sermons, which are extremely valuable, were published in 8vo. At the end of the seventh volume are four excellent charges, which were delivered to the clergy of the archdeaconry of London. In 1790 were published, in two volumes 8vo, 'Tracts Philological, Critical, and Miscellaneous, by the late Rev.



John Jortin, D. D., Archdeacon of London, Rector of St Dunstan in the East, and Vicar of Kensington.' This collection, which was published by his son, Rogers Jortin, consists of pieces, some of which had been before published separately, and others which were then first printed from the author's manuscript. In this collection, in which are pieces of considerable merit, are some strictures on the Articles, Subscriptions, Tests, &c. Among these is the following passage: "There are propositions contained in the Liturgy and Articles which no man of common sense among us believes. No one believes that all the members of the Greek church are damned, because they admit not the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son: yet the Athanasian creed, according to the usual and obvious sense of the words, teacheth this."

The following character of Dr Jortin has been given by Knox:—"A review of the life of the late Dr Jortin cannot but suggest the most pleasing reflections. As a poet, a divine, a philosopher, and a man, he served the cause of religion, learning, and morality. There are, indeed, many writers whose reputation is more diffused among the vulgar and illiterate; but few will be found whose names stand higher than Dr Jortin's in the esteem of the judicious. His Latin poetry is classically elegant,—his discourses and dissertations, sensible, ingenious, and argumentative,—his 'Remarks on Ecclesiastical History,' interesting and impartial,—his sermons, replete with sound sense and rational morality, expressed in a style, simple, pure, and attic. Simplicity of style is a grace, which, though it may not captivate at first sight, is sure in the end to give permanent satisfaction. It does not excite admiration, but it raises esteem. It does not warm to rapture, but it soothes to complacency. Unskilful writers seldom aim at this excellence. They imagine that what is natural and common cannot be beautiful. Every thing in their compositions must be strained, every thing affected: but Dr Jortin had studied the ancients, and perhaps formed himself on the model of Xenophon. He wrote on subjects of morality; and morality is founded on reason; and reason is always cool and dispassionate. A florid declamation, embellished with rhetorical figures, and animated with pathetic description, may indeed amuse the fancy, and raise a transient emotion in the heart; but rational discourse alone can convince the understanding and reform the conduct.

"The first efforts of genius have commonly been in poetry. Unrestrained by the frigidity of argument and the confinement of rules, the young mind gladly indulges the flights of imagination. Cicero, as well as many other ancient philosophers, orators, and historians, are known to have sacrificed to the Muses in their earlier productions. Dr Jortin adds to the number of those who confirm the observation. In his 'Lusus Poetici,' one of the first of his works, are united classical language, beautiful sentiment, and harmonious verse. Among the modern Latin poets there are few who do not yield to Dr Jortin. His Sapphics, on the story of Bacchus and Ariadne, are easy, elegant, and poetical. The little ode, in which the calm life of the philosopher is compared to the gentle stream gliding through a silent grove, is highly pleasing to the mind, and is perfectly elegant in the composition. The lyrics are indeed all excellent. The poem on the immortality of the soul is ingenious, poetical, and an exact imitation of the style of Lucretius.

In short, the whole collection is such as would by no means have disgraced a Roman in the age of an Augustus.

"Time, if it does not cool the fire of imagination, certainly strengthens the powers of the judgment. As our author advanced in life, he cultivated his reason rather than his fancy, and desisted from his efforts in poetry, to exert his abilities in the disquisitions of criticism. His observations on one of the fathers of English poetry need but to be more generally known in order to be more generally admired.

"Classical productions are rather amusing than instructive. His works of this kind are all juvenile, and naturally flowed from a classical education. These, however, were but preparatory to his higher designs, and soon gave way to the more important inquiries which were peculiar to his profession. His discourses on the Christian religion, one of the first fruits of his theological pursuits, abound with that sound sense and solid argument, which entitle their author to a rank very near the celebrated Grotius. His dissertations are equally remarkable for taste, learning, originality, and ingenuity. His 'Life of Erasmus' has extended his reputation beyond the limits of his native country, and established his literary character in the remotest universities of Europe. Erasmus had long been an object of universal admiration; and it is matter of surprise that his life had never been written with accuracy and judgment. This task was reserved for Dr Jortin; and the avidity with which the work was received by the learned, is a proof of the merit of the execution.

"His 'Remarks on Ecclesiastical History' are full of manly sense, acute remarks, and profound erudition. The work is highly beneficial to mankind, as it represents that superstition which disgraced human nature in its proper light, and gives a right sense of the advantages derived from religious reformation. He every where expresses himself with peculiar vehemence against the infatuation of bigotry and fanaticism. Convinced that true happiness is founded on a right use of the reasoning powers, he makes it the scope of all his religious works to lead mankind from the errors of imagination to a serious attention to dispassionate reason.

"Posthumous publications, it has frequently been remarked, are usually inferior in merit to those which were published in an author's lifetime. And indeed the opinion seems plausible, as it may be presumed that an author's reason for not publishing his works is a consciousness of their inferiority. The sermons of Dr Jortin were, however, designed by their author as a legacy to mankind. To enlarge on their value would only be to echo back the public voice. Good sense and sound morality appear in them, not indeed dressed out in the meretricious ornaments of a florid style, but in all the manly force and simple graces of natural eloquence. The same caprice which raises to reputation those trifling discourses which have nothing to recommend them but a prettiness of fancy, will again consign them to oblivion: but the sermons of Dr Jortin will continue to be read with pleasure and edification as long as human nature shall continue to be endowed with the faculties of reason and discernment.

"The transition from an author's writings to his life is frequently disadvantageous to his character. Dr Jortin, however, when no longer considered as an author, but as a man, is so far from being lessened in



our opinion, that he excites still greater esteem and applause. A simplicity of manners, an inoffensive behaviour, an universal benevolence, candour, modesty, and good sense, were his characteristics. Though his genius and love of letters led him to choose the still vale of sequestered life, yet was his merit conspicuous enough to attract the notice of a certain primate who did honour to episcopacy. Unknown by personal acquaintance, and unrecommended by the solicitation of friends or the interposition of power, he was presented by Archbishop Herring to a valuable benefice in London, as a reward for his exertions as a scholar and a divine. Some time after, he became chaplain to a late bishop of London, who gave him the vicarage of Kensington, and appointed him archdeacon of his diocese. This was all the preferment he had, nor had he this till he was advanced in life. While blockheads were made bishops, a man who had been uncommonly eminent in the service of learning and religion was left to pine in the shade of obscurity. Secker has been thought by many to have had only the shadow of piety and learning, but he had the substantial reward of them. Jortin was acknowledged to possess true virtue and real knowledge, but was left to receive his recompense in the suggestions of a good conscience, and the applause of posterity."

The following character of Dr Jortin is given in a work attributed to the learned Dr Parr:—"As to Jortin, whether I look back to his verse, to his prose, to his critical, or to his theological works, there are few authors to whom I am so much indebted for rational entertainment or for solid instruction. Learned he was, without pedantry. He was ingenious, without the affectation of singularity. He was a lover of truth, without hovering over the gloomy abyss of scepticism; and a friend to free inquiry, without roving into the dreary and pathless wilds of latitudinarianism. He had a heart which never disgraced the powers of his understanding. With a lively imagination, an elegant taste, and a judgment most masculine and most correct, he united the artless and amiable negligence of a school-boy. Wit without ill-nature, and sense without effort, he could, at will, scatter upon every subject; and, in every book, the writer presents us with a near and distinct view of the real man.

—ut omnis

Votiva pateat tanquam descripta tabella

Vita Senis—

HOR. Sat. i. lib. 2.

"His style, though inartificial, is sometimes elevated; though familiar, it is never mean; and though employed upon various topics of theology, ethics, and criticism, it is not arrayed in any delusive resemblance, either of solemnity, from fanatical cant; of profoundness, from scholastic jargon; of precision, from the crabbed formalities of cloudy philologists; or of refinement, from the technical babble of frivolous connoisseurs.

"At the shadowy and fleeting reputation which is sometimes gained by the petty frolics of literary vanity, or the mischievous struggles of controversial rage, Jortin never grasped. Truth, which some men are ambitious of seizing by surprise in the trackless and dark recess, he was content to overtake in the broad and beaten path; and in the pursuit of it, if he does not excite our astonishment by the rapidity of his

strides, he at least secures our confidence by the firmness of his step. To the examination of positions advanced by other men, he always brought a mind which neither prepossession had seduced nor malevolence polluted. He imposed not his own conjectures as infallible and irresistible truths, nor endeavoured to give an air of importance to trifles by dogmatical vehemence. He could support his more serious opinions without the versatility of a sophist, the fierceness of a disputant, or the impertinence of a buffoon; more than this, he could relinquish or correct them with the calm and steady dignity of a writer, who, while he yielded something to the arguments of his antagonists, was conscious of retaining enough to command their respect. He had too much discernment to confound difference of opinion with malignity or dullness, and too much candour to insult where he could not persuade. Though his sensibilities were neither coarse nor sluggish, he yet was exempt from those fickle humours, those rankling jealousies, and that restless waywardness, which men of the brightest talents are too prone to indulge. He carried with him, into every station in which he was placed, and every subject which he explored, a solid greatness of soul, which could spare an inferior, though in the offensive form of an adversary, and endure an equal, with or without the sacred name of friend. The importance of commendation, as well to him who bestows as to him who claims it, he estimated not only with justice, but with delicacy; and therefore he neither wantonly lavished it, nor withheld it austere. But invective he neither provoked nor feared; and as to the severities of contempt, he reserved them for occasions where alone they could be employed with propriety, and where, by himself, they always were employed with effect,—for the chastisement of arrogant dunces, or censorious sciolists, of intolerant bigots in every sect, and unprincipled impostors in every profession. Distinguished in various forms of literary composition, engaged in various duties of his ecclesiastical profession, and blessed with a long and honourable life, he nobly exemplified that rare and illustrious virtue of charity which Leland, in his ‘Reply to the Letter Writer,’ thus eloquently describes:—‘Charity never misrepresents, never ascribes obnoxious principles or mistaken opinions to an opponent, which he himself disavows; is not so earnest in refuting, as to fancy positions never asserted, and to extend its censure to opinions which will perhaps never be delivered. Charity is utterly averse to sneering, the most despicable species of ridicule, that most despicable subterfuge of an impotent objector. Charity never supposes that all sense and knowledge are confined to a particular circle, to a district, or to a country. Charity never condemns and embraces principles in the same breath; never professes to confute what it acknowledges to be just; never presumes to bear down an adversary with confident assertions. Charity does not call dissent insolence, or the want of implicit submission, a want of common respect.’”



## III.—LITERARY SERIES.

**Alexander Pope.**

BORN A. D. 1688.—DIED A. D. 1744.

ALEXANDER POPE was born in Lombard-street, London, on the 22d of May, 1688. His father was a linen-draper, and had acquired considerable property, but, being a conscientious Catholic, he refused to invest any part of it in the public funds of a government he could not uphold, and hence his son succeeded to it much impaired. His mother also was a Catholic. She was the daughter of a Mr Turner of York, two of whose sons died in the service of Charles I.

At the age of eight he was placed under the tuition of Taverner, a Roman priest; but it does not appear that his parents were very fortunate in their choice of tutors for their son; for he himself tells us that "he was always losing with his last masters what little he had got under the first." He was indeed sent for a time to a celebrated Catholic seminary at Twyford near Winchester; but he did not long remain there, having got himself dismissed for writing a lampoon upon one of the masters.—his first effort in poetry. "I took," he says, "when I had done with my priests, (he had had four,) to reading by myself, for which I had very great eagerness and enthusiasm, especially for poetry. This I did without any design but that of pleasing myself, and got the languages by hunting after the stories in the poets I read, rather than read the book to get the language. I followed anywhere, as my fancy led me, and was like a boy gathering flowers in the fields and woods, just as they fell in his way. These five or six years I still look upon as the happiest part of my life." An intelligent inmate of his father's family says of him:—"He set to learning Latin and Greek by himself, about twelve; and when he was about fifteen, he resolved that he would go to London, and learn French and Italian. We in the family looked upon it as a wildish sort of resolution; for, as his health would not let him travel, we could not see any reason for it. He stuck to it; went thither, and mastered both these languages with a surprising despatch. Almost every thing of this kind was of his own acquiring. He had masters indeed, but they were very indifferent ones, and what he got was almost entirely owing to his own unassisted industry." Ogilby's translation of Homer, and Sandys' Ovid, were his earliest and special favourites; but the boy ultimately became deeply enamoured with Waller, Spenser, and Dryden, and we are told that he entreated a friend to carry him to Button's coffee-house, which Dryden frequented, in order that he might feast his eyes with a sight of the living person of one of the poets whom he worshipped.

It does not appear that any of the learned professions were ever pressed upon his choice, or that his father in any way thwarted or restricted his devotion to literature. Before he was sixteen years of age he had attempted poetry in almost every walk of that creative art; he had written odes, satires, a comedy, a tragedy, and even an epic

poem, of which Deucalion was the hero; and, to use his own language, "thought himself the greatest genius that ever was." At sixteen he wrote his 'Pastorals,' which introduced him to the notice of Wycherley and some of the leading wits of the day. His next performance was his 'Essay on Criticism,' which no less a critic than Dr Johnson has characterized as displaying "such extent of comprehension, such nicety of distinction, such acquaintance with mankind, and such knowledge both of ancient and modern learning, as are not often attained by the maturest age and longest experience." It was written in 1709, and published in 1711; and certainly displays great precocity of intellect, maugre Lady Wortley Montague's observation that it was "all stolen" from the ancient critics. The truth is, its author had studied Quintilian, Rapin, Bossu, and others, and intended that his poem should be a depository of the soundest principles of criticism, as he could glean them from the study of these and other masters. It was in this essay he attacked Dennis, and first provoked that fierce hostility which ever afterwards existed betwixt the bard and the redoubtable critic.

Pope had now entered upon a severe course of study, and pursued it with such intensity of application as to endanger his life: "After trying physicians for a good while in vain, he resolved to give way to his distemper, and set down calmly in a full expectation of death in a short time." Dr Radcliffe, however, cured him, by making him ride out every day; but his constitution received a shock from which it never recovered.

His next pieces, in the order of their publication, were, 'The Messiah,' which first appeared in the 'Spectator,' in 1712,—the 'Ode on St Cecilia's day,'—the beautiful address of 'The Dying Christian to his Soul,'—and the 'Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady.' A more remarkable piece than any of these was the 'Rape of the Lock,' a playful effusion suggested by a frolic of gallantry in which Lord Petre cut off a lock of Miss Arabella Fermor's hair. "There is no finer gem than this poem," says Mr Jeffrey, "in all the lighter treasures of English fancy. Compared with any other mock-heroic in our language, it shines in pure supremacy for elegance, completeness, point, and playfulness. It is an epic poem in that delightful miniature which diverts us by its mimicry of greatness, and yet astonishes by the beauty of its parts, and the fairy brightness of its ornaments. In its kind it is matchless; but still it is but mock-heroic, and depends, in some measure, for effect, on a ludicrous reference in our own minds to the veritable heroics whose solemnity it so wittily affects." 'The Temple of Fame' was first communicated to Steele in November, 1712, although it appears to have been written in 1710; and of 'Windsor Forest,' which followed in the order of publication, the first part was published in 1714. The 'Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard' was the last of the separate pieces with which the poet delighted the public about this time. It is a highly wrought piece of amatory declamation, founded upon the well-known story of the loves of these two unfortunate personages. Much of it is an imitation of Ovid, and the rest an amplification of part of the original letters.

Pope began his translation of the Iliad in 1712, and finished it in 1718. He had only gained a few trifling sums by his original poems; but Lintot, the publisher, offered him a magnificent sum for the pro-



jected translation, and Pope engaged in it with the prospect of improving his fortune as well as advancing his fame. By his agreement with Lintot he received about £5,400 for this work, part of which he employed in buying an annuity, and the remainder in the purchase of a house at Twickenham, whither he persuaded his father to remove with him. The publication of the first volume of this translation was attended by a circumstance that for a while interrupted the friendship of Pope and Addison. This was the simultaneous appearance of another translation of the first book of the *Iliad*, with the name of Tickell attached to it. Pope was firmly persuaded that the translation was by Addison, and designed to hurt the sale of Lintot's book. The weight of circumstantial evidence is in favour of Pope's theory; but positive evidence exists that the copy placed in the printer's hands was in Tickell's handwriting, with corrections by Addison. Sir Richard Steele, and some other mutual friends, endeavoured to bring parties to an explanation and reconciliation; but at the interview they procured Pope was warm and irascible, Addison cool and contemptuous, and it only ended in their parting with mutual expressions of aversion and contempt. The obnoxious translation was not carried beyond the first book. The merits of this translation are well-known; it is elegant, but not exact,—a paraphrase rather than a translation, and laboured to a degree that often conceals the exquisite simplicity and truth of the original. Bentley's criticism of it is undeniably just: "It is a fine poem, but not Homer." Thus, in the scene where Venus leads Helen to Paris, and Helen struggles vainly against her passion, the first line of the following couplet belongs to the original, the second is added by the translator:—

" She spoke, and Helen's secret soul was moved,  
She scorned the champion, but the man she loved."

Here, it has been well observed, the whole interest of the succeeding dialogue vanishes with this explanation; the passion of Helen becomes to our apprehension that of a libertine, and her remonstrance with Venus mere hypocrisy; "it is the illicit love of a modern lady of fashion, but it is not that of the amorous queen whom Homer saw in his imagination." Many similar instances of deviation, for the worse, from the original, might be pointed out. In his translation of the *Odyssey*, with which he proceeded soon after finishing the *Iliad*, Pope accepted the assistance of Fenton and Broome.

It has been frequently alleged that Pope loved money, and that his desire of enriching himself led him to engage in several foolish speculations, especially the South sea scheme, which ultimately abridged his finances considerably. On this subject we think the Quarterly reviewers have successfully defended the poet's reputation. After instancing Pope's noble conduct in endeavouring to persuade Lintot to give up his speculation of publishing the *Iliad*, when he was apprehensive of its failure, they go on to remark, "Pope, a conscientious Catholic, like his father, had no other means of income than the interest which he derived from lending money to individuals. This was the general practice of the times, which gave occupation to a body of men, now extinct, called scriveners, and the inventory of Pope's lawyer only proves how small was the poet's fortune. He lived on an annuity, and did not leave more than £3000; yet, such is the contagion of calumny, however absurd, that we find Mr Singer repeating the cuckoo note and reproaching the

poet for being 'over-solicitous to accumulate money, risking on all kinds of securities.' The truth is, that Pope was apt to be extremely negligent in all money concerns. Warburton tells us, that when Craggs gave him some South sea subscriptions, he was so indifferent about them as to neglect making any benefit of them. And the multiplied evidence of his domestic associates confirms the fact. 'Tis most certain, that nobody ever loved money so little as my brother,' says Mrs Racket, his sister-in-law. 'Mr Pope's not being richer,' says Martha Blount, 'may be easily accounted for; he never had any love for money. If he was extravagant in any thing it was his grotto.' Again, 'He did not know any thing of the value of money, and his greatest delight was in doing good offices to his friends. I used to know by his particular vivacity, and the pleasure that appeared in his face, when he came to town on such errands, or when he was employed in them, which was very often.' When his nephew refused a very handsome settlement in the West Indies, and said that fifty pounds a-year was all he wanted to make him happy, Pope, instead of using arguments to persuade him not to refuse so advantageous a proposal, immediately offered to settle that sum upon him. He refused a secret pension from Craggs; and, though a carriage was necessary to him, he used to say, that 'he had preserved his liberty without a coach.' Let us not forget, too, that when Savage was destitute, and abandoned by every one, he lived on a pension punctually paid by his friend. So much for the money-getting Pope."

The publication of an edition of Shakspeare, edited by Pope, added nothing to the fame of the latter. Pope was no fit editor for the mighty dramatist, and some of his decisions respecting the highest class of our poets, will now be regarded as heresies in our poetical creed. He talks of "Shakspeare's style as the style of a bad age," and says, that "he generally used to stiffen his style with high words and metaphors for the speeches of his kings and great men; he mistook this," he adds, "for a mark of greatness. This is stronger in his early plays; but in his very last, his *Othello*, what a forced language has he put into the mouth of the duke of Venice!" Again, we find him strongly advising his friend Spence to republish *Gorboduc* among our ancient dramas. "This tragedy," says he, "is written in a much purer style than Shakspeare's was in several of his first plays. Sackville imitates Seneca's tragedies very closely, and writes without affectation and bombast, the two great sins of our old tragic writers." After this, we cannot be surprised to find the bard of Twickenham thus talking of Milton. "Milton's style, in his '*Paradise Lost*,' is not natural; 'tis an exotic style. As his subject lies a good deal out of our world, it has a particular propriety in those parts of the poem; and when he is on earth, describing our parents in paradise, you see he uses a more easy and natural way of writing." He afterwards adds, "the high style that is affected so much in blank verse would not have been borne, even in Milton, had not his subject turned so much on such strange out-of-the-world things as it does." The truth is, Pope was more remarkable for the graces and felicities of diction than for the exuberance of his fancy, or his sensibility to the profounder emotions of our nature. We are ready to admit, with his generous critic in the *Quarterly Review*,<sup>1</sup> that Pope "wrought to the

<sup>1</sup> No. 46.



last perfection the classical vein of English poetry ;" understanding by the term, that style which, originally imported from the continent at the restoration, had already displaced the pure and original school of English poetry before Pope began to write ; but we cannot assent to the further assertion of the same critic, that Pope "inherited also the wealth of his predecessors." We will allow him to be the 'facile princeps' of the classical continental school, but we do not think that he is for a moment to be compared with the masters of that old English one from which there had been so lamentable an apostacy just before he began to write. Of the style of this school, at the head of which we consent to place our poet, it has been observed, in language not more elegant than just, "It was a witty, and a grand, and a splendid style. It showed more scholarship and art than the luxuriant negligence of the old English school ; and was not only free from many of its hazards and some of its faults, but possessed merits of its own, of a character more likely to please those who had then the power of conferring celebrity, or condemning to derision. Then it was a style which it was peculiarly easy to justify by argument ; and in support of which, great authorities, as well as imposing reasons, were always ready to be produced. It came upon us with the air and the pretension of being the style of cultivated Europe, and a true copy of the style of polished antiquity. England, on the other hand, had had but little intercourse with the rest of the world for a considerable period of time. Her language was not at all studied on the continent, and her native authors had not been taken into account in forming those ideal standards of excellence which had been recently constructed in France and Italy upon the authority of the Roman classics, and of their own most celebrated writers. When the comparison came to be made, therefore, it is easy to imagine that it should generally be thought to be very much to our disadvantage, and to understand how the great multitude, even among ourselves, should be dazzled with the pretensions of the fashionable style of writing, and actually feel ashamed of their own richer and more varied productions. It would greatly exceed our limits to describe accurately the particulars in which this new continental style differed from our old insular one ; but, for our present purpose, it may be enough perhaps to say, that it was more worldly and more townish,—holding more of reason, and ridicule, and authority,—more elaborate and more assuming,—addressed more to the judgment than to the feelings, and somewhat ostentatiously accommodated to the habits, or supposed habits, of persons in fashionable life. Instead of tenderness and fancy, we had satire and sophistry,—artificial declamation, in place of the spontaneous animations of genius,—and for the universal language of Shakspeare, the personalities, the party politics, and the brutal obscenities of Dryden." <sup>2</sup>

The publication of 'The Dunciad' forms a remarkable era in Pope's life. From this period he became the object of the most inveterate antipathy to the whole tribe of dunces, whom he had so severely lashed in that exquisite satire. He had already received much annoyance from various quarters, without condescending to bestow any notice upon his assailants ; but at last his spirit was roused, and he resolved to crush all his adversaries by one strong and decisive blow. Accordingly he put forth

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh Review, vol. xviii. pp. 279, 280.

all his strength on this production. It cost him, he says of it himself, as much pains as any thing he ever wrote; and the effect was prodigious. One universal howl from the party of the dunces showed how severely they felt their castigation. Pope contemplated his victory with great exultation; and such, says Dr Johnson, was his delight in the tumult he had raised, that for a while his natural sensibility was suspended, and he read the bitterest reproaches and invectives without emotion, considering them only as the necessary effects of that pain which he rejoiced to have given. It is to be regretted that Pope should have made 'The Dunciad' a general receptacle for all his resentments, whether just or unjust. In subsequent editions, however, he made many alterations upon it; and its hero, who was at first Theobald, became at last Colley Cibber.

His 'Essay on Man' appeared betwixt the years 1732 and 1734. He seems to have had considerable misgivings as to the probable reception it might meet with, for he published its four successive parts anonymously. His apprehensions were for its ethics; its poetry he knew was worthy of his fame, but he was conscious that the opinions set forth in this essay might not be received with equal favour. The philosophy of the 'Essay on Man' was indeed not Pope's but Bolingbroke's. Pope regarded Bolingbroke as an oracle, and, in this performance, did nothing more than translate into sounding verse his oracles, philosophical maxims, and reasonings. The theology and morality of this essay were attacked by Crousay and defended by Warburton, in a series of very elaborate papers in some of the periodicals of the day. Pope received the services of Warburton with great gratitude, and rendered him some very important services in return, by introducing him to the notice of his titled and powerful friends.

Betwixt the years 1731 and 1738, Pope wrote and published a variety of miscellaneous pieces, consisting of Epistles, Satires, Imitations of Horace, and Dialogues. Nothing can exceed the point and pungency of some of these minor pieces; "he whipped the gilded follies and humble sins of the wealthy" with a most unmerciful hand; and his boldness in the selection of his characters was honourable to his independence and fearlessness of character. When the exquisitely finished *Atossa* was read to the duchess of Marlborough, as the portrait of another lady, she instantly recognised her own likeness, and broke out into one of her raging fits. Walpole says that she ultimately gave the poet £1000 to suppress it; and that he did so during the duchess's life, but meanly and faithlessly published it after her death. This grievous charge has been since implicitly received, and even Mr Bowles has condescended to repeat it, although there is no direct evidence whatever for it, and all the weight of moral evidence on the point is entirely in Pope's favour. It is certain that he refused to insert a good character of the duke himself, though offered a considerable sum if he would do so by the duchess of Marlborough; and it has been justly remarked that "he whose principles would not allow him to accept a considerable sum to insert a good character of the duke, would hardly have taken a thousand pounds to suppress a bad one of the duchess."

Pope died on the 30th of May, 1744. He had been afflicted with asthma for several years previous to his death, but his last illness carried him off in the course of four weeks. He died with composure after having received the sacrament at the hands of a Catholic priest. The



works of Pope were published soon after his death, by his friend and executor Warburton, in nine volumes. Dr Joseph Warton published another edition, in 1797, containing some trifling poems and a few letters which had not appeared in Warburton's edition. Mr Bowles republished this last edition, in 1806, in ten volumes, with a life and notes, and some concluding observations on the poetical character of Pope, which raised a furious debate among the critics.

Mr Bowles asserts that "images drawn from what is beautiful and sublime in nature, are more poetical than images drawn from art, and that the passions are more adapted to poetry than the manners;" arguing from these maxims, he proceeds to show that Pope was not a poet in the highest sense of the term. Mr Campbell, one of his principal opponents, argues, in opposition to this, that "the exquisite description of artificial objects and manners is no less characteristic of genius than the description of simple physical appearances." The following excellent observations upon this controversy are from the article in the 'Quarterly Review,' to which reference has been made more than once in the course of this article. "It is clear to us that a theory, which, frequently admitting every thing the votary of Pope could desire to substantiate the high genius of his master, yet terminates in excluding the poet from 'the highest order of poets,' must involve some fallacy; and this we presume we have discovered in the absurd attempt to raise 'a criterion of poetical talents.' Such an artificial test is repugnant to the man of taste who can take enlarged views, and to the experience of the true critic. In the contrast of human tempers and habits, in the changes of circumstances in society, and the consequent mutations of tastes, the objects of poetry may be different in different periods; pre-eminent genius obtains its purpose by its adaptation to this eternal variety; and, on this principle, if we would justly appreciate the creative faculty, we cannot see why Pope should not class, at least in file, with Dante, or Milton. It is probable that Pope could not have produced an 'Inferno,' or a 'Paradise Lost,' for his invention was elsewhere: but it is equally probable that Dante and Milton, with their cast of mind, could not have so exquisitely touched the refined gaiety of 'The Rape of the Lock.' It has frequently been attempted to raise up such arbitrary standards and such narrowing theories of art; and these 'criteria' and 'invariable principles' have usually been drawn from the habitual practices and individual tastes of the framers; they are a sort of concealed egotism, a stratagem of self-love. When Mr Bowles informs us that one of the essential qualities of a poet 'is to have an eye attentive to and familiar with (for so he strengthens his canons of criticism) every external appearance of nature, every change of season, every variation of light and shade, every rock, every tree, every leaf, every diversity of hue,' &c.; we all know who the poet is that Mr Bowles so fondly describes. 'Here, Pope,' he adds, 'from infirmities and from physical causes, was particularly deficient.' In artificial life 'he perfectly succeeded;' how minute in his description when he describes what he is master of! for instance, the game of ombre in the Rape of the Lock.—'If he had been gifted with the same powers of observing outward nature, I have no doubt he would have exhibited as much accuracy in describing the appropriate beauties of the forest where he lived, as he was able to describe in a manner so novel and with colours so vivid a game of cards.

It happened, however, that Pope preferred in-door to out-door nature; but did this require inferior skill or less of the creative faculty than Mr Bowles's nature? In Pope's artificial life we discover a great deal of nature; and in Mr Bowles's nature, or poetry, we find much that is artificial. On this absurd principle of definition and criterion, Mr Wordsworth, who is often by genius so true a poet, is by his theory so mistaken a one. Darwin too ascertained that 'the invariable principle of poetry,' or, in his own words, 'the essence of poetry, was picture.' This was a convenient principle for one whose solitary talent lay in the minute pencillings of his descriptions; and the idea was instantly adopted as being so consonant to nature, and to Alderman Boydell, that our author-painters now asserted that if the excellence of a poem consisted in forming a picture, the more perfect poetry would be painting itself:—in consequence of this 'invariable principle of poetry,' Mr Shee, in his brilliant 'Rhymes on Art,' declared that 'the narrative of an action is not comparable to the action itself before the eyes,' and Barry ardently exclaimed, that 'painting is poetry realized!' To detract from what itself is excellent, by parallels with another species of excellence, or by trying it by some arbitrary criterion, will ever terminate, as here, in false criticism and absurd depreciation."

## Jonathan Swift.

BORN A. D. 1667.—DIED A. D. 1745.

JONATHAN SWIFT, poet, politician, divine, and wit, one of the most accomplished and remarkable men in an age which has been characterized as the Augustine era of English literature, was the son of an Irish gentleman of good family but very straitened circumstances. His mother was an English lady, a native of Leicestershire, whose ancient genealogy was also her principal inheritance. The father died in 1667, leaving an infant-daughter, and his pregnant widow, to the care of a brother, in whose house, in Hoey's-court, Dublin, Jonathan Swift was born, on the 30th of November, 1667.

At the age of six the orphan was sent to school at Kilkenny. His mother had returned to her native country within two years after her husband's death, but her boy remained in charge of a faithful nurse under his uncle's roof. In 1682 young Swift was received as a pensioner into Trinity college, Dublin; a cousin of his, who afterwards became rector of Puttenham in Surrey, and who advanced claims to a share in the authorship of 'The Tale of a Tub,' to which he was by no means entitled, accompanied Swift to college. At the university, he seems to have pursued his studies in a very fitful and desultory manner, besides being guilty of many irregularities and violent breaches of academical decorum. When he took his bachelor's degree it bore to have been granted *speciali gratiâ*, or of the unearned favour of the senate; and at last he, and five of his associates, received a public admonition for notorious neglect of duties. The reproof, however merited, failed to work the reformation of one of the culprits at least, for we soon afterwards find Swift convicted of insolent conduct towards Dean Lloyd, and suspended from his academical degree in consequence. In



this fact we have, probably, the secret of that keen dislike to his Alma Mater, and to Dr Lloyd, which appears in his writings.

In 1688 Swift left college, and joined his mother in Leicestershire. Mrs Swift was related to the lady of Sir William Temple, and that accomplished statesman and scholar took young Swift into his house as an amanuensis. King William occasionally visited Temple, and Swift was so far honoured with the confidence of both as to be permitted to be present at their confidential interviews. Swift's conversational powers amused his majesty, while his quick and keen penetration was probably of use to Sir William in these interviews. The king offered him a troop of horse, which he respectfully declined, but his hopes of church preferment were now justly excited.

In 1692 Swift was admitted of Hart's hall, Oxford, and in the same year took his master's degree at that university. He appears to have been very graciously received at Oxford. About this time he produced his 'Pindaric Odes,' "the only kind of writing which he seriously attempted without attaining excellence," says one of his biographers, whose opinion must be deferred to on such a point. "But," Sir Walter Scott adds, "after all the vituperation which has been heaped upon these odes, they are not, generally speaking, worse than the pindarics of Donne and Cowley, which, in the earlier part of the century, gained these authors unbounded applause." The bard is said to have consulted Dryden as to the merit of these poetical prolusions, and to have received the staggering reply, which he never forgot, "Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet."<sup>1</sup>

In 1694 Swift went to Ireland, and took orders. His first preferment was the prebend of Kilroot, in the diocese of Connor, with about £100 a-year. He resided a short time on his living, but threw it up the following year, and returned to his old patron Sir William Temple, with whom he continued to reside till his death in 1699. We have elsewhere noticed the foolish controversy betwixt Temple and Wotton concerning the superiority of ancient or modern learning, and in which Bentley and Boyle also took part: Swift aided his patron on this occasion, and drew up a satirical piece, entitled 'The Battle of the Books,' in which he assailed the Bentleians and Wottonians with those weapons which he knew so well how to use. His 'Tale of a Tub' appears to have been completed about this time also. But neither of these pieces were given to the public till 1704.

After the death of Sir William Temple, Swift accepted an invitation to attend the earl of Berkeley, one of the lords-justices of Ireland, to that country, as chaplain and private secretary. A Mr Buske, however, contrived to interfere in the matter of this appointment so effectually that Swift left his lordship's house in disgust, and gave vent to his irritated feelings in one or two bitter satires. To pacify him, Lord Berkeley presented him with the rectory of Agher, and the vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeggan, to which the prebend of Dunlavin was afterwards added, making altogether an income of betwixt £350 and £400.

In 1701, when Lords Somers, Oxford, Halifax, and Portland, were impeached, Swift published a discourse on the contentions between the

<sup>1</sup> See D'Israeli's 'Quarrels of Authors,' vol. iii. p. 298.

aristocracy and democracy of the ancient states, which excited much attention, and procured for him the patronage and friendship of the whig leaders, besides introducing him to the fellowship of Addison, Arbuthnot, and the group of wits who used to assemble at Button's coffee-house. His rising reputation was confirmed by the publication of 'The Tale of a Tub.' "This celebrated production," says Scott, "is founded upon a simple and obvious allegory, conducted with all the humour of Rabelais, and without his extravagance. The main purpose is to trace the gradual corruptions of the church of Rome, and to exalt the English reformed church at the expense both of the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian establishments." It is an elaborate, but tedious, whimsical, and inconsiderate production. The graver clergy felt scandalized by it; while Voltaire, and others of his school, hailed its appearance as well-calculated to lower the claims of religion, by associating them with vulgar and ridiculous ideas. The vicar of Laracor was now a man of note and estimation, and received many flattering attentions from the leading whigs, who justly regarded a writer of his popular and ready talents, and formidable powers of satire and invective, as an important ally in the then state of public affairs. While, however, Swift was the strenuous advocate of Revolution principles and whig pretensions in civil politics, he differed widely from the party in his notions of ecclesiastical polity. No high-churchman was a more zealous stickler for the rights and prerogatives of the church than he. His 'Letter upon the Sacramental Test,' published in 1708-9, contained such an unequivocal exposition of high-church sentiments that the whigs began to look upon their partisan with jealousy and mistrust; but no open rupture took place till 1710, when the toriès came into power, and Swift with the most shameless profligacy and effrontery went over to the prevailing party.

Sir Walter Scott, with the amiable partiality of genius for genius, has laboured hard to apologize for, if not to vindicate, Swift's conduct in this matter; but the attempt, as might be expected, is much more well-meant than successful. Sir Walter's defence amounts to this, that Swift had at first resolved to stand neutral in the approaching struggle of parties, feeling himself to have been unjustly neglected by his former friends, but at the same time not yet willing to sink political principle in personal resentment; that his scruples were at last overcome by Harley and St John's professions of liberal or at least moderate principles of state-policy, and by his anxiety for the triumph of the establishment, joined to a consciousness of some power on his own part to mould and moderate the tone of public feeling so as to soften the rancour of parties, and enable the new ministry to devote themselves to the real interest of the country. The reader will, we imagine, smile at the idea of such a man as Swift acting the part of moderator in any contest whatever; moderation had never formed any part of his character or principles. His early works contain innumerable proofs that he started not only a whig, but a very zealous and ultra one. He designates himself "a whig, and one who wears a gown," meaning, we suppose, by the expression, to place his political principles in decided contrast with those avowed by most of his clerical brethren; assailing Tisdal, a tory opponent, he says, "to cool your insolence a little, know that the queen, and court, and house of lords, and half the commons



almost are whigs, and the number daily increases." And in his verses on Whitehall he boldly speaks out his high approbation of the execution of Charles, when he says

"That theatre produced an action truly great,  
On which eternal acclamations wait."

The fact is, the only pretence which even Swift himself offers for this sudden dereliction of the principles which he had maintained for nearly forty years, is the plea of neglect and bad usage from the party with whom he had held them. He does not attempt to gloss over the matter in any other way, but fairly speaks out his motives as if unconscious of the existence of moral distinctions, and utterly inaccessible to feelings of remorse or shame.

His first exhibition in the character of a 'moderator' was every way worthy of the man; "he took up the cudgels with the ferocity of a hireling, and the rancour of a renegade."<sup>2</sup> The tories handed over to him the management of a political periodical called 'The Examiner,' which St John, Dr Freind, King, and others, had already commenced as the organ of the new ministry. This publication was conducted by Swift from the 13th to the 46th number, and with a personality and malignancy of abuse which left the first projectors of 'The Examiner' far behind in the contention. Sunderland, Godolphin, Cowper, Walpole, Somers, Steele, and many others with whom he had been but lately on terms of warmest intimacy, were successively assailed by him with the most keen and scurrilous invective. In short, to use his own phrase, he "libelled them all round." Of course he was proportionally zealous in his expressions of attachment and fidelity to his new friends; "a thorough partisan is a thorough despiser of sincerity, and no man seems to have got over that weakness more completely than the reverend person before us."<sup>3</sup> We cannot allow Swift credit for sincerity even in his high-churchism. That too was but a part of his cool, selfish, unprincipled, calculating system. He wished to raise the influence of the order to which he happened to belong; and, by soothing the high-church party, he calculated on being better able to force his way to a mitre, notwithstanding his avowed connection with the opposite party in the church on other points.

Swift's generous biographer represents him as pursuing the new political career on which he had entered with "freedom and independence," spurning the proposals of pecuniary remuneration which his grateful friends in the ministry made him, rejecting a chaplaincy, and maintaining "the right of an independent friend, to take umbrage at the slightest shadow of caprice in those to whom he was so ardently attached!" This is really too much. One might almost suspect the biographer of a design to employ Swift's favourite instruments of satire and ridicule against him. The independent minded patriot, who is first represented to us as taking affront at the offer of recompense for his services, refusing preferments, hating caprice, and ardently loving his new friends, is at the very moment writing to his confidant Stella, that he hopes his new profession (of toryism) "will turn to some account;" that his new friends are very kind, and make him promises enough;

<sup>2</sup> Jeffrey.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

that he hopes not to return without some mark of distinction; and that he would likewise gladly be somewhat richer than he is. Soon after, this despiser of preferment seems to have asked for the see of Hereford, and when refused, fairly strikes work, and refuses to return to his hireling employments for any less consideration than a deanery, which last he succeeds in wringing from the hands of a reluctant minister, and, after all, accepts only with much grumbling and discontent. Nay, this is not all, the spurner at pecuniary recompense discovers that he has got into debt, and thinks that the queen, or the ministry, should help him to clear it off. He estimates his past services at £1000, and declares that the lord-treasurer uses him most barbarously in laughing when he mentions a £1000—though £1000 is a very serious thing. His noble independence of mind and hatred of caprice are features equally well-supported. He dances attendance on the queen's favourite, Mrs Masham; writes bulletins of the progress of her pregnancy, and prays for the preservation of a life of so much importance to the nation. His detestation of caprice is manifested in his publicly sending the prime minister into the house of commons to call out the first secretary of state, only to let him know, that Mr Swift would not dine with him if he dined late; and in his insisting that a duke should make him the first visit, merely because he was a duke. Few, we think, acquainted with Swift's habits, will doubt the justness and accuracy of the critic's remark, that Swift exhibited, during this period of favour, "as much of the ridiculous airs of a *parvenu*,—of a low underling brought suddenly into contact with wealth and splendour, as any of the base understrappers that ever made party disgusting."<sup>4</sup> His apologist further informs us, that he used every effort, consistent with the line of political conduct which he had adopted, to propitiate his friends of the whig party. We are not disposed to question the truth of the statement; but we see in this fact only another evidence of the detestable meanness and selfishness of the man's spirit. It was his object to curry favour with all parties, so as to place his chances of preferment on the broadest possible foundation. This was the whole secret of his unwillingness to pursue the rupture with his old associates to the widest possible extent. He was too keen-sighted a politician not to foresee the probability of the whig party again coming into office; and he wished to stand as well with them as was consistent with his worship of the present dispensers of good things in church and state. His patronage of such men as Congreve, Parnell, Prior, King, and other literary characters, was probably the result of sheer vanity.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Edinburgh Review, vol. xxvii. p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> The opinion pretty generally entertained in Dublin of the new dean, was wittily expressed in a copy of verses, which are said to have been affixed to the door of St Patrick's cathedral on the day of his instalment. The following stanzas may serve as a specimen of this *jeu-d'esprit*:—

"When Wharton reign'd, a whig he was;  
When Pembroke, that's dispute, Sir;  
In Oxford's time, what Oxford pleased,—  
Non-con., or Jack, or Neuter.

This place he got by wit and rhyme,  
And many ways most odd;  
And might a bishop be in time,  
Did he believe in God.



Yet with all this truckling and sycophancy, Swift failed to secure for himself the highest patronage in the state. It is certain the queen entertained a strong personal dislike to him; and that this was the secret of his want of preferment. He had prudence enough, however, to conceal his disappointment so far as the queen was personally concerned; but her death utterly annihilated the prospects of his party, and overwhelmed the truckling dean of St Patrick's with despair. It is insinuated by some, that Swift was privy to the designs entertained at this juncture by Bolingbroke, Ormond, and Mar, to bring in the Pretender; but there is no satisfactory evidence of this. The truth is, Swift's energy was now gone with the extinction of his hopes of preferment; he knew that he could expect nothing from his old associates the whigs, and his whole life, after this event, was "one long fit of spleen and lamentation."

His exasperation burst forth after several years' silence. "In 1720," says Sir Walter Scott, "the dean again appeared on the stage as a political writer: no longer, indeed, the advocate and apologist of a ministry, but the undaunted and energetic defender of the rights of an oppressed people." Some may think it remarkable that the grievances of Ireland should have so long escaped the notice of her patriot son; that when he was in a situation to lend his countrymen so much effectual assistance, he utterly neglected to avail himself of the golden opportunity; and that when at last his eyes were so suddenly opened on the wrongs of Ireland, the oppression of its Catholic population never seems to have been once reckoned by him amongst her grievances. But the mystery is one of no very difficult solution. His Irish politics, like his other politics, were the result of personal views and feelings; his object in taking up the subject at all was not to do his countrymen good, but to harass and perplex a ministry whom he hated, and from whom he had nothing to expect. The first emanation of his spleen was a pamphlet, entitled 'A Proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures, utterly rejecting and renouncing every thing wearable that comes from England.' After this sage project, he assailed Wood's celebrated scheme for a new copper coinage, in a series of letters, signed M. B., drapier in Dublin. In both these pamphlets Swift exhibits the shallowness of his ideas as an economist, but the most perfect command of those arguments that weigh most with the vulgar,—local assertions, unmeasured personal abuse, and downright dogged misrepresentation and invective. Unquestionably his Irish pamphlets did some good to Ireland, by compelling the ministry of the day to bestow more attention on that unfortunate country than its affairs would otherwise have obtained; but it is worse than ridiculous to hear Swift characterized as "the luminary of Ireland,—her true patriot, her first, almost her last;" and the unqualified assertion put forth, that the foundations of whatever prosperity we have since erected in that country, are laid in the disinterested and magnanimous patriotism of Swift!<sup>6</sup>

At last the dean's anxiety for the welfare of Ireland brought him over

For high-church men, and policy,  
He swears, he prays most heartily,  
But would pray back again to be  
A dean of any party."

<sup>6</sup> Hon. J. W. Croker.

to London, and reconciled him to enduring an interview with the premier, Walpole, whose hostility to Swift had been very significantly indicated during the reign of the tories. Of this, however, Sir Walter innocently remarks, "the dean retained no vindictive recollection." No one better knew the advantage which may sometimes attend a treacherous memory than our Irish patriot. Repulsed with coldness by the minister, Swift next betook himself, still under cloak of zeal for Ireland, to the heir-apparent, to whom he paid his court in a manner truly worthy of the disinterested patriot and dignified churchman, namely, by pressing himself upon the good graces of the prince's paramour, the notorious Mrs Howard. All his efforts, however, to thrust himself into place and influence were vain. For a moment his hopes were excited by the death of George I. He was among the first to hasten to the levee of the new sovereign; but the star of Walpole again rose in the ascendant, and with this sign the golden dreams of preferment he had begun anew to cherish were dissipated.

Swift spent the remainder of his existence in Ireland; and might have enjoyed more peace and happiness after his final retirement from the stormy arena of political life, than he had known for many years before, had he been content to devote himself to the duties of his profession, and to enjoy the learned leisure which his comparative retirement now offered him. But he was a disappointed man, and his restlessness and dissatisfaction were perpetually revealing themselves in a thousand unamiable forms. He had, too, involved himself, even from early life, in a most extraordinary series of liaisons, which appear to have embittered his own life, as well as ruined the happiness of three amiable women.

Soon after leaving college, he appears to have formed, or professed, an attachment to a Miss Jane Waryng, the sister of a fellow-student. With this lady he corresponded for a series of years under the preposterous name of Varina. She appears to have been deeply attached to the young clergyman; but, with a prudence superior to his, to have declined immediate marriage, when passionately urged upon her by her lover, before he had any means of supporting himself, much less a wife. Four years afterwards, when Swift was in possession of about £400 a-year, she appears to have reminded him of his former impatience, and fairly asked him if his affections had suffered any alteration. His reply was such as broke off all further correspondence: cool, insolent, and cunning. His next victim, the Stella of his works, was twenty years his junior. He became acquainted with her while on a visit with her mother, a widow lady, at Sir William Temple's. The influence which he obtained over this young creature's mind was extraordinary, while his treatment of her was studiously insulting and capricious. When he went to Ireland, he prevailed on this interesting girl, then not twenty, to leave her own family in England, and take lodgings in his immediate neighbourhood; and in this equivocal situation he allowed the poor girl to remain, in the vain expectation that he would ultimately act an honourable part towards her. Upon Swift's return to Ireland, after the breaking up of the tory administration, he found Stella sinking into the grave under the influence of wounded sensibilities and disappointed hopes. Swift had found a new idol while in London, in the person of a Miss Esther Vanhomrigh; and Stella had been neither blind to the altered style of his correspondence, nor deaf to the rumours which were



wafted to Ireland regarding the accomplished and fascinating Miss Vanhomrigh. We shall relate the rest of this extraordinary narrative in the language of his biographer. "He employed Dr St George Ashe, bishop of Clogher, his tutor and early friend, to request the cause of her melancholy; and he received the answer which his conscience must have anticipated,—it was her sensibility to his recent indifference, and to the discredit which her own character sustained from the long subsistence of the dubious and mysterious connexion between them. To convince her of the constancy of his affection, and to remove her beyond the reach of calumny, there was but one remedy. To this communication Swift replied, that he had formed two resolutions concerning matrimony: one, that he would not marry till possessed of a competent fortune,—the other, that the event should take place at a time of life which gave him a reasonable prospect to see his children settled in the world. The independence proposed, he said, he had not yet achieved, being still embarrassed by debt; and, on the other hand, he was past that term of life after which he had determined never to marry. Yet he was ready to go through the ceremony for the ease of Mrs Johnson's mind, providing it should remain a strict secret from the public, and that they should continue to live separately, and in the same guarded manner as formerly. To these hard terms Stella subscribed; they relieved her own mind at least, from all scruples on the impropriety of their connexion, and they soothed her jealousy, by rendering it impossible that Swift should ever give his hand to her rival. They were married in the garden of the deanery by the bishop of Clogher, in the year 1716." The arrangement, mean and mortifying as it was, served to support Stella's existence a few years longer. Meanwhile, Miss Vanhomrigh, unconscious of Swift's situation, had followed him to Ireland and taken up her abode near Celbridge, where she was occasionally favoured with a visit from the dean, and such attentions as served to cherish the few reviving embers of hope in her bosom. At last her impatience prevailed, and she ventured on the decisive step of writing to Mrs Johnson herself, requesting to know the nature of the connexion which subsisted betwixt her and Swift. The answer she received, and the brutal conduct of Swift himself, when informed of what she had done, were fatal blows; she sunk at once under the disappointment of the delayed, yet cherished hopes, which had so long sickened her heart, and beneath the unrestrained wrath of him for whose sake she had indulged them. From such sickening details let us turn to contemplate the literary character of this extraordinary man.

The productions of Swift's pen, with a few exceptions, were of an ephemeral kind, written with a temporary and immediate object, and written with all the taste, and all the high colouring too, necessary for such a purpose. Bearing this in mind, Swift must be allowed to have been a man of rare genius and astonishing resources. The care with which posterity has collected together these hasty productions is a convincing proof of their great merit. They have probably never been equalled in their line. "They are written," says a celebrated northern critic, "with great plainness, force, and intrepidity,—advance at once to the matter in dispute,—give battle to the strength of the enemy, and never seek any kind of advantage from darkness or obscurity. Their distinguishing feature, however, is the force and the vehemence

of the invective in which they abound; the copiousness, the steadiness, the perseverance, and the dexterity, with which abuse and ridicule are showered upon the adversary. This, we think, was, beyond all doubt, Swift's great talent, and the weapon by which he made himself formidable. He was, without exception, the greatest and most efficient libeller that ever exercised the trade; and possessed in an eminent degree all the qualifications which it requires: a clear head,—a cold heart,—a vindictive temper,—no admiration of noble qualities,—no sympathy with suffering,—not much conscience,—not much consistency,—a ready wit,—a sarcastic humour,—a thorough knowledge of the baser parts of human nature,—and a complete familiarity with every thing that is low, homely, and familiar in language."

His most popular and his best work is the voyages of captain Gulliver. "It is the contrast," says Scott, "between the natural ease and simplicity of the style, and the marvels which the volume contains, that forms one great charm of this memorable satire on the imperfections, follies, and vices of mankind. The exact calculations<sup>7</sup> preserved in the first and second part, have also the effect of qualifying the extravagance of the fable." His letters to Stella are admirable and interesting compositions of their kind, and upon the whole present us with the most favourable view of Swift's character. Of his poetry we need say nothing; for we apprehend few readers now-a-days will feel disposed to assign the dean a niche in the poetical temple. His verses are nothing more than rhymed prose. His style it may not be fair to criticise too rigidly, seeing, as already hinted, that he always wrote *currente calamo*, on the spur of the moment. When we say that it is essentially a vulgar style, we mean that it is a style fitted above all other styles to please and captivate ordinary readers, to make good his point with the multitude; and, considering with what aims and objects Swift always wrote, when we speak thus of his style we apprehend we are giving it the very highest praise. He never rises to eloquence, but he is always clear, and precise, and forcible; he affects no graces, but he commands a boundless variety of universally understood terms and expressions; and what is—we should have been better pleased to say *was*, but the remembrance of recent controversies forces upon us the present tense—what *is* then, we say, of first-rate importance to a party-writer, his vocabulary of abuse and scurrility is perfectly inexhaustible; abuse is his inspiration, and, when the occasion serves, he pours it forth with all the fertility and exuberance of true genius.

## Richard Savage.

BORN A. D. 1698.—DIED A. D. 1743.

THIS unfortunate genius is commonly reputed to have been the illegitimate son of an English peeress. The facts connected with his birth are thus stated: The countess of Macclesfield, a woman of a violent temper and dissolute habits, having quarrelled with the earl, her

<sup>7</sup> The biographer here alludes to the consistency and plausibility of the descriptions given by the travelled captain, of the marvellous wonders he had witnessed both amongst the pigmies and giants.



husband, resolved to be divorced from him, and with this view declared that the child with which she was then pregnant was the offspring of adulterous intercourse with the earl of Rivers. The earl of Macclesfield obtained an act of parliament for the dissolution of his marriage, and the children of his countess were declared illegitimate. Meanwhile the countess was delivered of a son, the subject of this memoir, on the 10th of January, 1698; and the earl of Rivers so far at least countenanced the profligate mother as to stand godfather to the child at his baptism, and give him his own name.

The unfortunate infant was, however, immediately committed to the care of a poor woman, who was directed to educate him as her own son, and who appears to have kept her trust in this respect with remarkable fidelity: as the youth did not discover his parentage until after his nurse's death, when the facts connected with his birth were revealed to him by some letters and papers which he discovered among the effects of his foster-parent. Savage was placed at a grammar-school near St Alban's for his education. While at this school, Earl Rivers, his reputed father, died. "He had frequently inquired for his son," says Dr Johnson, "and had always been amused with evasive answers. On his death-bed, however, he thought it his duty to provide for him, and therefore demanded a positive account with an importunity not to be diverted or denied." His mother, the same authority informs us, though no longer able to withhold an answer, "determined at least to give such as should cut him off for ever from that happiness which competence affords, and therefore declared that he was dead." Mr Galt, in his recent '*Lives of the Players*,' has thrown some discredit on this sad tale, and we are willing that, bad as the infamous countess undoubtedly was, she should at least have the advantage of Mr Galt's ingenious advocacy. "I would rather," says he, "believe that Dr Johnson was in error, than that Nature went so far wrong. There is no shadow of evidence to show that Mrs Brett—as the alleged mother of Savage was now called, in consequence of a second marriage with Colonel Brett, who became a patentee of Drury-lane theatre—was in personal communication with Earl Rivers. But, granted that she had told him, or wrote to him, that their son was dead, might it not have been the case? for, as I shall have occasion to show, besides the fact relative to Mrs Lloyd's legacy already noticed, the identity of the countess of Macclesfield's son, and Savage, the poet and player, is by no means satisfactorily established. Be it also observed, that Earl Rivers could not but know, in the long course of more than ten years, in which the child was under the direction of his grandmother, Lady Mason, that she was the proper person to ask concerning him. But to suppose that, in so long a period, Earl Rivers, who had no objection to acknowledge the child—who was the child's godfather—never once inquired after him, is to accuse human nature, in his lordship, of as great an exception to its customs, as in the case of the mother: probability revolts at the supposition. Perhaps Lady Mason might have been by this time dead; but, as I have shown, there was no special concealment, at least from Lord Rivers, of the existence of the child, so long as he lived; nor was it likely, when the part which Mrs Lloyd acted towards him is considered, that there could have been any difficulty, so long as she was alive, of tracing him. Dr Johnson assumes that the wickedness of the mother, in this instance,

was true: he even goes so far as to imply that Lord Rivers 'had, in his will, bequeathed to Savage six thousand pounds; but that, on receiving the account of his death, he altered the will, and bestowed the legacy on another person.' I think the fact of the case is, that the son of Earl Rivers and Lady Macclesfield was, at this time, really dead; and this opinion is strengthened by the over-endeavour of Savage to exaggerate her unnatural enmity. If she had been his mother, there was on his part as great a deficiency of natural feeling towards her, as there was on her part towards him. Truly, if we consider the number of years during which Lord Rivers, his father and godfather, never inquired after him, and the reciprocal conduct of the mother and the son, they must have been three of the most extraordinary personages ever described, for deficiency of natural affection. This interception of the provision which Lord Rivers intended to make, is rendered still more improbable by what Dr Johnson, on the authority of Savage, immediately after states, viz. that his mother 'endeavoured to rid herself from the danger of being at any time made known to him, by sending him secretly to the American plantations.' Now be it remembered, that his mother became afterwards the wife of the patentee of the very theatre which Savage most frequented. 'By whose kindness this scheme of kidnapping was counteracted, or by what interposition Mrs Brett was induced to lay aside her design, I know not. It is not improbable that the Lady Mason might persuade or compel her to desist, or perhaps she could not easily find accomplices wicked enough to concur in such an action.' After stating this, Dr Johnson makes the following observations, the justice or common-sense of which is by no means apparent—'It may be conceived,' says he, 'that those who had, by a long gradation of guilt, hardened their hearts against the sense of common wickedness, would yet be shocked at the design of a mother to expose her son to slavery and want—to expose him without interest and without provocation; and Savage might, on this occasion, find protectors and advocates among those who had long traded in crimes, and whom compassion had never touched before.' Without more particularly adverting to the improbability altogether of kidnapping the boy for Virginia, I would only remark on the plain nonsense of Dr Johnson's observations. Was it at all necessary to such a kidnapping scheme, that the mother should disclose to the agents her relationship to the boy they were to convey out of the country in so surreptitious a manner? and if they previously knew the relationship, and were creatures capable of executing such an unnatural machination, would they have scrupled to get this rich lady so effectually into their power as they would have done, either by executing her scheme, or by seemingly conniving at it, by taking her son into their own charge? If they did not know of the connexion, what comes of the Doctor's moral revulsion of the kidnappers? This part of the story, which rests on Savage's authority alone—and Savage was never respected by his contemporaries for his probity—I have no hesitation in at once rejecting, as in its conception an extravagant monstrosity; for the mother in all this period seems to have left the management of the child entirely to her own mother, Lady Mason, and no cause nor motive had occurred to move her to intercept the intended legacy, far less to instigate her to the wickedness of sending her son to slavery in Virginia. Dr John-



son, in the same frame of insatiable credulity, continues—‘ Being hindered, by whatever means, of banishing him into another country, she formed soon after a scheme for burying him in poverty and obscurity in his own ; and that his station in life, if not the place of his residence, might keep him for ever at a distance from her—(and yet she was the wife of a patentee of the theatre)—she ordered him to be placed with a shoemaker in Holborn, that after the usual time of trial he might become his apprentice.’ The good Doctor, in the simplicity of his heart, states this on the authority of Savage himself. Now, mark how loosely this tale hangs together. In the first place, it supposes the mother all this time to be spontaneously actuated by something like a demoniacal virulence against her son, although it is manifest that Lady Mason was the agent in all that related to the child by Lord Rivers. Now, was Lady Mason dead when this project of the apprenticeship was hatched ? It is not so said. Then who was the agent to negotiate with the shoemaker ? Did that agent know of the relationship of the child ? Was the shoemaker so incurious as to take no step to ascertain who were the connexions of this mysterious apprentice ? Was no money to be paid to the shoemaker ? The story—though it be true, in fact, that Savage was an apprentice to a shoemaker in Holborn—appears utterly improbable in the alleged anterior machination. If Lady Mason had been alive, she would of course, from her previous part in the plot, have been the negociator, through the nurse, as whose son the bastard passed ; and here again the character of Lady Mason comes to be considered. Has it ever been blemished in all this business ? and she was, at least, known to the nurse, if the nurse did not know who were the parents of the child. But observe what follows. While Savage is apprentice to the shoemaker, the nurse, who had always treated him as her own son, dies, and Savage, as her son, proceeds to ‘ take care of those few effects which by her death were, as he imagined, become his own.’ Now had this old woman no relations who knew that the child had been placed with her ? none to interfere, as people in their condition of life were likely to do, that he should have been permitted to take possession of her effects ? Mark also ; in taking possession of her effects, Dr Johnson says, ‘ that he opened her boxes and examined her papers, among which he found some letters written to her by the Lady Mason, which informed him of his birth, and the reasons for which it was concealed.’ This is curious. Is it probable that Lady Mason would have committed herself by writing any such letters to the old woman, had there existed such a wish for concealment as it is attempted to make us believe ? That there may have been letters from Lady Mason, which suggested the idea of inquiring to whom they related ; and that Savage, by inquiry, might have ascertained they concerned the child of Lady Macclesfield and Lord Rivers, which had been placed while an infant with his mother, the nurse, is highly probable ; and from the character of his mind, it is not at all unlikely that he should have either imagined himself to be that child, or fancied that, with the evidence, he might pass himself off as such. My opinion is that the latter was the case, and that the poet and player, Richard Savage, was, in his capacity of Lady Macclesfield’s son, an impostor. A remarkable gleam of light is thrown upon the probability of this notion by a circumstance hitherto unnoticed. The famous trial of the An-

nesley family began about this time, and it is curious in how many points the abduction of the heir of that family resembles the pretended machinations of which Savage gives an account of his being himself, both in what was done and intended, the object. When Savage had examined the papers found in the box of his nurse, or mother as I am disposed to think she really was, he remained no longer satisfied with his employment as a shoemaker, but resolved to share the affluence of the lady he was determined to consider as his mother; and accordingly, without scruple, he made use of every art to awaken her tenderness and attract her regard. It is singular enough, however, that this was done through the medium of letters; the natural course would have been, had there been no consciousness of deception, to have gone to her at once in person, for he had no reason at that time to think, though she might desire that her child should remain unknown, that she would reject him in the manner she did. Dr Johnson says, that 'neither his letters, nor the interposition of those friends which his merit or his distress procured him, made any impression upon her mind. She still resolved to neglect, though she could no longer disown him.' Now this is not correct; for she did acknowledge that she had had a child, but which was dead, and she did deny that Savage was her son. In fact, being persuaded that he was an impostor, all the extraordinary antipathy with which she regarded him is explained, by the simple circumstance of her believing that her own child was dead, and the natural mortification that she could not but suffer at the revival, after the lapse of so many years, of her dishonour and public degradation."

Whether or not Savage was the real issue of the woman whom he now called mother, he at least failed to obtain a parent's recognition from her, and was necessitated to look for such means of support as he could himself command. The Bangorian controversy was at this period agitating the whole literary world, and into this controversy Savage, though very unfit for polemical controversy, rushed with headlong precipitancy, by publishing a poem against the bishop. The attempt was a failure, as might have been anticipated from his youth and inexperience. Undismayed, however, by the result, he next directed his attention to the drama, and produced a piece entitled, 'Woman's a Riddle.' It met with little success, but served to introduce him to the notice of Sir Richard Steele, the critic, and Mr Wilks, the actor. The former patronized him warmly, and even offered him the hand of his natural daughter; the latter succeeded in obtaining some pecuniary relief for him from his reputed mother, and also favourably introduced him to the celebrated and generous Mrs Oldfield, who was so taken with his story that she conferred on him a pension of fifty pounds per annum during her life.

In 1724 Savage attempted a tragedy on the story of Sir Thomas Overbury. Aaron Hill wrote the prologue and epilogue for this piece, and the author himself made his first appearance on the stage in it, in the character of Sir Thomas. The piece partially succeeded; and Savage was gradually emerging from his obscurity and poverty, when both his reputation and life were placed in peril by the fatal consequence of a midnight brawl in which he and some of his dissolute companions were concerned, and in which a man was killed. Savage and one of his companions stood their trial for the murder, and were found guilty;



but the countess of Hertford interested herself so warmly in Savage's favour, that the culprits were admitted to bail, and afterwards pleaded the king's pardon. During his imprisonment and trial, Savage conducted himself with great firmness and propriety. It is affirmed by Dr Johnson that his unnatural mother used every means in her power to thwart the efforts made to obtain his pardon.

Savage was next patronised by Lord Tyrconnel, who granted him a pension of £200, which, however, he soon contrived to forfeit by quarrelling with his noble friend. He then betook himself to lampooning and satirizing some people, and panegyricizing others, as a means of raising the wind. To the queen he paid his court by presenting her majesty with an annual copy of verses under the character of 'The Volunteer Laureat;' his reputed mother he annoyed and drove from Bath, where she was then staying, by the publication of a poem, entitled 'The Bastard,' containing many plain allusions to his own history; Sir Robert Walpole he first courted in some adulatory verses, and then attacked for not gratifying his inordinate expectations. Meanwhile his habits were becoming daily more dissolute, and the shifts to which he resorted more discreditable; his wit had lost its novelty, and his outrageous conduct rendered his presence burdensome to his friends. Pope and some others proposed to settle a small annual pension upon him on condition that he would retire to the country and remain there. He at first acceded to the proposal; but he soon got dissatisfied with a country life, and attempted to get back to his old haunts.

In January, 1743, he was arrested for debt in Bristol, and, six months after, died in prison. His collected works were published in two volumes octavo, with a memoir from the pen of his friend Dr Johnson, which is acknowledged to be one of the most splendid of the whole series of lives from the pen of the biographer of the English poets.

### James Thomson.

BORN A. D. 1700.—DIED A. D. 1748.

THIS favourite poet was the son of the Rev. Mr Thomson, parish minister of Ednam in the shire of Roxburgh, at which place he was born on the 11th of September, 1700. Mr Riccarton, a neighbouring clergyman, first observed in James the dawning of those talents which afterwards distinguished him, and took a warm interest in the regulation and superintendence of his studies. Sir William Bennet of Chesters also honoured the promising boy with his kindness, and occasionally invited him to spend his vacations at his seat. A poetical epistle, addressed by Thomson, in his fourteenth year, to Sir William, has been recently published.<sup>1</sup>

After going through the usual course of school-education at Jedburgh, Thomson was sent to the university of Edinburgh, with the view of preparing himself for entering the divinity hall, being intended for the church. Whilst at the university Thomson contributed some articles to a volume entitled, 'The Edinburgh Miscellany.' One of

<sup>1</sup> See Pickering's edition of Thomson's Works.

them, entitled, 'On a Country Life, by a Student,' shows his early and deep attachment to rural scenery, and was perhaps the germ of those conceptions which he afterwards imbodyed in 'The Seasons.' The divinity-chair was at this period filled by Mr Hamilton, whose lectures Thomson had attended for about a year, when there was prescribed to him, for an exercise, a poetical version of the 104th psalm. Thomson executed the task in a manner which surprised the professor, and drew down upon himself the plaudits of the whole class. Mr Hamilton, however, thought it necessary to warn the young man against too habitual and free a use of his imagination, as likely to unfit him for the profession before him. Dr Johnson says that the professor likewise censured one of Thomson's expressions in this version as bordering on the profane. There is a complete copy of it in Pickering's edition of the poet's works, in which the obnoxious line will be sought for in vain; though it may, as the editor suggests, have been altered in the transcript.

In 1725 Thomson resolved to proceed to London, and try his fortune there as a literary adventurer. That he encountered the ordinary lot of his brethren at his first starting on his literary career, appears from a letter which he addressed to his friend Dr Cranston, in September, 1726, in which he solicits a loan of twelve pounds until his finances are replenished from the sale of some property which belonged to the family. The distressed poet is supposed to have written from Barnet, in the neighbourhood of London. "This country I am in," says he, "is not very entertaining; no variety but that of woods, and them we have in abundance; but where is the living stream,—the airy mountain,—and the hanging rock,—with twenty other things that elegantly please the lover of nature? Nature delights me in every form. I am just now painting her in her most lugubrious dress, for my own amusement, describing winter as it presents itself. After my first proposal of the subject,

I sing of Winter, and his gelid reign,  
Nor let a rhyming insect of the Spring  
Deem it a barren theme. To me 'tis full  
Of manly charms; to me, who court the shade,—  
Whom the gay seasons suit not, and who shun  
The glare of Summer. Welcome, kindred glooms!  
Drear, awful, wintry horrors, welcome all! &c.

"After this introduction, I say, which insists for a few lines farther, I prosecute the purport of the following ones:

Nor can I, O departing Summer, choose  
But consecrate one pitying line to you;  
Sing your last temper'd days, and sunny calms,  
That cheer the spirits and serene the soul.

"These terrible floods, and high winds, that usually happen about this time of the year, and have already happened here, I wish you have not felt them too dreadfully; the first produced the inclosed lines; the last are not completed. Mr Rickleton's<sup>2</sup> poem on Winter, which I still have, first put the design into my head."

Thomson's earliest patron in London was Mr Duncan Forbes, afterwards lord-president of the court of session,—a man, in the poet's own

<sup>2</sup> Query, Riccarton?



words, "as truth sincere, as weeping friendship kind." He also made acquaintance with Mallet, then private tutor to the duke of Montrose, who probably introduced him to the leading wits of the day.

In March, 1726, Thomson published his 'Winter,' with a dedication to Sir Spencer Compton, then speaker of the house of commons, afterwards Earl Wilmington. This poem *took* universally, and introduced its author to the leading people about town; and encouraged by his success he next year produced his 'Summer,' his 'Poem on the Death of Sir Isaac Newton,' and his 'Britannia.' 'Spring' appeared in 1728, and the cycle was completed by the publication of 'Autumn' in 1730. In subsequent editions, Thomson introduced many alterations of his poems. Somerville, the author of 'The Chase,' had in an epistle to his brother poet remonstrated with him on the inaccuracy and slovenliness of some of his lines, and asked

"Why should thy Muse, born so divinely fair,  
Want the reforming toilet's daily care?"

And there can be but one opinion as to the improvement which these re-touchings effected upon the poems in general. It will ever be recorded to the immortal honour of the bard of the Seasons that he was the first who broke through those trammels which had been gradually imposed upon English poetry from the period of the Restoration. And perhaps his boldness in this respect was in a great measure owing to what some might have regarded as his misfortune, his birth and education in a remote pastoral district of Britain, into which the artificial tastes and false perceptions current in another sphere of life had not penetrated. As to the intrinsic merits of Thomson's poetry, we cannot better please and instruct the reader than by quoting Campbell's critique on the bard of the Seasons. "Habits of early admiration teach us all to look back upon this poet as the favourite companion of our solitary walks, and as the author who has first or chiefly reflected back to our minds a heightened and refined sensation of the delight which rural scenery affords us. The judgment of cooler years may somewhat abate our estimation of him, though it will still leave us the essential features of his poetical character to abide the test of reflection. The unvaried pomp of his diction suggests a most unfavourable comparison with the manly and idiomatic simplicity of Cowper: at the same time, the pervading spirit and feeling of his poetry is in general more bland and delightful than that of his great rival in rural description. Thomson seems to contemplate the creation with an eye of unqualified pleasure and ecstasy, and to love its inhabitants with a lofty and hallowed feeling of religious happiness; Cowper has also his philanthropy, but it is dashed with religious terrors, and with themes of satire, regret, and reprehension. Cowper's image of nature is more curiously distinct and familiar. Thomson carries our associations through a wider circuit of speculation and sympathy. His touches cannot be more faithful than Cowper's, but they are more soft and select, and less disturbed by the intrusion of homely objects. It is but justice to say, that amidst the feeling and fancy of the Seasons, we meet with interruptions of declamation, heavy narrative, and unhappy digression—with a parhelion eloquence that throws a counterfeit glow of expression on common-place ideas—as when he treats us to the solemnly ridiculous bathing of Musi-

dora; or draws from the classics instead of nature; or, after invoking Inspiration from her hermit seat, makes his dedicatory bow to a patronizing countess, or speaker of the house of commons. As long as he dwells in the pure contemplation of nature, and appeals to the universal poetry of the human breast, his redundant style comes to us as something venial and adventitious—it is the flowing vesture of the druid; and perhaps to the general experience is rather imposing; but when he returns to the familiar narrations or courtesies of life, the same diction ceases to seem the mantle of inspiration, and only strikes us by its unwieldy difference from the common costume of expression.”

In 1729 Thomson appeared as a dramatic writer in the tragedy of ‘Sophonisba,’ which was received with only faint praise. Soon after the publication of ‘The Seasons,’ the solicitor-general, Sir Charles Talbot, selected Thomson to accompany his eldest son on his travels in the continent. With this promising young man Thomson visited most of the capital cities of Europe in the course of the year 1731, and appears to have spent his time very delightfully and profitably to himself. “Travelling,” he says, in a letter to Bubb Dodington, “has long been my fondest wish for the very purpose you recommend. The storing one’s imagination with ideas of all-beautiful, all-great, and all-perfect nature: these are the true *materia poetica*,—the light and colours with which Fancy kindles up her whole creation, paints a sentiment, and even imbodifies an abstracted thought. I long to see the fields where Virgil gathered his immortal honey, and tread the same ground where men have thought and acted so greatly.” In 1732 he returned to England, and commenced writing his poem on ‘Liberty,’ in which he imbodified many of the reflections and observations which he had made during his foreign tour. This was, in its author’s opinion, the best of his productions; but no one probably except himself ever thought so. Aaron Hill indeed was profuse in his praise of this “inimitable masterpiece,” which he declared would stand “like one of those immortal pyramids which carry their magnificence through times that wonder to see nothing round them but uncomfortable desert;” but this, like many other of Aaron’s critical judgments, has been set aside by the unanimous voice of posterity, and the ‘pyramid’ is already buried in the accumulated sand of public neglect and indifference.

Thomson’s generous patron, Lord-chancellor Talbot, died in February, 1737; his accomplished son, with whom the poet had travelled, preceded him to the grave. The loss of these two friends was deeply felt by him, and he has recorded glowing tributes to their memory in his poem on ‘Liberty.’ By the death of the lord-chancellor he lost his situation as secretary of briefs, and became much embarrassed in consequence in his pecuniary affairs. The prince of Wales indeed granted him a pension of £100 per annum; but he lived to be deprived of it. In 1738 he produced another tragedy founded on the story of the death of Agamemnon. It met with only partial success; but he, notwithstanding, continued to write for the stage, and produced his ‘Edward and Eleonora,’ and, in conjunction with Mallet, the masque of ‘Alfred.’ In 1745 his ‘Tancred and Sigismunda’ was acted with considerable applause at Drury-lane. In the meanwhile his friend Mr Lyttleton presented him with the situation of surveyor-general of the Leeward islands, the duties of which were performed by deputy, and the clear emolu-



ments £300 per annum. When Lyttleton fell into disfavour with the prince of Wales, his friends Thomson, West, and Mallet, were all deprived of the pensions which the prince had granted them.

Much of the summer of 1745, and of the autumn of 1746, were spent by Thomson at his friend Shenstone's rural retreat, the Leasowes. A more agreeable situation for the indolent bard could not well have been devised. We can easily imagine him strolling about the shady walks of the Leasowes, with his hands clasped behind his back—as he was once caught eating the sunny side of a peach—or loitering down a summer's afternoon in one of Shenstone's moss houses, and elaborating a stanza per week of his 'Castle of Indolence,' by way of mental exertion. The poem we have just mentioned is said to have been nearly fifteen years in progress. It was published in May, 1748, the year of his death. "There is nothing in the history of verse, from the restoration of Charles II. to the present time,—not even in Collins, we think, and certainly not in Gray,—which can compete with the first part of the 'Castle of Indolence.' His account of the land of 'Drowsy head,' and

'Of dreams that wave before the half-shut eye,'

of the disappearance of the sons of indolence, with the exquisite simile with which it closes,—the huge covered tables all odorous with spice and wine,—the tapestried halls, and other Italian pictures,—the melancholy music,—and altogether the golden magnificence and oriental luxuries of the place, and the ministering spirits who

'Poured all the Arabian heaven upon our nights,'

—an exquisite line—may stand in comparison with almost any thing in the circle of poetry." Such is Mr Babington Macaulay's opinion of the poem; but Mr Hazlitt will not allow that it is Thomson's finest production, or that it contains any passages equal to the best in the 'Seasons.'

## Ambrose Philips.

BORN A. D. 1671.—DIED A. D. 1749.

AMBROSE PHILIPS was descended from an old Leicestershire family. He was educated at St John's college, Cambridge, and obtained a fellowship in 1700.

While at college, he is supposed to have written his celebrated 'Pastorals.' In No. 40 of the *Guardian*, is a paper by Pope on these performances of Philips. "A plan," says Drake, "had been formed, most probably by Addison, Tickell, and Philips, to introduce into the *Guardian* a set of papers on pastoral poetry, which, after discussing the merits of the ancients, should criticise those among the moderns who had attempted this department, and decidedly give the palm to Philips, who was described as the only legitimate disciple of Theocritus, Virgil, and Spenser. Pope, who had written his pastorals not long after those of his rival, could not patiently endure this decision, and therefore sent this paper for insertion in the *Guardian*; of which the irony is so

delicate and well-contrived, that, although in the parallelism which he institutes he is always superior, he gives the verdict in favour of Philips, with so much plausibility and art, and with such apparent seriousness and sincerity, that Steele, and the wits at Button's, were, with the exception of Addison, completely deceived; and Sir Richard, though partial to Philips, even hesitated about its publication, lest the severity of the criticism should offend Pope. The result of its insertion was, as might have been expected, an irreconcilable quarrel between the two Arcadians. Philips suspended a rod at Button's for the chastisement, as he affirmed, of his opponent; and Pope, in the first edition of his 'Letters,' complimented his irritated rival with the appellation of 'rascal.' Death only terminated their mutual malevolence."<sup>1</sup> Pope, however, in one instance at least, allowed his rival to be a man "who could write very nobly." The poem which drew forth this acknowledgment was the 'Winter Piece,' which first appeared in No. 12 of the Tatler.

Philips, like most of his literary associates, took a decided part in the politics of the day. His 'Life of Archbishop Williams,' was a kind of manifesto of his adherence to the whig party. Swift in his journal to Stella, under date the 30th of June, 1711, writes:—"I have had a letter from Mr Philips, the pastoral poet, to get him a certain employment from lord-treasurer. I have now had almost all the whig poets my solicitors; and I have been useful to Congreve, Steele, and Harrison, but I will do nothing for Philips: I find he is more a puppy than ever—so do not so solicit for him." Swift in fact joined with his friend Pope in holding up the author of the 'Pastorals' to derision, and nick-named him 'Namby-Pamby' in some lines, which have, however, been attributed to Henry Carey.

The best poetical production of our author is his tragedy of 'The Distressed Mother,' altered from Racine's 'Andromaque.' Budgell wrote an admirable epilogue for this piece, which still retains a place among our acting plays. The reader will find some remarks by Steele upon it, in No. 290 of the Spectator, and by Addison, in No. 335. Yet, notwithstanding the success of this his first essay as a dramatist, nine years elapsed before Philips again ventured on the boards. In 1721, two tragedies from his pen, entitled 'The Briton,' and 'Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester,' were brought forward; but they were barely endured at the time, and are now forgotten.

In 1718 he commenced the publication of a periodical paper, entitled the 'Freethinker.' One of his coadjutors in this work was Dr Boulter, then the humble minister of a parish in Southwark, but afterwards archbishop of Armagh. On Boulter's elevation and departure for Ireland, he took Philips with him in the quality of secretary, and afterwards procured for him several honourable and lucrative situations in that country. In 1748 he returned to England, with the intention of spending the remainder of his days, now lengthening out into old age, in his native country, and amongst the literary society of the metropolis. But he had scarcely been twelve months in England, when he was seized with palsy, and expired in the 78th year of his age. A short time before his decease a complete collection of his poems was published under his own superintendence.

<sup>1</sup> Biographical Sketches.



Among the poems of Philips, the 'Letter from Denmark,' (the 'Winter Piece' before referred to,) may be justly praised, says Dr Johnson. "'The Pastorals,'" continues the same authority, "which by the writer of the 'Guardian' were ranked as one of the four genuine productions of the rustic Muse, cannot surely be despicable. That they exhibit a mode of life which does not exist, nor ever existed, is not to be objected: the supposition of such a state is allowed to Pastoral. In his other poems he cannot be denied the praise of lines sometimes elegant; but he has seldom much force, or much comprehension. The pieces that please best are those which, from Pope and Pope's adherents, procured him the name of 'Namby Pamby,' the poems of short lines, by which he paid his court to all ages and characters, from Walpole, 'the steerer of the realm,' to Miss Pulteney in the nursery. The numbers are smooth and sprightly, and the diction is seldom faulty. They are not loaded with much thought; yet, if they had been written by Addison, they would have had admirers: little things are not valued but when they are done by those who can do greater.

"In his translations from Pindar he found the art of reaching all the obscurity of the Theban bard, however he may fall below his sublimity; he will be allowed, if he has less fire, to have more smoke.

"He has added nothing to English poetry, yet at least half his book deserves to be read: perhaps he valued most himself that part which the critic would reject."

## Aaron Hill.

BORN A. D. 1685.—DIED A. D. 1750.

THE reader has already met with the name of Aaron Hill more than once in some of the preceding sketches. The truth is, the individual now before us occupies a larger space in the literary history of his times, than seems due to his intrinsic merits as a poet and critic. This is to be accounted for, partly by the enthusiasm with which he cultivated literature and the society of literary men, and partly by the fact that his suavity of manners, and gentle disposition, secured him many friends in an age by no means remarkable for brotherly feeling among its literary men. He was the eldest son of George Hill, Esq. of Malmsbury-abbey, Wiltshire; and was born in London, in the month of February, 1685. When nine years old he was sent to Westminster school, then taught by Dr Knipe. Here he remained five years, at the end of which period he conceived and executed a singular project.

Lord Paget, an ambassador at Constantinople, was related to the Hills of Malmsbury; and young Hill, having a strong desire to see the world, boldly placed himself on board a vessel sailing for Constantinople, and set out to visit his noble relative at the juvenile age of fourteen. His lordship received his young visitor with great cordiality, and furnished him with the means of extending his travels to Egypt and Palestine. He returned to England in 1703, in the train of his noble relative, and had an opportunity of further extending his knowledge of the world, by visiting most of the courts of Europe, during the journey homewards. Lord Paget's death, however, soon after his arrival in

England, deprived our young traveller of a kind friend and valuable patron.

In 1709 Mr Hill commenced author by the publication of a 'History of the Ottoman empire.' This work was upon the whole well-received, although the author himself never liked to hear its name mentioned in after years. In this same year, Hill published some laudatory verses on the earl of Peterborough's exploits in Spain. They are entitled 'Camillus,' and possess little merit, although they found high favour with their hero himself, who immediately appointed Hill his secretary. Soon after the publication of these two pieces, Hill, at the instigation of Barton Booth, wrote a tragedy entitled 'Elfrid, or the Fair Inconstant.' It is said he produced this piece in the course of a single week, so that it is no wonder it should be, as he himself describes it, "an unpruned wilderness of fancy, with here and there a flower among the leaves, but without any fruit of judgment." He afterwards altered it considerably, and brought it out again under the title of 'Athelwold.' In 1710 he produced the opera of 'Rinaldo,' for which Handel composed music. Hill had now become director of the king's theatre in the Haymarket,—an office, the duties of which he appears to have discharged to the satisfaction of the public, although he was soon driven from it by one of those private cabals, of which the green room appears the fated region.

Hill was a great projector. In 1715 he issued prospectuses for the formation of a joint-stock company for making oil from beech-nuts! The projector appeared quite sanguine of success, and ventured to predict that he would soon annihilate the importation of olive-oil into this country, by the produce of his beech presses; the subscription list too was soon filled up, but the directors quarrelled amongst themselves, and the beech-oil scheme was finally abandoned. He was next engaged with Sir Robert Montgomery, in planning an extensive colonial settlement in that portion of North America, now called Georgia. His limited funds, however, imposed such a restraint upon his colonization schemes that they were ultimately abandoned. Some years afterwards, he directed his attention to the timber-forests in the north of Scotland, and the practicability of turning them to account for naval purposes. In this enterprise he engaged for a time with great vigour and resolution, and exhibited no small command over the resources of engineering science; but the scheme failed for want of due support from the proprietors of the timber, and the unconquerable indolence of the native peasantry. His last project was that of making pot-ash.

Mr Hill retired from London into the country about the year 1738, in the possession of a moderate competence, chiefly arising from his wife's handsome fortune. In his retirement he addicted himself chiefly to poetry, and produced several pieces which appear in the edition of his collected works in four volumes 8vo. His adaptation of Voltaire's tragedy of 'Merope,' was the last work he lived to complete. He died in 1750.

Pope has introduced Hill into his 'Dunciad,' as one of the competitors for the prize offered by the goddess of Dulness. He has done so, however, in a manner bordering more on compliment than satire surely.

"Then Hill essayed: scarce vanished out of sight,  
He buoys up instant, and returns to light,



He bears no token of the sabler streams,  
And mounts far off among the swans of Thames."

Yet Hill felt somewhat aggrieved by his being introduced at all among the votaries of the Dull goddess, and retaliated in a poem entitled 'The Progress of Wit, a Caveat for the use of an eminent writer,' which begins thus:—

"Tuneful Alexis, on the Thames' fair side,  
The ladies' play-thing, and the muses' pride,—  
With merit popular, with wit polite,  
Easy though vain, and elegant though light,—  
Desiring and deserving others' praise,—  
Poorly accepts a fame he ne'er repays:  
Unborn to cherish, sneakingly approves,  
And wants the soul to spread the worth he loves."

## William Cheselden.

BORN A. D. 1688.—DIED A. D. 1751.

THIS eminent surgeon and anatomist was a native of Leicestershire, and a pupil of the celebrated anatomists Cowper and Ferne. He began to read lectures himself at the early age of twenty-two, and was chosen a member of the Royal society when little more than twenty-three. In 1713 he published his 'Anatomy of the Human Body,' which immediately became the most popular text book in the English theatre of anatomy.

Cheselden's fame as an anatomical lecturer drew many students to the metropolis. He was elected head-surgeon of St Thomas's hospital on the retirement of Mr Ferne, and was also appointed consulting surgeon to St George's hospital, and the Westminster infirmary. He was particularly distinguished as a lithotomist; but his publication on the 'High operation for the stone,' involved him in much dispute with several of his professional brethren. In 1728 he performed a successful couching operation on a boy of fourteen, who is supposed to have been born blind. This celebrated case has been frequently referred to by writers on the theory and phenomena of vision. In 1729, Cheselden was elected a corresponding member of the Royal academy of sciences at Paris. In 1733 he published his 'Osteography, or Anatomy of the Bones.' This splendid publication was attended with a great pecuniary loss on the part of its author, besides being attacked in a very virulent manner by some of the profession. The encomiums of the foreign anatomists Haller and Heister, must however have amply consoled the author for any petulant criticisms from other quarters. He died in 1752.

Cheselden's great merit was the simplicity and accuracy of his surgical practice. He laid aside the operose and unwieldy instruments which had been introduced from the French practice; and employed the simplest and most direct operations, to which his consummate anatomical skill rendered him in all cases perfectly competent. He was the friend and associate of Pope, who valued him highly for his literary as well as professional accomplishments.

## Sir Hans Sloane.

BORN A. D. 1660.—DIED A. D. 1753.

THIS eminent physician, the founder of the British museum, was a native of Ireland, and was born on the 16th of April, 1660. From his early youth he evinced a strong inclination to the study of the works of nature. Having embraced the medical profession, he came to England to prosecute his favourite science of botany, in the Apothecaries' garden at Chelsea; and here he became acquainted with the celebrated John Ray and the Hon. Mr Boyle. Having availed himself of all the advantages which London afforded, he thought fit to travel into foreign countries, and, upon his return, resolved to fix himself in London for the exercise of his profession. He soon became acquainted with the principal members of the Royal society, and was elected fellow in 1685. He sailed with the duke of Albemarle, for the island of Jamaica, in 1687, and returned to England in July, 1689. He was subsequently appointed physician to Christ's hospital, and though he constantly received the salary, he immediately returned it for the use of the hospital.

He married, in 1695, Elizabeth, one of the daughters of John Langley, Esq., citizen and alderman of London. The year following he published his first work,—‘A Catalogue of the native Plants of Jamaica.’

A museum, which he had for several years been forming, was, in the year 1701, greatly enlarged by the accession of that of his friend, William Courteen, Esq., who had spent the greatest part of his time and fortune in forming his collections, and which, at his death, he left to Dr Sloane. Having discharged the office of secretary of the Royal society for twenty years without any salary, he resigned it in 1713; and, on the death of Sir Isaac Newton in 1727, the high and honourable office of president of the society was conferred on him. In the last illness of Queen Anne, he was called in to her assistance, and after the accession of King George the First to the throne, he was created a baronet, being, it is said, the first physician upon whom that rank was bestowed.

Upon purchasing the manor of Chelsea, he gave the ground of the garden to the Apothecaries' company, appointing an annual rent of fifty plants from it to be presented to the Royal society. The establishment of this garden was, indeed, as it well deserved to be, a peculiar object of his care and attention, having been of great advantage to the public, by assisting and encouraging the study of botany in this country. In order to perpetuate these benefits, he stipulated that it should for ever remain a botanic garden.

The severe winter of 1739 had nearly proved fatal to Sir Hans Sloane: he recovered, but determined to retire from his profession, and to spend the remainder of his life upon his estate at Chelsea. He began in February, of the year 1742, to remove his library and museum from his house at Bloomsbury to that at Chelsea; but his retirement from London did not prevent him from being constantly visited by all persons of distinction, and sometimes by the royal family. At upwards



of ninety years of age, though feeble, he was perfectly free from any distemper, enjoying his rational faculties and all his senses, except that of hearing, which had been impaired for several years. His decay was very gradual, indicating that he would one day drop like a fruit fully ripe; and he would often say that he "wondered he was so long alive; that for many years he had been prepared for death, and was entirely resigned to the will of God, either to take him from this world, or continue him longer in it, as should seem best to him." He would sometimes say, "I shall leave you one day or other when you do not expect it;" and indeed the illness which carried him off was but of two or three days' continuance, and seemed rather the natural decay of a strong constitution than any real distemper. There appeared nothing in him to which old age is usually subject; for, as he was free from bodily pain, his mind seemed always composed, calm, and serene. He would sometimes reflect on his past life with satisfaction, whilst he declared that, during his whole practice, he had never denied his advice to the poor, or had, on any occasion, neglected his patient. He was governor of almost every hospital in London, to each of which, besides a donation of £100 during his lifetime, he left a legacy at his death. He was a benefactor to the poor, and formed the plan for bringing up the children in the Foundling hospital.

He died January 11th, 1753, and was interred on the 18th of that month, in the church-yard of Chelsea, in the same vault with his lady, his funeral being attended by many persons of distinction, and several fellows of the Royal society. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr Zachary Pearce, lord-bishop of Bangor, according to the appointment of the deceased. A handsome monument was erected to his memory in Chelsea church-yard.

The person of Sir Hans Sloane was tall and graceful; his behaviour free, open, and engaging; and his conversation cheerful, obliging, and communicative. He was easy of access to strangers, and always ready to admit the curious to a sight of his museum. His table was hospitable; and he appropriated one day in the week to persons distinguished by their learning, and particularly those of the Royal society. He was extremely temperate both in eating and drinking. His custom was to rise very early in the morning; and, from his first getting up, he was constantly fit to have gone abroad, though for some of his last years he stirred not out of his own house. The study of nature and the improvement of knowledge were the employment and pleasure of his life, and to the exercise of his high intellectual qualities are we indebted for the first establishment of the British museum. Having, with great labour and expense, during the course of his long life, collected a rich cabinet of medals, objects of natural history, productions of art, antiquities, and an extensive library of manuscripts and printed books, he bequeathed the whole to the public, on condition that £20,000 should be paid to his executors. Included in this collection were gold and silver coins, which, considered only as bullion, were worth upwards of £7000. The gems and precious stones of every kind, both in their natural state, and as the jeweller has manufactured them; the numerous vessels of jasper, agate, onyx, cornelian, sardonyx, &c.; the curious cameos; the vast stores of the various productions of nature, and the most extensive library extant of physic and natural history, consisting of

50,000 volumes, of which 347 are drawings, or books illuminated, 3,516 manuscripts, he declares solemnly in his will, he believes to be worth more than four times what he expected to be paid to his family for them. Government fulfilled the terms of his legacy; and, in 1753, an act of parliament was passed for the purchase of Sir Hans Sloane's museum, together with the Harleian collection of manuscripts, and for procuring one general repository, for the better reception and more convenient use of the collections, and of the Cottonian library, and additions thereto. The museum of Sir Hans Sloane was accordingly removed from Chelsea to Bloomsbury, and thus commenced the formation of the British museum, to which national collection the most valuable additions have, from time to time, up to the present period, constantly been making.

## Thomas Carte.

BORN A. D. 1686.—DIED A. D. 1754.

THOMAS CARTE, the son of a nonjuring clergyman of some anti-quarian fame, was born at Clifton in Warwickshire, of which place his father was then vicar. He was admitted of University college, Oxford, in 1698; but appears to have afterwards transferred himself to Cambridge, where he took the degree of M. A. in 1706. Having been appointed reader in the Abbey church at Bath, he preached a sermon on the 30th January, 1714, which drew him into a controversy with Dr Chandler, and led to his first publication, entitled 'The Irish massacre set in a true light,' which is inserted in Lord Somers's tracts.

Upon the accession of George I. Carte declined taking the necessary oaths to the government, and was suspended in consequence from clerical functions; he now assumed a lay habit, but used to perform divine service in his own family every Sunday, duly arrayed in gown and cassock. On the breaking out of the rebellion in 1715, Carte appears to have incurred the suspicions of government, as warrants were issued for his apprehension. He had the good fortune, however, to escape the vigilance of his pursuers. He had been for some time secretary to Bishop Atterbury, and was involved in the charge of high treason brought against that prelate; but he had again the good fortune to escape pursuit, and get himself conveyed to France, where he remained several years.

He returned to England about the year 1729, Queen Caroline having interceded for him, on learning that his habits were strictly those of a student. He had employed his exile in France in preparing an edition of Thuanus, which he proposed to publish in English. His diligence and erudition had enabled him to collect some very valuable materials for such an undertaking; but Dr Mead prevailed on him to part with them for a valuable consideration, and having placed them in Mr Buckley's hands, they were employed in the splendid edition of Thuanus completed in 1733, in seven volumes folio. A few years after his return to England, Carte published 'The history of the life of James, Duke of Ormonde,' in three volumes folio. Of this work Lord Orrery, in a letter to Carte from Dublin, writes in the following terms: "Your



history is in great esteem here. All sides seem to like it. The dean of St Patrick's, (Swift) honours you with his approbation."

Carte long contemplated writing a history of England. Rapin's work was already before the public, but its principles were not such as Carte and others of his way of thinking on certain points could approve of. It appeared to him that the cause of truth required that another historian should narrate the progress of public events in England, and he undertook the task himself. He received considerable encouragement from the public generally, and from several of the public companies in the metropolis, and also from the universities. Under such auspices he set to work, and in 1747 the first volume of the projected history appeared. A note in this volume nearly proved fatal to the undertaking. Speaking of the popular superstition of the royal touch as a cure for scrofula, the historian had the imprudence to relate that one Christopher Lovel had been cured at Avignon by the touch of the exiled king. This indiscretion lost him many patrons, but he proceeded with the work, and in 1750 brought out a second volume. The third was published in 1752; the fourth, which Carte did not live to complete, in 1755. It was his design to have brought down the work to the Restoration, but it only reaches to 1654. Carte died in 1754. His papers were purchased by the university of Oxford; Macpherson appears to have had the use of them in his history. Carte was the author of several pieces besides his great historical work. His two brothers, Samuel and John, were also men of considerable erudition and parts.

## Richard Mead, M.D.

BORN A. D. 1673.—DIED A. D. 1754.

RICHARD MEAD, M.D., a celebrated physician, born 11th August, 1673, at Stepney near London, was the son of Mr Matthew Mead, an eminent presbyterian divine, afterwards ejected for nonconformity. His early education was conducted at home, and at the college of Eton. His father having fled to Holland to avoid the persecutions of 1683, he soon followed, and in 1689 he entered the university of Utrecht, where he studied under the celebrated Grævius. Having fixed upon the profession of medicine he went to Leyden, at that time one of the most flourishing of the continental universities. He attended there the lectures of Herman on botany, and those of Dr Pitcairne on the practice of medicine. After travelling in Italy he graduated in medicine at the university of Padua, and returning home in 1696, commenced the practice of his profession in Stepney. In 1703 he went to London, having been appointed physician to St Thomas's hospital, and being chosen by the college of surgeons as their lecturer on anatomy. His Paduan degree not being a qualification for admission into the college of physicians, he received in 1707 a diploma from the university of Oxford, and by the interest of Dr Radcliffe was admitted a fellow of the London college in 1716. Along with the court physicians, he was called in consultation during the last illness of Queen Anne, and, more decided in his views than the rest, declared that her life was in the utmost danger. Among the honours he had hitherto received may be

mentioned that of being admitted a fellow of the Royal society, on account of his essay on Poisons, and an analysis of the researches of Bononio 'On the Cutaneous Worms which generate the Itch.' In 1721 he was employed by the prince of Wales to make experiments on the inoculation of the small-pox. This he had long before been a supporter of, and the success of the plan was proved at this time by his experiments upon some condemned criminals who submitted to them as a ransom for their lives. He was also consulted respecting the contagious nature of the plague, at that time a subject of more than usual interest, which he discussed in his work on 'Pestilential Contagion, and the Means to be used to prevent it.' In 1727 he was appointed physician to the king. His reputation and practice now increased rapidly, and was in no degree inferior to that of Dr Radcliffe whom he succeeded. In 1744 the college of physicians offered him the highest honour in their power to bestow, the office of president, which his desire of retirement, arising from the infirmities of age, obliged him to decline. Next year he was appointed an honorary fellow of the Edinburgh college of physicians. He died on the 16th of February, 1754, in the 81st year of his age. A monument to his memory stands in the north aisle of Westminster abbey, executed in marble by Roubilliac.

In the elevated situation to which Dr Mead rose, few medical men have appeared who claim so large a portion of our respect. Nothing is known of his character which would not have adorned any station; and it is fortunate that such individuals are sometimes found to occupy the station to which they are so justly entitled. He was a patron of the arts and of learning. His library, containing 10,000 volumes, with many valuable MSS., his paintings, and other works of art of high value, were not selfishly appropriated to his sole use, but were open to all. Among his friends were Pope, Halley, and Newton; and the most learned of the continental physicians were proud to be reckoned among his correspondents. He was honoured by the notice of the kings of Naples and France, the former of whom sent him the great work on the antiquities of Herculaneum, and requested in return a copy of his treatises, inviting him also to his palace. The author of the 'Biographia Medica' says of him,—“He was a very generous patron of learning, and learned men in all sciences and in every country; by the peculiar magnificence of his disposition, making the private gains of his profession answer the end of a princely fortune, and valuing them only as they enabled him to become more extensively useful, and thereby to satisfy that greatness of mind, which will transmit his name to posterity with a lustre not inferior to that which attends the most distinguished characters of antiquity.” He was equally remarkable for liberality of sentiment, and when a kindness was to be done, a difference in political opinions had not the slightest influence upon his exertions. His friendship for Garth, Arbuthnot, and Freind, was a remarkable instance of this. To the latter, when in difficulties, he was unbounded in his attentions. He visited him when imprisoned in the Tower, used every exertion to obtain his liberation, and having attended his patients, presented him with the sum of money thus acquired. Except on one occasion he never took a fee from a clergyman, and in that instance the reason assigned was, “you have been pleased, contrary to what I have met with in any other gentleman of your profession, to prescribe to me,



rather than to follow my prescription, when you committed the care of your recovery to my skill and trust." The works of Dr Mead have been several times published. The last edition appeared in London, 1772, with a mezzotinto engraving of the author. They consist of an 'Essay on Poisons,'—'Of the Influence of the Sun and Moon upon Human Bodies,'—'A Discourse on the Plague,'—'Treatises on the Measles and Small-pox,'—'On a Method of extracting the Foul Air out of Ships,'—'A series of Medical Precepts and Cautions,'—An attempt to show of what nature those diseases are which are mentioned in scripture, entitled, 'Medica Sacra,'—An elegant 'Harveian Oration,'—and a few other smaller pieces. In these there is much learning, and much useful information, especially in the 'Medical Precepts.' Of course they exhibit many of the erroneous notions which prevailed in his day, but in many cases we see his powerful mind rising superior to the prejudices of his education.

### Edward Cave.

BORN A. D. 1691.—DIED A. D. 1754.

EDWARD CAVE, the enterprising printer, to whom we owe the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' with its varied fund of information and talent, was born at Newton in Warwickshire, on the 29th of February, 1691. His father, the youngest son of Mr Edward Cave of 'Cave's in the Hole,' was a poor descendant of a respectable family, and compelled to earn his livelihood as a shoemaker in Rugby. Under the Rev. Mr Holyock, the school of Rugby, to which young Cave was entitled to admission on the foundation, had acquired some celebrity, and he found himself gratuitously educated among the sons of gentlemen of considerable rank, while his good qualities gained the esteem of his preceptor. The former of these advantages, however, was probably the means of destroying the other. His literary powers are said to have attracted the envy of his more illustrious companions, and by one means or other he became the marked individual, on whom the burden of every piece of devilry committed in the neighbourhood of the school could be conveniently thrown. His faults were brought to a climax by the loss of a favourite cock belonging to the schoolmaster's wife, the crime of stealing or murdering which was naturally fixed on him, until it could be proved against some other,—a circumstance which never happened. From that period, his days at school became unhappy, and relinquishing the idea of a literary education, he accepted a situation as assistant to a collector of excise. Here again he was subject to female annoyance, and was obliged to relinquish his situation, disgusted by the drudgery imposed on him by the collector's wife. His next attempt to acquire a livelihood was in the employment of a timber merchant; but this situation he left before he had commenced a permanent engagement, and he afterwards entered a profession more suitable to his taste and abilities, by binding himself to a printer of the name of Collins, who had acquired some reputation in his profession, and was a deputy-alderman. Here he was, for a third time, subjected to annoyance from the more unamiable part of the feminine disposition which seemed to

have been doomed to embitter his life; the printer and his wife enjoyed a state of eternal discord, of the effects of which Cave could not avoid partaking; but after two years' study, he had so far mastered his art, that he was relieved from his troubles by being appointed to conduct a printing establishment at Norwich, and a weekly paper. Some opposition to this establishment engaged him in controversy, and first called forth his literary abilities. His master dying before the apprenticeship was terminated, Cave felt unwilling to subjugate himself to the termagant wife, and having obtained a stipulated allowance, married a young widow, with whom he lived at Bow. When his apprenticeship had expired, he was employed as a journeyman by Mr Barber, a printer connected with the tories. This circumstance appears to have wrought on Cave a political bias so far in favour of that party, that he occasionally contributed to *Mist's Journal*; but circumstances or conviction made him gradually turn towards the opposite party, although he never exceeded the extent of political partizanship which a man of calm feelings, whose mind was completely absorbed in his own projects, would naturally adopt. He exchanged the printing-house for a subordinate situation in the post-office, during which he found leisure sufficient to correct the '*Gradus ad Parnassum*,'—a labour which certainly required no mean classical knowledge, and to write what Johnson briefly terms, '*An account of the Criminals*,' which had for some time a considerable sale. From the period of his connection with the printing-office at Norwich, he had formed an idea of the practicability and utility of publishing the parliamentary debates,—a scheme which he afterwards accomplished with some difficulty and risk. "He had an opportunity," says Nichols, "whilst engaged in a situation at the post-office, not only, as stated by Dr Johnson, of supplying his London friends with the provincial papers, but he also contrived to furnish the country printers with those written minutes of the proceedings in the two houses of parliament, which, within my own remembrance, were regularly circulated in the coffee-houses before the daily papers were tacitly permitted to report the debates."<sup>1</sup> Cave was afterwards advanced to be clerk of the franks, and with a laudable wish to restrict the privilege, of which he superintended the exercise, to its proper public purposes, he took the rather unauthorized plan of stopping franks given by members of parliament to their friends. Such a proceeding was naturally called in question, and he was cited before the house to answer for a breach of privilege, in having stopped a frank given by Mr Plummer to the old duchess of Marlborough. Under the sanction of his oath of secrecy, he refused to answer questions, and was dismissed from his employment. It was remarked that he would never make use of the opportunity thus afforded him, of explaining to any one the private affairs of the office from which he had been so dismissed.

The sum which his economy and prudence had enabled him to collect in his varied employments, now enabled him to purchase a small printing-office, and to establish the famous '*Gentleman's Magazine*.' The new literary system he had thus framed, embracing within the compass of one pamphlet, political news and discussion, criticism, original literature, anecdotes, and general information, did not first meet

<sup>1</sup> *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v. p. 9.



with much encouragement from the patrons of literature; but the public readily purchased the work, and the proprietor found himself increasing in fortune, and able to add such attractions as might still farther increase the circulation. He was soon enabled to dispose of 10,000 copies. It outlived many rivals, and, after a century of existence, still continues in being, now holding a secondary place in literature, and stalking unnoticed about the world, unchanged in form or substance, except by decay, like those old gentlemen who still wear the fashionable wigs and waistcoats of the last century, unmindful of the changes that surround them, the persons who have seen some of the better days of the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' and by whom it is probably still esteemed. In 1734 Cave became acquainted and formed a connection with Dr Johnson, which tended to enlighten the darker days of that remarkable man, whose eminent genius was then struggling to provide his body with food and clothing. He became an extensive contributor to the magazine, while some of his earlier works were published by Cave, of whose liberality he frequently speaks with praise. Cave bestowed on his magazine scrupulous personal care and attention. At its most prosperous period, if he heard any one talk of discontinuing it, he would say, "Let us have something good next month;" and Johnson remarked, that "he scarcely ever looked out at the window, but with a view to its improvement." The firmness and patience with which Cave gradually vindicated the privilege of publishing the parliamentary debates in the magazine, form an important feature of his life, and must not be forgotten by a posterity to whom he at least smoothened the task of watching the proceedings of their representatives. He commenced operations in July, 1736, of procuring access to the house along with one or two friends; and the few notes they were enabled to collect, were adjusted, with the assistance of memory, to something like a summary of the proceedings, at a neighbouring tavern.<sup>2</sup> These afterwards passed through the amplifying and improving hand of William Guthrie, the author of the well-known 'Geographical Grammar,' and a person better known for the number and variety, than for the excellence of his works. He proceeded without molestation until April, 1738, when the numerous reports, published in various directions, attracted the notice of the house, and a resolution was passed to the effect of punishing future offenders. Cave then adopted the well-known device of prefacing his reports, with 'an Appendix to Captain Lemuel Gulliver's account of the famous Empire of Lilliput,' and terming them 'Debates in the Senate of Great Lilliput,' at the same time publishing his magazine in the name of his nephew, Edward Cave, junior. From 1740, when the dying efforts of Sir Robert Walpole's administration formed a subject of peculiar interest, Johnson superseded Guthrie as ornament of the reports, and the speeches of British senators became, from that period, renowned for redolent majesty of expression, a strong tinge of moral reflection, and a peculiar sameness. In April, 1747, he was cited before the house of lords for publishing a report of the trial of Lord Lovat; and, after an examination before a committee, in which was elicited his method of procuring reports, he was finally discharged with a reprimand, on paying his fees. After the year 1745, the debates

<sup>2</sup> Hawkins' Life of Johnson.

were discontinued, until they appeared in 1749, in the form of a letter from a member of parliament, to his country friend; and, after 1752, they were plainly printed with the initials of the speakers.

Besides maintaining a magazine, Cave had other means of patronizing literature, among which was the disposal of one or two prizes, of from £40 to £50 each, for the best poems on given subjects. The death of his wife in 1751 appears to have preyed upon his spirits; he lost his sleep and his appetite, "and lingering," says Johnson, "two years, fell, by drinking acid liquors, into a diarrhœa, and afterwards into a kind of lethargic insensibility, in which one of the last acts of reason he exerted was fondly to press the hand that is now writing this little narrative." He died on the 10th of January, 1754, in the 63d year of his age.

## Henry Fielding.

BORN A. D. 1707.—DIED A. D. 1754.

HENRY FIELDING was born at Sharpham, near Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, on the 22d of April, 1707. He was connected with families of considerable hereditary rank. His father, lieutenant-general Fielding, who died in 1740, was grandson to George Fielding, earl of Desmond, brother to William, third earl of Denbigh, and his mother, Sarah Gould, the first of General Fielding's four wives, was daughter to Sir Henry Gould, knight, one of the judges of the court of king's bench. Henry received the earlier part of his education from the private tuition of the Rev. Mr Oliver, an individual, of whose character he is said to have branded his opinion in the scene with Parson Trulliber in Joseph Andrews, one of the most unredeeming pictures of a harsh, barbarous, and sordid mind, which his luxuriant pen ever drew. His education was afterwards continued at Eton-school, where chance threw him among such schoolfellows as Lyttleton, Fox, Pitt, and Winnington. At this period of comparatively extreme youth, he is said to have shown a greedy desire for the acquisition of classical literature; and it is probably more to this period of his life than to the after years which he spent in alternate dissipation and labour for subsistence, that we owe that minute critical knowledge of Greek and Roman writers, so frequently displayed in his novels. On leaving Eton, he went to the university of Leyden, where, for two years, he studied civil law, whether as an accomplishment, or for professional purposes, we are not told. Vehement animal passions distinguished him during his whole life, and the license of a university town, where he had no one particularly to superintend his actions, permitted him to commence a course of deep dissipation. Meanwhile, General Fielding's increasing family and moderate fortune prevented him from being regular in his remittances to his son. Henry's allowance was nominally £200 a year; but, as he used to remark, "any body might pay it that would." Unwilling, therefore, to harass his father, or to run deeply in debt, he found it expedient to return to London before the termination of his twenty-first year. To Fielding, dissipation seems never to have brought its companion, idleness. At the early age at which he returned to Bri-



tain, he had found the necessity of meeting his extravagance by the fruits of his pen. ‘Don Quixote in England,’ which was not published or acted until 1733, is said to have been part of the fruit of his leisure hours at Leyden;<sup>1</sup> it is perhaps the best paraphrase of Cervantes which the English language has produced. The comedy of ‘Love in several Masks,’ which appeared in the year 1727—that in which he returned to Britain—was probably written under the same circumstances. This youthful production, although it immediately succeeded the very popular course of ‘The Provoked Husband,’ commanded some respect,—a circumstance perhaps partly owing to the very respectable actors who joined in the performance. From circumstances which would require a tedious, and might perhaps get but an unsatisfactory critical explanation, Fielding’s plays neither attracted much popular notice at their appearance, nor supported an equality of fame with the celebrated theatrical productions of the period, yet few of them are so full of well-kept character. The chattering, bragging, conceited Rattle, and the stupidly solemn, and precise Lord Formal, are persons we meet with every day, while Sir Positive Trap, with his baronetcy more ancient and grand than an earldom, and his motives for all his actions in the previous habits of “the family of the Traps,” if he does not now exist in all his freshness within the British empire, has left many diminished *fac similes* behind him. For ten years from the period of this first attempt, Fielding’s pen was prolific in plays; but, although the British drama of later days affords us nowhere more amusing reading, some practical cause, the same which affected the first, prevented them all from existing for any considerable period as popular acting plays. A list of these performances, with their dates as they appeared, may here be given. ‘The Temple Beau’ was acted at Goodman’s Fields in 1729; during the same year ‘The Author’s Farce’ at the Haymarket. In 1731, ‘the Lottery’ appeared at Drury-lane, while, within the same year, he produced five other plays:—‘The Coffee-house Politician;’—‘The Tragedy of Tragedies, or the Life and Death of Tom Thumb the Great;’—‘The Letter-Writers;’—‘The Grub-street Opera,’—and ‘The Modern Husband.’ In 1732 he produced four dramatic pieces at Drury-lane: ‘The Mock-Doctor;’—‘The Covent Garden Tragedy;’—‘The Debauchees,’—and ‘The Miser.’ In 1734 he produced a farce called ‘An Old Man taught Wisdom,’ and ‘The Universal Gallant.’ In 1736, ‘Pasquin,’ a production somewhat in the style of ‘The Rehearsal,’ was acted at the Haymarket. This production—which was supposed to be a dangerous satire on the three learned professions, but which might have more justly been termed an exposure of the political corruptness of the parties of the period, and a satire on the fashionable theatrical exhibitions—was made use of as a powerful argument in favour of Sir John Barnard’s bill for limiting the number of theatres, and the proposal for subjecting all stage performances to the scrutiny of the lord-chamberlain. “Religion, laws, government, priests, judges, and ministers,” says Colley Cibber, with more vivacity than truth, “were laid flat at the feet of the Herculean satirist, this Drawcansir in wit, who spared neither friend nor foe, who, to make his poetical fame immortal, like another Erostrates, set fire to his stage by writing up to

<sup>1</sup> Ireland’s Hogarth illustrated, vol. iii. p. 281.

an act of parliament to demolish it." The measures proposed were hastened by a similar production by Fielding in 1737, termed 'The Historical Register;' within the same year he produced three farces,—'Eurydice,'—'Eurydice Hissed,'—and 'Tumble Down Dick.' In 1742 he resumed for a period his writings for the stage, producing 'Miss Lucy in Town,' and 'Plutus, the God of Riches,'—a translation from Aristophanes. In 1743 he produced 'The Wedding Day' at Drury-lane. The manuscript of his one remaining theatrical work, 'The Fathers, or the Good-natured Man,' had been lost during his life-time, and was accidentally discovered and acted in 1778. The author of so many plays never received fame or remuneration adequate to the genius and labour expended on them. Practical stage effect appears not to have been his study, and his mind was too luxuriant to be trammelled by the degenerate drama of his day; it is impossible to avoid admiration of the satirical knowledge of human nature frequently displayed; but the reader feels that the remarks might have come more appropriately from the pen of the author of 'Tom Jones' than from the lips of the individuals who are taught to utter them. The few which maintained a respectable footing on the stage were meritorious only as spirited translations from the French. Murphy, his commentator, would appear to have considered that these plays were defrauded of much of their due fame by the obstinacy of the author, who showed an undue self-reliance and contempt of public opinion in a branch of literature which, beyond all others, must be swayed by the temper of the multitude. He tells us that Garrick had once attempted in vain to remove a passage, which he saw the author himself was quite conscious was unfit for the stage; the answer was, "if the scene is not a good one, let them find that out." In the midst of the disapprobation of the house, Garrick retreated to the green-room, where he found the author was indulging himself with champaign and tobacco. "What's the matter now Garrick," he said, "what are they hissing now?" "Why, the scene I begged you to retrench," observed Garrick, "I knew it would not do; and they have so frightened me, that I shall not be able to recollect myself again the whole night." "Oh!" replied the author, "they have found it out, have they!" As another specimen of the same careless spirit, he chose to present the world with the farce of Eurydice "as it was damned at the theatre-royal in Drury-lane."

About the year 1733, Fielding married Charlotte, the daughter of Mr Cradock of Salisbury, a lady, by all accounts, of great personal beauty, and possessed of a small fortune of about £1500. Very nearly at the same time his mother's death made him the proprietor of an estate worth £200 a year.<sup>2</sup> His marriage was one entirely of affection; he loved his wife dearly, and he resolved to bid adieu to the pleasures of the town, and enjoy the comforts of his moderate income in retirement. But the unexpected possession of so large a sum in hard cash, was a temptation which Fielding was unable, and did not attempt for a moment to resist. Whatever speculative views he might have indulged on the subject of domestic retirement and a limited income, he never

<sup>2</sup> That General Fielding, who is said to have died in 1740, should have married three wives—as Nichols says he did—after the year 1733, or six or seven years after Henry began to write for the stage, as it is expressed, is a little strange. We are unable to discover any means of reconciling the difficulty.



seems to have once practically formed a plan for maintaining the integrity of his capital. He plunged instantaneously and deeply into country-gentleman extravagance; and it may afford a good instance to those who are fond of noting the variety of course adopted by reason and the passions in the same mind, to recollect that the describer of Squire Western was fired with the ambition of excelling among fox-hunting squires. He kept a retinue of servants, bought horses and hounds, and threw open his gates to convivial hospitality. When in three years his fortune had completely vanished, he stopped a little to consider his situation, and then his naturally strong mind, never overcome by difficulties, though it might yield to prosperity, boldly seized on the arduous profession of the law as a resource. He brought to his attendance at the Temple a settled determination to expend uninterrupted study on his profession, a course which was only at times chequered by ebullitions of his former recklessness and dissipation, after which, it has been remarked, he could at any hour of the night resume his application to the most abstruse professional works. After the preparatory period, he commenced a sedulous attendance at Westminster-hall, and accompanied the western circuit, where he gave promise of eminence, when the strict attendance necessary for a professional man was interrupted by repeated attacks of the gout, which gradually drove him from his new employment. As a specimen of his legal diligence, he is said to have left behind him a manuscript, in two folio volumes, on crown-law, which has been pronounced "very perfect in some of its parts." Thus baffled in his bold attempt, he returned to literature, but of a different description from that in which we have found him previously engaged. He assisted in conducting 'The Champion,' and wrote a few pieces of poetry of no greater harmony than might be expected from the author of 'Pasquin.' The 'Essay on Conversation,' that 'On the Knowledge of the Characters of Men,' and the 'Journey from this World to the Next,' were productions of this period. In this last he was accused of an attempt to undermine religion, a charge which, in his succeeding works, he took earnest pains to prove ungrounded. The 'History of Jonathan Wild' next appeared, perhaps the most ingeniously arranged description of a tissue of blackguardisms which has ever been given to the world. This production may be called the first step on the ascent of elevation which he afterwards climbed; the second was 'The History and Adventures of Joseph Andrews, and his friend, Mr Abraham Adams,' which appeared in 1742. The author professed to follow Cervantes; but had he done so more minutely than he has, his subjects would not have admitted the same lengthened detail of character and similarity of incident, which was found applicable to a satire on a grand national folly. Even as it is, the simplicity and absence of mind of Parson Adams, with all their grotesqueness and real nature, verge on tiresomeness; and there is very little interest in the sleepy negative virtue of Joseph Andrews, whose character is very like that of his sister Pamela, if we may except her selfishness and artifice, two qualifications by the way of that eminent lady, which Fielding has quietly ridiculed, by making them a little more prominent than Richardson had done. But if any thing tires in the details connected with the principal persons, the defect is made up by the animation of the group around, and the continual variety of new characters there introduced. The Rev. Mr

Young, a man of considerable classical acquirements, and an intimate friend of Fielding, is said to have been the original of 'Parson Adams.' Soon after the publication of this novel came the darkest hour of Fielding's life. Repeated illness prevented him from attending not only to his business as a lawyer, but to the miscellaneous labours of his pen, while it brought with it the train of additional expenses and vexations attendant on a valetudinarian. At the same time, the wife of his affections contracted a permanent and dangerous disorder, and he beheld the object of so much devotion gradually sunk by his own follies, from comfort and even opulence, to meet a slowly but steadily approaching dissolution in the midst of hopeless penury. On her death, the vehemence of his sorrow and self-reproach made his friends apprehensive that reason had quitted her seat. Time, however, restored his wonted activity and energy. On the breaking out of the rebellion in 1745, he gave a spirited support to government, in a periodical termed 'The True Patriot;' and, with the same view, conducted a similar work in 1748, called 'The Jacobite's Journal.' It is to this period, when he probably lived with some of his nearest relatives, that we can best refer an anecdote, apparently authentic, which strikingly demonstrates how little selfishness there was in the dissipation or sensuality of Fielding, and how easily he could be imprudent at the dictation of his feelings. He had been, for a considerable period, in arrears with the payment of some parish taxes, for his house in Beaufort buildings, and the collector had repeatedly called. In his difficulty, Fielding applied to Tonson, who forwarded to him ten or twelve guineas on the deposit of a few sheets of some work on hand. While returning in the evening with his money, he met an old college chum, from whom he had been long separated, and the opportunity for a social bottle in a coffee-room was not to be neglected. In the course of the friendly and confidential conversation which naturally followed, Fielding discovered that his friend was unfortunate, and forgetting all his own woes, in the possession of a few guineas, which was probably the chief distinction between them at the time, he emptied the contents of his pocket into that of his friend. On returning he told his story and the fate of the money to his sister Emilia, who answered that the collector had called in his absence. "Friendship," he said, "has called for the money, and had it. Let the collector call again." At the age of forty-three Fielding's necessities compelled him to accept of the displeasing and unpopular situation of a paid police-magistrate. In the fulfilment of duties so liable to incur censure, he has been accused of corruption; but the charges are vague and unsubstantial, and must, in justice, be rejected. For the honour of human nature it is indeed to be hoped, that the person who drew the character of Justice Thrasher, would not have followed the example he held up to execration. Those who are conversant with the writings of Fielding may easily calculate how great was the sagacity in penetrating the human heart, which he brought to aid his knowledge of law on the police-bench of Drury-lane; while the experience of his judicial practice may have increased his intimate knowledge of all the degrees and aspects of villany. But with so many opportunities of acquiring his favourite knowledge in an open and accredited manner, he could not avoid that spirit of private investigation into life and manners which had been his early characteristic. Of this propensity, Horace Walpole



has left a curious specimen. Rigby and Bathurst had carried a servant of the latter who had attempted to shoot his master, to lay the matter before Fielding as a justice. "He sent them word he was at supper, that they must come next morning. They did not understand that freedom, and ran up, where they found him banqueting with a blind man, a whore, and three Irishmen, on some cold mutton and a bone of ham, both in one dish, and on the dirtiest cloth. He never stirred nor asked them to sit. Rigby, who had seen him so often come to beg a guinea of Sir C. Williams, and Bathurst, at whose father's he had lived for victuals, understood that dignity as little, and pulled themselves chairs, on which he civilized."<sup>3</sup> The insinuations thus haughtily dealt out against the unfortunate genius were founded on too sure a foundation. Notwithstanding the bitterness with which he has satirized that vice in others, he sometimes made talent worship rank, and was compelled to barter his natural independence for what the imperious critic has emphatically termed 'victuals.'

We cannot afford room to characterise two works which he published at this period, 'An Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers, &c. with some Proposals for Remedying this Growing Evil,'—and 'A Proposal for the Maintenance of the Poor,' but must pass to that work with which his name is inseparably attached: the novel of 'Tom Jones.' It would be useless to laud a work on which praise has been heaped on all hands, and from an acknowledgment of the genius displayed in which no one dissents; let us then just sum up its principal characteristics in a few words. The author states in his dedication that it cost him the labour of some years of his life; and no one who reads it can fail to see the scrupulous accuracy with which all its parts are fitted to each other. The plot is exceedingly complicated, but the art of the author is shown in not making it in the slightest degree unnaturally; he had studied to reach the utmost degree of complicity which he could achieve without infringing nature, without distorted incidents, unexpected accidents, or losing the connection of cause and effect. The characters are infinitely varied, and placed in positions suiting them to relieve each other, the author never running on to tiresomeness in the exposition of one characteristic. The secret impulses of the actors are on all occasions ingeniously brought forward, not only in such a manner as to teach us human nature, but with a view to amuse through the intrinsic wit displayed in the development. The introductory chapters, and many other portions of the work, contain a vast fund of accurate reflection and keen satire. His impurities have offended the ear of modern propriety, yet in this respect there is as wide a distinction betwixt Fielding and Mrs Manly, as there is between Scott and Fielding. The age which permitted such indulgences should bear part of the censure, although it must be admitted that Fielding showed a peculiar pleasure in claiming the privilege it permitted. In censure, it may also be remarked, he somewhat degraded the female character, making good nature and submission the only good qualities his best of females possess, and beauty their loftiest recommendation. His next novel was 'Amelia,' and it is easy to perceive in it a decaying mind, possessed of its former genius, but not of

<sup>3</sup> Walpole's Letters to Mr Montague, p. 58.

the ability to concentrate its powers into a grand laboured effort. The hero of the tale, Captain Booth, who seems to possess no earthly quality except a dogged affection for his wife, is brought through all the usual difficulties, and placed on the pinnacle of happiness, not by his own endeavours, by which the moral might have been strengthened, but by the mere operation of chance; and cringing to great men for 'a situation' seems all the effort of which the author thought him capable. He is however merely the point round which a fairy world of characters and incidents revolve. No one can read of Colonel Booth without recollecting how often he has met the man; and the ghastly horrors of the prison scene, with which the work commences, can never be erased from the mind of the reader. Still unwearied, although quickly declining in health, his next undertaking was 'The Covent-garden Journal, by Sir Alexander Drawcansir, knight, censor-general of Great Britain.' This periodical, published twice a week, he continued for a year, at the end of which the number and extent of his disorders prompted him to make a last effort to recover his health by a voyage to Portugal. At this time a dropsy had risen to so great a height, that he was compelled to submit to several operations of tapping; and in an account of his voyage, the last production of his active pen, he gives a mournful picture of the state of his health, while his remarks, although full of humour and his wonted vivacity, show occasional depression of spirits, and more than his usual acidity. He survived his arrival in Lisbon but two months, and died on the 8th of October, 1754, in the 48th year of his age. He left behind him a second wife, and four children.

### John Henley.

BORN A. D. 1692.—DIED A. D. 1756.

THIS notorious character, better known by the appellation Orator Henley, was the son of the vicar of Melton-Mowbray, Leicestershire, in which parish he was born on the 3d of August, 1692.

In the early part of his life he exhibited great quickness of apprehension and more than ordinary talents. In 1709 he was entered of St John's college, Cambridge, where he prosecuted his studies with considerable diligence; but occasionally betrayed much arrogance of disposition. After taking his bachelor's degree, the trustees of Melton school gave him the head-mastership of that seminary, and for a time his exertions and skill conferred much celebrity upon it. But Henley was of much too aspiring a disposition to remain satisfied with a country mastership. Having been admitted into orders, he became inflamed with the ambition of figuring as a preacher in London. Accordingly to London he came, and by dint of pushing and consummate assurance obtained a lectureship, and was for a time a very popular preacher. His native arrogance however, soon burst forth, and vented itself in the most disgusting praises of himself and his oratorical powers, combined with the most intemperate abuse of all who seemed blind to his merits, or, as he supposed, set themselves to obstruct "his rising in town, from envy, jealousy, and a disrelish of those who are not qualified to be complete spaniels." The earl of Macclesfield presented him with a benefice



in the country of £80 per annum; and Lord Molesworth made him his chaplain; but all was esteemed too little for his worth; and in a fit of disappointment he flung up his benefice and lectureship, and set up an oratory, as he termed it, of his own, in Clare-market; whither he invited the world to come and listen to the only true orator that had yet appeared in modern times,—the recoverer of the action and the eloquence of Demosthenes.

These orations soon degenerated into downright buffoonery. His audience was composed of the very lowest ranks, and he sometimes fell upon singular expedients to extract money from them. On one occasion he got together a great number of shoemakers, by announcing that he would teach them the art of making a pair of excellent shoes in a few minutes. This wonderful abridgment of labour was effected before the eyes of his gaping auditory, by cutting off the tops of a pair of ready-made boots!

Henley died in 1756. He was a man of considerable acquirements, and no mean genius; but he perverted all that might have raised him to respectability and even eminence, by his insatiable vanity and inordinate self-love. Hogarth has introduced him into some of his compositions, and Pope has immortalized him in the 'Dunciad.'

### David Hartley, M. D.

BORN A. D. 1705.—DIED A. D. 1757.

THIS ingenious metaphysician was the son of a Yorkshire clergyman. He was educated at Cambridge, and chosen a fellow of Jesus college. He was originally intended for the church, but being unable to get over some religious scruples, he declined entering into orders, and applied himself to the study of medicine, in which profession he attained considerable reputation and practice. He died in 1757.

Hartley lived in terms of intimacy with most of the literary characters of his day. His talents were more than respectable, and his amiable dispositions and uncommon simplicity of character, endeared him to all who knew him. He was the author of several little professional tractates; but his great work, and that by which his name has been made familiar to all writers on metaphysical science, is his 'Observations on Man.' This work was begun by him in his twenty-fifth year, and published in his forty-third. It excited less interest when it first appeared than it perhaps does now; but we do not think justice has yet been done to the extraordinary sagacity and originality of thought every where conspicuous in the 'Observations.'

Hartley regards the brain, the nerves, and the spinal marrow, as the direct instruments of sensation. External objects, he conceives, excite vibrations in these medullary cords, which vibrations once communicated, are kept up by a certain subtle elastic fluid called ether. After a sufficient repetition of these vibrations, the sensations leave behind them types and images of themselves. Frequent repetition excites association, and association in its turn imparts to any one idea the power of exciting all the related ideas,—a power which belongs likewise to the vibratiuncles and their miniature images. Upon this principle

and theory of association, he attempts to account for all the phenomena of the mental constitution of man. It is unfortunate for Hartley's theory, that not only is his system of vibrations mere assumption, but it has been demonstrated by Haller, that there can be no such thing as vibrations in the nervous substance. Moreover, the theory granted, we are not a step nearer to the solution of the question as to the connection between matter and thought.

"The work of Dr Hartley, entitled '*Observations on Man*,'" says Sir James Mackintosh, "is distinguished by an uncommon union of originality with modesty, in unfolding a simple and fruitful principle of human nature. It is disfigured by the absurd affectation of mathematical forms then prevalent; and it is encumbered and deformed by a mass of physiological speculations, groundless, or at best uncertain, wholly foreign from its proper purpose, which repel the inquirer into mental philosophy from its perusal, and lessen the respect of the physiologist for the author's judgment. It is an unfortunate example of the disposition predominant among undistinguishing theorists to class together all the appearances which are observed at the same time, and in the immediate neighbourhood of each other. At that period, chemical phenomena were referred to mechanical principles; vegetable and animal life were subjected to mechanical or chemical laws; and while some physiologists ascribed the vital functions to the understanding, the greater part of metaphysicians were disposed, with a grosser confusion, to derive the intellectual operations from bodily causes. The error in the latter case, though less immediately perceptible, is deeper and more fundamental than in any other; since it overlooks the primordial and perpetual distinction between the being which thinks and the thing which is thought of;—not to be lost sight of, by the mind's eye, even for a twinkling, without involving all nature in darkness and confusion. Hartley and Condillac, who, much about the same time, but seemingly without any knowledge of each other's speculations, began in a very similar mode to simplify, but also to mutilate the system of Locke, stopped short of what is called Materialism, which consummates the confusion, but touched its threshold. Thither, it must be owned, their philosophy pointed, and thither their followers proceeded. Hartley and Bonnet, still more than Condillac, suffered themselves, like most of their contemporaries, to overlook the important truth, that all the changes in the organs which can be likened to other material phenomena, are nothing more than antecedents and prerequisites of perception, bearing not the faintest likeness to it; as much outward in relation to the thinking principle, as if they occurred in any other part of matter; and of which the entire comprehension, if it were attained, would not bring us a step nearer to the nature of thought. They who would have been the first to exclaim against the mistake of a sound for a colour, fell into the more unspeakable error of confounding the perception of objects, as outward, with the consciousness of our own mental operations."<sup>1</sup>

As to Hartley's doctrine of association, Sir James remarks that both Hartley and Condillac "agree in referring all the intellectual operations to the association of ideas, and in representing that association as reducible to the single law, that ideas which enter the mind at

<sup>1</sup> See Preliminary Dissertation to *Encyclopædia Britannica*.



the same time, acquire a tendency to call up each other, which is in direct proportion to the frequency of their having entered together. In this important part of their doctrine they seem, whether unconsciously or otherwise, to have only repeated, and very much expanded, the opinion of Hobbes. In its simplicity it is more agreeable than the system of Mr Hume, who admitted five independent laws of association; and it is in comprehension far superior to the views of the same subject by Mr Locke, whose ill-chosen name still retains its place in our nomenclature, but who only appeals to the principle as explaining some fancies and whimsies of the human mind. The capital fault of Hartley is that of a rash generalization, which may prove imperfect, and which is at least premature. All attempts to explain instinct by this principle have hitherto been unavailing. Many of the most important processes of reasoning have not hitherto been accounted for by it. It would appear by a close examination, that even this theory, simple as it appears, presupposes many facts relating to the mind, of which its authors do not seem to have suspected the existence. How many ultimate facts of that nature, for example, are contained and involved in Aristotle's celebrated comparison of the mind in its first state to a sheet of unwritten paper? The texture of the paper, even its colour, the sort of instrument fit to act on it, its capacity to receive and to retain impressions, all its differences, from steel on the one hand, to water on the other, certainly presuppose some facts, and may imply many, without a distinct statement of which, the nature of writing could not be explained to a person wholly ignorant of it. How many more, as well as greater laws, may be necessary to enable mind to perceive outward objects! If the power of perception may be thus dependent, why may not what is called the association of ideas, the attraction between thoughts, the power of one to suggest another, be affected by mental laws hitherto unexplored, perhaps unobserved?"<sup>2</sup>

Hartley's work possesses few of the attractions of style. Its perspicuity is even not unfrequently affected by the awkwardness of the diction. But these minor blemishes are amply atoned for by the vigour and originality of the author's ideas, and the mild and philosophical spirit which breathes in every page of the 'Observations.'

Mr Stewart, in his preliminary dissertation to the same work to which Sir James has contributed the remarks we have just quoted, speaks of Hartley with much less respect than his illustrious coadjutor has done.

## Edward Moore.

BORN A. D. 1712.—DIED A. D. 1757.

EDWARD MOORE was born at Abingdon in Berkshire, in the year 1712. He started in life as a linen-draper, but business proving unsuccessful with him, "more from necessity than inclination," as he himself avers, he turned his attention to literature. His 'Fables for the Female sex,' first published in 1744, introduced him favourably to the public, and obtained for him the patronage of Mr Pelham.

<sup>2</sup> See Preliminary Dissertation to *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

In 1748, his comedy of the 'Foundling,' for which Garrick wrote the epilogue, was produced and acted. Some critics have discovered in it too close a resemblance to the 'Conscious Lovers,' but its success upon the whole was flattering. His 'Gil Blas,' produced in 1751, was less favourably received. 'The Gamester,' a tragedy, first acted on the 7th of February, 1753, was the most successful of Moore's dramatic pieces, and still retains a place among our best acting plays. Davies, in his life of Garrick, claims for that actor the merit of having contributed some of the best and most striking passages of 'The Gamester,' especially the scene between Lewson and Stukely in the fourth act.

When Lord Lyttleton projected that pleasing periodical 'The World,' he placed the editorship of it in Moore's hands, and obtained for him the assistance of the earls of Chesterfield, Bath, and Corke, and of Messrs Walpole, Cambridge, Jenyns, and several other individuals of highly cultivated talents, whose contributions raised that miscellany to a high degree of popularity. Moore himself wrote sixty-one papers in this work. Their style is easy and graceful; the subjects are generally of a light and playful cast.

Moore died in 1757. His acknowledged poems were collected and published in a quarto volume, the year preceding his death. As a poet he never rises above mediocrity.

## John Dyer.

BORN A. D. 1700.—DIED A. D. 1758.

JOHN DYER, author of 'The Fleece,' was the son of a respectable Welsh attorney. He received his education at Westminster-school. His father wished him to be trained to his own profession, but the law proved too dry a study for the young poet, who greatly preferred rambling about his native hills to the irksome drudgery of the desk.

His first publication was a descriptive poem, called 'Grongar Hill,' which Johnson praises, affirming that "when it is once read, it will be read again." Having spent some time in Italy, on his return to England he published 'The Ruins of Rome,' in 1740. This poem was well-received. It is evidently the production of a mind well-stored with classical reminiscences, and gifted with a quick and accurate perception of the beautiful and sublime in nature.

He took orders in the church soon after his return from the continent, and obtained several small preferments from Lord-chancellor Hardwicke. In 1757 he published his last and best piece, 'The Fleece,' of which Akenside thought very highly; but Dr Johnson censures the lowness of the subject, contending that the cares of the wool-grower are beneath the dignity of verse. The critic's censure seems to us too severe. Dyer has succeeded in adorning his subject with the graces of poetry, and produced upon the whole a very pleasing poem.

He died on the 24th of July, 1758.



## Nicholas Hardinge.

BORN A. D. 1700.—DIED A. D. 1758.

THIS eminent scholar was the son of the Rev. Gideon Hardinge. He was born in 1700, and educated at Eton and Cambridge. On leaving the university he studied law, and was called to the bar; but he quitted the profession on being appointed chief clerk of the house of commons. In 1752 he was named joint-secretary of the treasury, which office he held till his death in 1758.

Hardinge was an accomplished classical scholar. His school exercises at Eton, 1717 and 1718, are remarkably fine specimens of modern Latinity. His English poems are elegant easy trifles, in the manner of the 'Rape of the Lock.' His knowledge of English law and constitutional history was very profound. His memorial on the regency question, when that subject was agitated in the reign of George II., was considered a master-piece by Lord-chancellor Hardwicke. He put the journals of the house of commons into their present form, and introduced a number of highly useful regulations into that department over which he presided.

## Colley Cibber.

BORN A. D. 1671.—DIED A. D. 1757.

COLLEY CIBBER, poet-laureat, dramatist, and actor, was born in London on the 6th of November, 1671. His father, Caius Gabriel Cibber, was a native of Holstein, and a sculptor by profession, but came to London to exercise his art not long before the Revolution. He obtained employment from the nobility, whose mansions he decorated in the taste of the times, with allegorical subjects from his chisel and carver. He was the compeer of Grindling Gibbons, the first British name of any eminence in sculpture. Gibbons died in 1721; Cibber the elder about 1700. The latter executed the bas-reliefs on the London monument, and the phoenix which appears above the southern door of St Paul's cathedral. But his most celebrated works are the figures of Madness and Melancholy, which formerly stood over the gates of Bethlehem hospital. "They are the earliest indications," says Allan Cunningham, in his interesting 'Lives of the British Sculptors,' "of the appearance of a distinct and natural spirit in sculpture, and stand first in conception and only second in execution among all the productions of the island. Those who see them for the first time are fixed to the spot with terror and awe; an impression is made on the heart never to be removed; nor is the impression of a vulgar kind. The poetry of those terrible infirmities is embodied; from the degradation of the actual madhouse we turn overpowered and disgusted, but from those magnificent creations we retire in mingled awe and admiration. I remember some eighteen or twenty years ago, when an utter stranger in London, I found myself, after much wandering, in the pre-

sence of those statues, then occupying the entrance to Moorfields. Sculpture was to me at that time an art unknown, and it had to force its excellence upon my mind, without the advantage of any preparation either through drawings or descriptions. But I perceived the meaning of those statues at once, felt the pathetic truth of the delineation, and congratulated myself on having discovered a new source of enjoyment. The impression which they made upon me induced me to expect too much from the rest of our sculpture. In St Paul's and Westminster abbey, I found much finer work, but less fervour of poetic sentiment, than what Cibber had stamped upon those rough stones, which he is said to have cut at once from the block without the aid of models. Wonderful as those works are, their poetic excellence appealed in vain to one of our best poets. Pope's lines, in his satire on Colley Cibber, will occur to the recollection of every reader—

‘Where o’er the gates, by his famed father’s hand,  
Great Cibber’s brazen brainless brothers stand.’

Walpole does not quote them without lamenting the injustice and the peevish weakness of the poet. Colley himself—if we may believe the sarcastic commentary of Warburton—‘remonstrated, because his brothers at Bedlam were not brazen, but blocks; yet it passed unaltered,’ says the benevolent divine, ‘as this no ways altered the relationship.’ Flaxman, a more weighty authority in matters of sculpture, seems to have been somewhat infected with the notions of the poet and the bishop. In concluding his lecture on English sculpture, he mentions Cibber ‘and the mad figures on the piers of Bedlam gates;’ had he appreciated them, he would have used other language. But public opinion will, in the end, bear down all solitary authorities, however eminent; and in this case it has been pretty strongly expressed for a hundred and thirty years.”

Having given this brief notice of the father, we proceed to introduce our readers to the son. Young Cibber took his first name from his maternal uncle, Edward Colley of Glaiston in Rutland. At the age of ten years he was sent to the free-school of Grantham in Lincolnshire, where he distinguished himself in no respect save as “a giddy, negligent boy, full of spirits, with small capacity to do right, and a lively alacrity to do wrong.”<sup>1</sup> He contrived, however, to obtain some degree of notoriety among his schoolfellows—though it does not appear to have been of a very enviable kind—by the composition of a funeral oration for King Charles II., and also of a coronation ode in praise of his successor.

About the year 1687, the unhappy wight, who had long been the object of persecution and ridicule among his class-mates, was taken from school, to stand his election for Winchester college. He failed in the attempt for want of patronage; and his father, who was at this period engaged in his capacity of sculptor at Chatsworth-house, sent for him to be under his own eye, until he should determine what to do with him. He thought of sending him to Cambridge, but Fate had another destiny in reserve for him. Before setting out on his journey, news arrived of the landing of the prince of Orange. It thus happened that

<sup>1</sup> Galt.



when Cibber reached Nottingham, he found a body of men in arms there, under the standard of the earl of Devonshire, and amongst them his father. The old sculptor thought himself too far advanced in years to bear the fatigues of a winter campaign, but made offer to the earl of his son as his substitute. The offer was accepted, and Colley found himself suddenly transformed into a campaigner. Doubtless many splendid visions of military fame presented themselves to our hero's fertile imagination. We find him in his amusing auto-biography gravely speculating on the probability of his having lost a mitre by his trip to Nottingham instead of Cambridge at this crisis in his life; and it is no uncharitable supposition that the incipient hero already grasped a marshal's truncheon in fancy; but his dreams were sadly disappointed, for on the disbandment of the duke's forces, while many of the officers received commissions confirming them in their military rank, not the slightest notice was taken of his merits as an individual. He now resolved to push his fortune in some other department of enterprise for the young and aspiring.

The duke of Devonshire had held out to him some faint hope that if he would come to London he might be able to do something for him in the course of the winter. Accordingly to London he went; and in the meanwhile became a hanger-on at the theatres, until he was completely stage-smitten. He now made his election, and resolved to assume the buskin whatever it might cost him. His ardour to tread the boards must have been very strong and enduring; for it was nearly three-quarters of a year before he obtained any regular engagement; but pay, says he, "was the least of my concern; the joy, the privilege of every day seeing plays for nothing! were a sufficient consideration for the best of my services." The first part in which he at all distinguished himself was that of the chaplain in Otway's 'Orphan.' He had next the boldness to take the part of Lord Touchwood in Congreve's 'Double Dealer,' and acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction even of the author.

Cibber was now a rising actor; but his ambition aimed at something even beyond this. He became a writer for the stage, and succeeded tolerably well in his first piece, entitled, 'Love's last Shift,' in which he played the part of the fop with great eclat. His next dramatic attempt, 'Love in a Riddle,' was not so successful. His best play, 'The Careless Husband,' was produced in 1704; and seems to have owed not a little of its success to the excellent acting of Mrs Oldfield in the character of Lady Betty Modish, and the author himself as Lord Foppington. Cibber continued to a late period of his life connected with the stage. At the age of 74 he enacted Pandulph, the legate, in his own drama, 'Papal Tyranny,' being a recast of Shakspeare's 'King John.'

He died on the 12th of December, 1757. "The character of Cibber," says Galt, "has not always received uniform justice, and especially in his difference with Pope, the poet, who, to uncommon shrewdness, united a spiteful and vindictive nature. He, in fact, kept the laugh constantly against Pope, and preserved, in opposition to his malvolence and spleen, a gaiety and good-humour that was only the more to be envied as it could seldom be disturbed. There was, in fact, at that time two kinds of literary men—those who were properly connect-

ed with the stage, and those who trusted more to the press. Cibber and Pope were at the head of the respective parties; and, in addition to personal rivalry, they had each the rancour of their different sects. It must, however, be admitted that Cibber had always the superiority in temper and cheerfulness; and that, in both of these enviable qualities, if the poet could occasionally boast of saying the more brilliant witticisms, the player more regularly maintained a joyous and gentlemanly deportment. Few men had more personal friends, and perhaps a greater number of undeserved enemies; but the malevolence of his adversaries had little effect upon his spleen: he seemed, indeed, truly of Sir Harry Wildair's temperament. Nor did it seem within the power of age and infirmity to get the better of that self-satisfied humour which accompanied him throughout life: even in his latter years, when in the midst of a circle of persons much his juniors, through his easy good-nature, liveliness in conversation, and a peculiar happiness he enjoyed in telling a story, he was the very life of the party. Besides these high companionable qualities, he was celebrated for his benevolence and humanity, and by his unwearied charity, showed how truly he possessed a good and tender heart. I have already described his person, as it is transmitted to us by himself. His chief excellence lay in the walk of fops and feeble old men in comedy; in the former, he does not appear to have been excelled in any period before him, and not often surpassed since. He has spoken of his merits with great moderation; and there is good reason to believe that he has too slightly touched his talents as a tragedian. Altogether, he passed a long life respectably; he surmounted many difficulties in the course of it; and he has added to the stock of our harmless literature so much, that he is fairly entitled to be considered as one of those gentle and precious spirits which long minister to the mitigation of care."

The best edition of Cibber's works is that of 1760, in five volumes, 12mo.

## William Collins.

BORN A. D. 1721.—DIED A. D. 1759.

THIS highly gifted but unfortunate bard was the son of William Collins, a reputable citizen of Chichester. His mother was the sister of a Colonel Martin, to whose bounty our poet was much indebted at different periods of his life.

On the 23d of February, 1733, young Collins was admitted of Winchester college, where he enjoyed the tuition of Dr Burton. His progress at this seminary may be estimated from the fact that in 1740 he stood first on the list of scholars to be received at New college. It unfortunately happened, however, that no vacancy occurred for some time at New college; meanwhile young Collins was entered a commoner of Queen's college, and subsequently, on the recommendation of his tutor, elected a demy of Magdalen. He continued at Oxford until he obtained his bachelor's degree, after which he suddenly left the university and threw himself upon the metropolis, "a literary adventurer," says



Dr Johnson, "with many projects in his head, and very little money in his pocket."

Collins had already appeared before the public as an author. His 'Persian Eclogues' were written while he was at Winchester school, and published in January, 1742. He had also written some minor pieces. The eclogues, though very juvenile productions, were well-calculated to excite the public expectation, and cherish hopes of no ordinary character from the maturity of that genius which they displayed. Langhorne, while he admits that their claim to the epithet Oriental is somewhat dubious,—the scenery and subjects alone transferring the mind of the reader to eastern climes, while the style and colouring of the whole is purely European,—asserts that "in simplicity of description and expression, in delicacy and softness of numbers, and in natural and unaffected tenderness, they are not to be equalled by any thing of the pastoral kind in the English language."

Immediately on his arrival in the metropolis, Collins projected numerous literary undertakings with all the fertility and audacity, but unfortunately too with all the unsteadiness and irresolution of genius. He proposed to publish a 'History of the Revival of Learning,'—he planned several tragedies, none of which, it is deeply to be lamented, he ever executed,—he talked of writing biography, and establishing a review, and vowed to lay some worthier offering than the eclogues on the muses' shrine; but he did nothing. D'Israeli would account for this fickleness and inactivity, as the "vacillations of a mind broken and confounded;"—the perturbations experienced by one who has "exercised too constantly the highest faculties of fiction, and precipitated himself into the dreariness of real life."<sup>1</sup> But this solution is inadmissible, for Collins had not yet tasted the bitterness of that cup which was preparing for him; he was young and full of hope and of confidence in his own powers. The truth is, his indolence was natural, his want of firmness and his vacillation of purpose were constitutional; they are features too often united to the poetical temperament, and never were they more visibly and fatally displayed than in the history and fate of Collins.

In 1747 Collins published his 'Odes,' which at once placed him without a rival at the head of one department of our national poetry. "It was a crisis," says Sir Egerton Brydges, "when there was a fair opening for new candidates for the laurel. The uniformity of Pope's style began already to pall upon the public ear. Thomson was indolent, and Young eccentric; Gray had not yet appeared on the stage; and Akenside's metaphysical subject and diffuse style were not calculated to engross the general taste. Johnson had taken possession of the field of satire, but there are too many readers of enthusiastic mind to be satisfied with satire. The pedantry and uncouthness of Walter Harte had precluded him from ever being a favourite with the public; Shenstone had not yet risen into fame; and Lyttleton was engrossed by politics. When therefore Collins' 'Odes' appeared, all speculation could have anticipated that they must have been successful."<sup>2</sup> They were not so. The public appeared wholly indifferent to them; the sale of them was not sufficient to pay the printer's bill; and the indignant author, as

<sup>1</sup> Calamities of Authors.

<sup>2</sup> Essay on the Genius and Poems of Collins.

soon as it was in his power, returned the copyright money to his bookseller, indemnifying him for the loss he had sustained, and consigned the unsold copies of the impression to the flames. From the effects of his disappointment he never recovered; providence rescued him from the gripe of poverty before he died, but his mind had received a fatal shock; and he fell into a melancholy which ended in insanity.

The poet's pecuniary difficulties were removed in 1749 by a legacy of £2000, which was paid him by the executors of his maternal uncle, Colonel Martin. In the language of Johnson, who became acquainted with him about this period, Collins could scarcely think this money exhaustible, and he did not live to exhaust it. Soon after the receipt of it, the disease, with which he had so long been threatened, began to manifest itself, and the unfortunate subject himself appears to have been better aware of its approach than any of his friends. "The clouds," says Johnson, "which he perceived gathering on his intellects, he endeavoured to disperse by travel, and passed into France; but found himself constrained to yield to his malady, and returned. He was for some time confined in a house of lunatics, and afterwards retired to the care of his sister in Chichester, where death, in 1756, came to his relief. After his return from France, the writer of this character paid him a visit at Islington, where he was waiting for his sister, whom he had directed to meet him; there was then nothing of disorder discernible in his mind by any but himself; but he had withdrawn from study, and travelled with no other book than an English Testament, such as children carry to the school: when his friend took it into his hand out of curiosity to see what companion a man of letters had chosen, 'I have but one book,' said Collins, 'but that is the best.' Such was the fate of Collins, with whom I once delighted to converse, and whom I yet remember with tenderness. He was visited at Chichester, in his last illness, by his learned friends Dr Warton and his brother, to whom he spoke with disapprobation of his 'Oriental Eclogues,' as not sufficiently expressive of Asiatic manners, and called them his Irish Eclogues. He showed them, at the same time, an ode inscribed to Mr John Hume, on the superstitions of the Highlands; which they thought superior to his other works, but which no search has yet found. His disorder was not alienation of mind, but general laxity and feebleness, a deficiency rather of his vital than intellectual powers. What he spoke wanted neither judgment nor spirit; but a few minutes exhausted him, so that he was forced to rest upon the couch, till a short cessation restored his powers, and he was again able to talk with his former vigour. The approaches of this dreadful malady he began to feel soon after his uncle's death; and, with the usual weakness of men so diseased, eagerly snatched that temporary relief with which the table and the bottle flatter and seduce. But his health continually declined, and he grew more and more burdensome to himself."

He died on the 12th of June, 1759, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He was buried in St Andrew's church, in his native city; and a monument to his memory from the chisel of Flaxman has been erected in the cathedral.

Johnson has not set any very high value on the poetry of Collins. He allows that it presents many passages of great sublimity and splendour, but he objects to the diction as harsh and laboured, and to a



general tone of extravagance throughout his pieces. From these and other harsh censures our bard has been amply and zealously vindicated by Langhorne, Campbell, and Sir Egerton Brydges. The essay of the latter accomplished nobleman on the genius and poems of Collins will nobly repay perusal. Langhorne's edition of Collins first appeared in 1765. It did something towards opening the eyes of the public to the real merits of the poet, although the editor's criticisms are more ingenious and pretty than profound.

Campbell, in his essay on British poetry, has done great justice to Collins, but hints that his mind had perhaps "a passion for the visionary and remote forms of imagination, too strong and exclusive for the general purposes of the drama. His genius," he says, "loved to breathe rather in the preternatural and ideal element of poetry, than in the atmosphere of imitation which lies closest to real life; and his notions of poetical excellence were still tending to the vast, the undefinable, and the abstract. Certainly, however," the critic adds, "he carried sensibility and tenderness into the highest regions of abstracted thought; his enthusiasm spreads a glow even amongst the shadowy tribes of mind, and his allegory is as sensible to the heart as it is visible to the fancy."

"The 'Ode to the Passions,' " says Sir Egerton Brydges, "is, by universal consent, the noblest of Collins' productions, because it exhibits a much more extended invention, not of one passion only, but of all the passions combined, acting, according to the powers of each, to one end. The execution also is the happiest; each particular passion is drawn with inimitable force and compression. Let us take only Fear and Despair,—each dashed out in four lines of which every word is like inspiration. Beautiful as Spenser is, and sometimes sublime, yet he redoubles his touches too much, and often introduces some coarse feature or expression which destroys the spell. Spenser indeed has other merits of splendid and inexhaustible invention, which renders it impossible to put Collins on a par with him; but we must not estimate merit by mere quantity; if a poet produces but one short piece, which is perfect, he must be placed according to its quality. And surely there is not a single figure in Collins' 'Ode to the Passions' which is not perfect both in conception and language. He has had many imitators, but no one has ever approached him in his own department. The 'Ode to Evening' is perhaps the next in point of merit. It is quite of a different cast; it is descriptive of natural scenery; and such a scene of enchanting repose was never exhibited by Claude, or any other among the happiest of painters. Though a mere verbal description can never rival a fine picture in a mere address to the material part of our nature, yet it far eclipses it with those who have the endowment of a brilliant fancy, because it gratifies their taste, selection, and sentiment. Delightful, therefore, as it is to look upon a Claude, it is more delightful to look upon this description. It is vain to attempt to analyse the charm of this ode; it is so subtle that it escapes analysis; its harmony is so perfect that it requires no rhyme; the objects are so happily chosen, and the simple epithets convey ideas and feelings so congenial to each other, as to throw the reader into the very mood over which the personified being so beautifully designed presides. No other poem on the same subject has the same magic. It assuredly suggested some images and a tone of expression to Gray in his elegy."

## Samuel Richardson.

BORN A. D. 1689.—DIED A. D. 1761.

THIS ingenious writer was born in 1689. He is said to have been the son of a farmer in Derbyshire. Of the earliest part of his life few particulars are preserved. He appears not to have received much instruction in the learned languages; but being brought up to the profession of a printer, he carried on that business for a long series of years, with great reputation and success, in Salisbury court, Fleet-street. When the duke of Wharton, about the year 1723, was active in opposition to the court, and, in order to make himself popular in the city, became a member of the Wax-chandlers' company, Richardson was his printer, and was much favoured by him, though he differed from the duke in his principles. He printed for that nobleman, for a short time, the political paper, called 'The True Briton,' which was published twice a week; but he soon declined having any concern in that publication, from an unwillingness to subject himself to any prosecution from the government. He also printed, for some time, a newspaper, called 'The Daily Journal,' and afterwards 'The Daily Gazetteer.' He was also patronized by Mr Onslow, speaker of the house of commons. Onslow had a high esteem for him; and, it is said, would have procured for him some honourable and profitable office under the government; but Richardson, whose business was extensive and lucrative, neither desired, nor would accept of any thing of the kind.

In the year 1740, he published his celebrated novel, 'Pamela,' which procured him both fame and profit. It appears from a letter of Aaron Hill's to David Mallet, that the latter had suspected that Hill had a hand in this performance. The passage in Hill's letter, which is dated January 23d, 1741, is worth quoting, as a specimen of the laudatory style of the day:—"You ask me," says he, "in your postscript, whether you are right in guessing there are some traces of my hand in Pamela? No, Sir, upon my faith, I had not any, the minutest share; in that delightful nursery of virtues. The sole and absolute author is Mr Richardson of Salisbury court, and such an author too he is, that hardly mortal ever matched him for his ease of natural power. He seems to move like a calm summer sea, that, swelling upward with unconscious deepness, lifts the heaviest weights into the skies, and shows no sense of their incumbency. He would, perhaps, in every thing he says or does, be more in nature than all men before him, but that he has one fault to an unnatural excess, and that is modesty. The book was published many months before I saw or heard of it; and when he sent it me among some other pieces, it came without the smallest hint that it was his, and with a grave apology as for a trifle of too light a species. I found out whose it was by the resembling turn of Pamela's expressions, weighed with some which I had noted as peculiar in his letters; yet very loath he was, a long time, to confess it. And to say the least I can of qualities, which he conceals with as much fear as if they were ignoble ones, he is so honest, open, generous, and great a thinker, that he cannot, in his writings, paint a virtue that he needs look farther than his heart to find a pattern for. Let me not, there-



fore, rob him for a moment, in so just a mind as yours, by interception of his praises. The glory is, and ought to be, his only. And I am much mistaken in the promise of his genius, or Pamela—all lovely as she is, in her unheeded, hasty dress—is but a dawning to the day he is to give us.”

In 1749 our author published ‘*Clarissa*,’ in seven volumes, octavo. In one of Hill’s letters to Richardson, on the publication of this work, are the following passages:—“Your *Clarissa* is full of varied and improving beauties of such striking force, that they monopolize my thoughts, and every thought throughout my family. They give a body and material tangibility to fancy; take possession of the sleep, and dwell like bird-lime on the memory! We are acquainted with, and see and know with the completest intimacy, each man, maid, woman, tree, house, field, step, incident, and place, throughout this exquisite creation! We agree, and every day afresh remark to one another, that we can find no difference at all in the impression of things really done, and past, and recollected by us; and the things we read of in this intellectual world, which you have naturalized us into.” “I never open you,” he again says, “without new proof of what I have a thousand times asserted, that you are a species in your single self, that never had or will have an equal; such a glowing skill you have to call out the, and paint the features of the soul so speakingly,—to conjure up, into the compass of so small a circle, such innumerable specimens of every humour, every passion,—all the representative displays of nature! Instead of viewing you engrossed by a diurnal round of the same business, one would think you have been verifying the story of the wandering Jew, and gathering all the fruits of seventeen active ages in all climates, and through all diversities of conversation. But you have peculiarly a nameless strength in locally impressive imagery, that goes beyond whatever was conceived by a poetic fancy! A certain happy force, of starting life from some quick, transient glance, that opens its whole likeness at a flash, and stamps it with a not to be resisted permanency. Your moral hints are sudden like short lightning, and they strike with the same force and subtilty!”

In 1753 he published the ‘*History of Sir Charles Grandison*,’ in eight volumes. This work possesses a very high degree of merit, but it is generally thought not quite equal to ‘*Clarissa*.’ Dr Warton says, “Of all representations of madness, that of *Clementina*, in the ‘*History of Sir Charles Grandison*,’ is the most deeply interesting. I know not whether even the madness of *Lear* is wrought up, and expressed by so many little strictures of nature and genuine passion. Shall I say it is pedantry to prefer and compare the madness of *Orestes* in *Euripides* to this of *Clementina*?”

The year after the publication of this work, Richardson became master of the Stationers’ company. In 1760 he purchased a moiety of the patent of law-printer, and carried on that department of business in partnership with Mrs Catharine Lintot. His country retirement was first at Northend, near Hammersmith, and afterwards at Parson’s-green; and his house was generally filled with the company of his friends of both sexes; for he was extremely hospitable, and fond of the company of his friends. He died on the 4th of July, 1761, at the age of seventy-two, and was buried in St Bride’s church, London.

He was twice married, and by his first wife had five sons and a daughter, who all died young. His second wife survived him more than twelve years. By her he had a son and five daughters. This son died young; but four of the daughters survived him.

"It is not, in our opinion," says Mr Jeffrey, in the 24th volume of the 'Edinburgh Review,' "a very difficult attempt to class Fielding or Smollett;—the one as an observer of the characters of human life, the other as a describer of its various eccentricities; but it is by no means so easy to dispose of Richardson, who was neither an observer of the one, nor a describer of the other, but who seemed to spin his materials entirely out of his own brain, as if there had been nothing existing in the world beyond the little shop in which he sat writing. There is an artificial reality about his works, which is nowhere to be met with. They have the romantic air of a pure fiction, with the literal minuteness of a common diary. The author had the strangest matter-of-fact imagination that ever existed, and wrote the oddest mixture of poetry and prose. He does not appear to have taken advantage of any thing in actual nature, from one end of his works to the other; and yet, throughout all his works, (voluminous as they are, and this, to be sure, is one reason why they are so,) he sets about describing every object and transaction, as if the whole had been given in on evidence by an eyewitness. This kind of high finishing from imagination is an anomaly in the history of human genius, and certainly nothing so fine was ever produced by the same accumulation of minute parts. There is not the least distraction, the least forgetfulness of the end: every circumstance is made to tell. We cannot agree that this exactness of detail produces heaviness; on the contrary, it gives an appearance of truth, and a positive interest to the story; and we listen with the same attention as we should to the particulars of a confidential communication. We at one time used to think some parts of Sir Charles Grandison rather trifling and tedious, especially the long description of Miss Harriet Byron's wedding-clothes, till we met with two young ladies who had severally copied out the whole of that very description for their own private gratification. After this, we could not blame the author.

"The effect of reading this work is like an increase of kindred; you find yourself all of a sudden introduced into the midst of a large family, with aunts and cousins to the third and fourth generation, and grandmothers both by the father's and mother's side,—and a very odd set of people too, but people whose real existence and personal identity you can no more dispute than your own senses,—for you see and hear all that they do or say. What is still more extraordinary, all this extreme elaborateness in working out the story, seems to have cost the author nothing: for it is said, that the published works are mere abridgments. We have heard (though this, we suppose, must be a pleasant exaggeration), that Sir Charles Grandison was originally written in eight and twenty volumes.

"Pamela is the first of his productions, and the very child of his brain. Taking the general idea of the character of a modest and beautiful country girl, and of the situation in which she is placed, he makes out all the rest, even to the smallest circumstance, by the mere force of a reasoning imagination. It would seem as if a step lost would be as fatal here as in a mathematical demonstration. The development of



the character is the most simple, and comes the nearest to nature that it can do, without being the same thing. The interest of the story increases with the dawn of understanding and reflection in the heroine. Her sentiments gradually expand themselves, like opening flowers. She writes better every time, and acquires a confidence in herself, just as a girl would do, writing such letters in such circumstances; and yet it is certain that no girl would write such letters in such circumstances. What we mean is this. Richardson's nature is always the nature of sentiment and reflection, not of impulse or situation. He furnishes his characters, on every occasion, with the presence of mind of the author. He makes them act, not as they would from the impulse of the moment, but as they might upon reflection, and upon a careful review of every motive and circumstance in their situation. They regularly sit down to write letters: and if the business of life consisted in letter-writing, and was carried on by the post, (like a Spanish game at chess,) human nature would be what Richardson represents it. All actual objects and feelings are blunted and deadened by being represented through a medium which may be true to reason, but is false to nature. He confounds his own point of view with that of the immediate actors in the scene; and hence presents you with a conventional and factitious nature, instead of that which is real. Dr Johnson seems to have preferred this truth of reflection to the truth of nature, when he said that there was more knowledge of the human heart in a page of Richardson than in all Fielding. Fielding, however, saw more of the practical results, and understood the principles as well; but he had not the same power of speculating upon their possible results, and combining them in certain ideal forms of passion and imagination, which was Richardson's real excellence.

"It must be observed, however, that it is this mutual good understanding, and comparing of notes between the author and the persons he describes; his infinite circumspection, his exact process of ratiocination and calculation, which gives such an appearance of coldness and formality to most of his characters,—which makes prudes of his women, and coxcombs of his men. Every thing is too conscious in his works. Every thing is distinctly brought home to the mind of the actors in the scene, which is a fault undoubtedly: but then, it must be confessed, every thing is brought home in its full force to the mind of the reader also; and we feel the same interest in the story as if it were our own. Can any thing be more beautiful or affecting than Pamela's reproaches to her 'lumpish heart,' when she is sent away from her master's at her own request—its lightness, when she is sent for back—the joy which the conviction of the sincerity of his love diffuses in her heart, like the coming-on of spring—the artifice of the stuff gown—the meeting with Lady Davers after her marriage—and the trial scene with her husband? Who ever remained insensible to the passion of Lady Clementina, except Sir Charles Grandison himself, who was the object of it? Clarissa is, however, his masterpiece, if we except *Lovelace*. If she is fine in herself, she is still finer in his account of her. With that foil, her purity is dazzling indeed: and she who could triumph by her virtue, and the force of her love, over the regality of *Lovelace's* mind, his wit, his person, his accomplishments, and his spirit, conquers all hearts. We should suppose that never sympathy more deep or sincere was excited

than by the heroine of Richardson's romance, except by the calamities of real life. The links in this wonderful chain of interest are not more finely wrought, than their whole weight is overwhelming and irresistible. Who can forget the exquisite gradations of her long dying scene, or the closing of the coffin-lid, when Miss Howe comes to take her last leave of her friend ; or the heart-breaking reflection that *Clarissa* makes on what was to have been her wedding-day ? Well does a modern writer exclaim—

' Books are a real world, both pure and good,  
Round which, with tendrils strong as flesh and blood,  
Our pastime and our happiness may grow !'

' Richardson's wit was unlike that of any other writer ;—his humour was so too. Both were the effect of intense activity of mind ;—laboured, and yet completely effectual. We might refer to *Lovelace's* reception and description of *Hickman*, when he calls out *Death* in his ear, as the name of the person with whom *Clarissa* had fallen in love ; and to the scene at the glove shop. What can be more magnificent than his enumeration of his companions—' *Belton* so pert and so pimply—*Tourville* so fair and so foppish !' &c. In casuistry, he is quite at home ; and, with a boldness greater even than his puritanical severity, has exhausted every topic on virtue and vice. There is another peculiarity in Richardson, not perhaps so uncommon, which is, his systematically preferring his most insipid characters to his finest, though both were equally his own invention, and he must be supposed to have understood something of their qualities. Thus he preferred the little, selfish, affected, insignificant *Miss Byron*, to the divine *Clementina* ; and again, *Sir Charles Grandison*, to the nobler *Lovelace*. We have nothing to say in favour of *Lovelace's* morality ; but *Sir Charles* is the prince of coxcombs,—whose eye was never once taken from his own person, and his own virtues ; and there is nothing which excites so little sympathy as this excessive egotism."

## William Oldys.

BORN A. D. 1696.—DIED A. D. 1761.

THE name of this literary antiquary is known to many ; his history, only to a few. He was a natural son of Dr William Oldys, chancellor of Lincoln, and advocate of the admiralty, who lost his office, and risked his head, by declining to prosecute, in his official character, those seamen who had acted, under commissions from King James, against the English navy. Of the early part of his son's life very little is known, except that both his parents died while he was yet a boy, and that he was left under no kind of guardianship. In Captain Grose's '*Olio*' there is a brief sketch of poor Oldys,—an overdrawn portrait, probably, or caricature, as every thing else is in that satirist's scrap-book.

Grose says that he soon squandered away his small patrimony ; and that he afterwards became librarian to Lord Oxford. He praises his good nature, and his scrupulous integrity as an historian. "Nothing,"



says he, "I firmly believe, would ever have biassed him to insert any fact in his writings he did not believe, or to suppress any he did. Of this delicacy he gave an instance when he was in great distress: After his publication of the life of Sir Walter Raleigh, some booksellers, thinking his name would sell a piece they were publishing, offered him a considerable sum to father it, which he rejected with the greatest indignation." But the same authority informs us that poor Oldys fell into sad habits in the latter part of his life, and was almost continually in a state of intoxication; that this habit was so confirmed, that even on the solemn occasion of the funeral of the Princess Caroline, at which he was present as Norroy, king-at-arms, he was in such a situation as to be scarcely able to walk, and actually reeled about with the crown and cushion, which it was his office to carry in the solemnity, to the great scandal of his brother-heralds. Oldys no doubt loved his glass—or rather his can, for it was ale he drank—too well; but the story here set down by Grose is certainly apocryphal, for the crown, or coronet, is always carried at the funeral of a prince or princess, by Clarencieux, not by Norroy.<sup>1</sup> Oldys was indebted to the duke of Norfolk for his place in the Herald's college as Norroy, king-at-arms. Having been apprehended for debt, he spent many years in Fleet prison, but at last, on the advice of some friends, made his situation known to that nobleman, who instantly obtained his release, and placed him in the college, *per saltum*, Norroy, king-at-arms, in return for the pleasure he had received from the 'Life of Sir Walter Raleigh,' Oldys' best biographical piece.

Oldys' education was, as might have been anticipated, very imperfect; he appears to have had little classical learning, and his style is far from being correct or polished; but his knowledge of English books was prodigious,—the whole range of our earlier English literature had been ransacked by him with a patience and minuteness of search which nothing could escape. "At a time," says D'Israeli, "when our literary history, excepting in the solitary labours of Anthony Wood, was a forest, with neither road nor pathway, Oldys, fortunately placed in the library of the earl of Oxford, yielded up his entire days to researches concerning the books and the men of the preceding age. His labours were then valueless,—their very nature not yet ascertained; and when he opened the treasures of our ancient lore, in 'The British Librarian,' it was closed for want of public encouragement. Our writers then struggling to create an age of genius of their own, forgot that they had had any progenitors: or while they were acquiring new modes of excellence, that they were losing others, to which their posterity or the national genius might return. (To know, and to admire only the literature and the tastes of our own age, is a species of elegant barbarism). Spenser was considered nearly as obsolete as Chaucer; Milton was veiled by oblivion, and Shakspeare's dramas were so imperfectly known, that in looking over the play-bills of 1711, and much later, I find that whenever it chanced that they were acted, they were always announced to have been 'written by Shakspeare.' Massinger was unknown; and Jonson, though called 'immortal' in the old play-bills, lay entombed in his two folios. The poetical era of Elizabeth, the

<sup>1</sup> Noble.

eloquent age of James the First, and the age of wit of Charles the Second, were blanks in our literary history. Bysshe compiling an *Art of Poetry*, in 1718, passed by in his collection 'Spenser and the poets of his age, because their language is now become so obsolete, that most readers of our age have no ear for them, and therefore Shakspeare himself is so rarely cited in my collection.' The best English poets were considered to be the modern; a taste which is always obstinate! All this was nothing to Oldys; his literary curiosity anticipated by half a century the fervour of the present day. This energetic direction of all his thoughts was sustained by that life of discovery, which in literary researches is starting novelties among old and unremembered things; contemplating some ancient tract as precious as a manuscript, or revelling in the volume of a poet, whose passport of fame was yet delayed in its way; or disinterring the treasures of some secluded manuscript, whence he drew a virgin extract; or raising up a sort of domestic intimacy with the eminent in arms, in politics, and in literature, in this visionary life, life itself with Oldys was insensibly gliding away—its cares almost unfelt! The life of a literary antiquary partakes of the nature of those who, having no concerns of their own, busy themselves with those of others. Oldys lived in the back-ages of England; he had crept among the dark passages of time, till, like an old gentleman-usher, he seemed to be reporting the secret history of the courts which he had lived in. He had been charmed among their masques and revels, had eyed with astonishment their cumbrous magnificence, when knights and ladies carried on their mantles and their cloth of gold ten thousand pounds' worth of ropes of pearls, and buttons of diamonds; or, descending to the gay court of the second Charles, he tattled merry tales, as in that of the first he had painfully watched, like a patriot or a loyalist, a distempered era. He had lived so constantly with these people of another age, and had so deeply interested himself in their affairs, and so loved the wit and the learning which are often bright under the rust of antiquity, that his own uncourtly style is embrowned with the tint of a century old. But it was this taste and curiosity which alone could have produced the extraordinary volume of Sir Walter Raleigh's life; a work richly inlaid with the most curious facts and the juxtaposition of the most remote knowledge; to judge by its fulness of narrative, it would seem rather to have been the work of a contemporary."<sup>2</sup>

Oldys was perpetually plodding amongst old books, pen in hand. The fruits of his researches he appears to have transferred in the most compendious manner to his note books. Some of these are still extant, and are often referred to by the abbreviated designation O. M., that is, Oldys' manuscripts. The greater part, however, of the invaluable memoranda of this most laborious literary antiquary, have disappeared or been destroyed: a loss, in the estimation of one well able to judge in such matters, deeply to be deplored by every lover of our older literature.<sup>3</sup>

In the British museum there is a copy of 'Langbaine's Lives' covered with extremely curious notes in Oldys' hand-writing. These anno-

<sup>2</sup> 'Curiosities of Literature,' vol. vi. p. 369.

<sup>3</sup> See D'Israeli's interesting article on 'Oldys and his Manuscripts.'



tations have been frequently copied by literary gentlemen. He contributed different lives to the 'Biographia Britannica,' and 'General Dictionary;' the introduction to 'Hayward's British Muse;' the life of Nell Gwyne to Curl's 'History of the Stage;' several papers to the 'Scarborough Miscellany,' and the 'Universal Spectator;' and valuable information to a great many authors, who used him as a sort of common-place-book, or index to English literature, and often forgot to acknowledge their obligations to the indefatigable and simple-hearted collector.

## James Bradley.

BORN A. D. 1692.—DIED A. D. 1762.

THIS celebrated astronomer was born at Sherborne in Dorsetshire, in the year 1692. He was educated at North Leach and Oxford. He was admitted of Baliol college in 1710, and took the degree of M. A. in January, 1716. When of sufficient age, he took orders, and received the living of Bridstow from the bishop of Hereford. Mr Molyneux, secretary to the prince of Wales, also presented him with a small sinecure rectory in Wales.

Having a decided taste for mathematical studies, in which he was much assisted by his learned relative Dr Pound, he early began to make those astronomical observations which laid the foundation of his future discoveries, and introduced him to the favourable notice of Sir Isaac Newton, Mr Halley, and some of the first men of science of the day. On the death of Dr John Keill, he was chosen Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford, in 1721, and immediately resigned his livings, in order to devote himself exclusively to astronomical investigations.

In 1727 he published his 'Theory of the Aberration of the Fixed Stars,'—one of the finest discoveries of the modern astronomy. Ten years afterwards he presented the scientific world with his 'Theory of the Nutation of the Earth's Axis,' by which he accounted in the most satisfactory manner, and upon the principles of the Newtonian theory of attraction, for the periodical variations in the inclination of the earth's axis to the plane of the ecliptic.

On the decease of Dr Halley, Mr Bradley was appointed astronomer-royal at Greenwich. He owed this promotion to the favour and interest of Lord Macclesfield; but it appears that his predecessor had been most anxious that he should succeed him, and had even offered to resign in his favour. As soon as this appointment became known, the university of Oxford sent him a diploma of D. D. Bradley was now indefatigable in his observations; and was materially assisted in them by a new set of instruments which were supplied to the observatory in consequence of his representations. Some time after his removal to Greenwich, the valuable living of that parish became vacant, and was offered to our astronomer; but he conscientiously declined it on the ground that his duties at the observatory would interfere too much with those of the clerical office. His fame was now spread throughout Europe, as one of the first practical astronomers of the age; and the leading

scientific bodies on the continent hastened to enrol him amongst their associates.

He pursued his favourite studies with undiminished energy till within two years of his death, which took place in 1762. Mr Bradley was a man of eminent scientific talents. Had he courted reputation, he might easily have found even a more extensive fame than he enjoyed; but his disposition was remarkably modest and retiring; and he often allowed others to assume to themselves the merit of his own original discoveries by the facility with which he communicated them. His observations from 1750 to 1762 were edited by Dr Hornsby.

## William Shenstone.

BORN A. D. 1714.—DIED A. D. 1763.

WILLIAM SHENSTONE was born on the 18th of November, 1714, at the Leasowes, in the parish of Hales-Owen. He was the son of Thomas Shenstone, a country gentleman of small estate. His mother was of the family of the Penns of Harborough, and by the death of her brother became co-heiress of his estate, the moiety of which afterwards made our poet's fortune amount to about £300 a-year. He learned to read of an old dame whose name he has recorded in one of his letters, and whom the poem of the 'Schoolmistress' has handed down to posterity. As he grew older, he went for a while to the grammar-school in Hales-Owen, and was afterwards placed with Mr Crumpton, an eminent schoolmaster at Solihull in Warwickshire, where he distinguished himself by the quickness of his progress in the Latin and Greek classics. From this school he was sent, in the year 1732, to Pembroke college, Oxford, in which society he continued his name ten years, though he took no degree. After the first four years he put on the civilian's gown, but with what design does not appear, as he showed no intention of engaging in any profession. Dr Johnson says, that "at Oxford, Shenstone employed himself upon English poetry, and in the study of mathematics, logic, natural and moral philosophy, and the other sciences usually taught in the university. He made a considerable progress in them, and seemed fond of them; of which the frequent allusions to those sciences in his writings are a sufficient proof."

In 1737 he published, at Oxford, a small collection of his poems, without his name. When he left the university, he lived for some time at Harborough, in the parish of Hagley, where he had a house, which came to him by the unexpected death of his maternal uncle. This house, which was probably of the age of Queen Elizabeth, or earlier, was situated, Mr Graves says, by the side of a large pond, shaded by venerable oaks and elms, and rendered more solemn by a colony of rooks, who seemed coeval with the worthy family who gave them protection.

In 1740 Shenstone published his 'Judgment of Hercules,' addressed to Mr Lyttleton, afterwards Lord Lyttleton, whose political interests he always supported with great warmth. About this time, and for several years after, he made occasional excursions to London, Bath, and other places of public resort. In 1742 he published his 'School-



mistress,' one of the most popular of his performances. In 1745 he had the misfortune to lose his uncle, Mr Dolman, to whose kind management of his affairs he had hitherto been principally indebted for his ease and leisure. The care of his fortune now falling upon himself, he became more resident at the Leasowes, where at first he boarded with his tenants, who were distantly related to him; but finding this mode of living inconvenient, he took the whole estate into his own hands. The manner of laying out ground in the natural style was as yet quite in its infancy when Shenstone began to display his ideas of rural elegance, and very little of what he executed now remains unaltered; but by degrees he brought the Leasowes to such perfection, that, long before he died, his little domain had not only attracted the notice, and procured him the acquaintance, of persons most distinguished for rank or genius, but was become the envy of the great, and the admiration of the skilful,—a place to be visited by travellers, and copied by designers.

Shenstone first embellished his farm with an eye to the satisfaction he should receive from its beauty; but it was not long before he grew dependent upon the friends it brought him for the principal enjoyment it afforded. "He was," as he himself observes, "pleased to find them pleased, and enjoyed its beauties by reflection." He had indeed a constant succession of visitants every summer; and as his *ferme ornée* thus brought the world home to him, when he had too much indolence to go forth in quest of it, he looked upon his scheme of improving and ornamenting the Leasowes as the luckiest he had ever pursued; more especially as it procured him interviews with persons whom it might otherwise have been his wish rather than his good fortune to see. But this pleasure was of short duration. It ceased with the summer; and, at the approach of winter, he had a regular return of nervous and hypochondriacal complaints, which brought him into such a state of heaviness and lassitude, as rendered him averse to all activity both of body and mind. These complaints, if not in a great measure produced, were certainly aggravated by desponding reflections on the narrowness of his circumstances, and the embarrassed state of his affairs. For being naturally inattentive to the rules of economy, and his taste for rural improvements leading him continually into fresh expenses, his fortune, which never exceeded £300 a-year, was gradually impaired; and, to add to his afflictions, he was unhappily involved in a law-suit with a near relation, which, though it was at length accommodated by the generous interposition of one of his noble friends, robbed him of his peace for six of the best years of his life.

Shenstone continued for some time to publish various poetical pieces, particularly 'Rural Elegance,' an ode, addressed to the duchess of Somerset; a 'Pastoral Ballad,' in four parts, which has great merit; and an 'Ode to Memory.' Our author also wrote twenty-six 'Elegies,' some of which have great excellence. Many of his pieces were first published in 'Dodsley's Collection.'

One of Shenstone's principal amusements was epistolary correspondence with several of his friends, particularly Mr Graves, Mr Jago, Mr Whistler, and Lady Luxborough, sister to Lord Bolingbroke. A volume of this lady's letters to Mr Shenstone was published in 8vo., in 1775. He died at the Leasowes, of a putrid fever, on the 11th of

February, 1763, and was buried by the side of his brother, in the churchyard of Hales-Owen, under a plain flat stone, inscribed with his name.

The character of Shenstone was very amiable. Dr Johnson, though he has not done justice to his talents or his writings, says of him, that "his life was unstained by any crime." The 'Elegy on Jessy,' which has been supposed to relate to an unfortunate criminal amour of his own, was known by his friends to have been suggested by the story of Miss Godfrey in Richardson's Pamela. Mr Dodsley says of Shenstone, that "tenderness, in every sense of the word, was his peculiar characteristic; his friends, his domestics, his poor neighbours, all daily experienced his benevolent turn of mind. Indeed this virtue in him was often carried to such excess that it sometimes bordered upon weakness: yet if he was convinced that any of those ranked among his friends had treated him ungenerously, he was not easily reconciled. He used a maxim, however, on such occasions, which is worthy of being observed and imitated: 'I never,' said he, 'will be a revengeful enemy; but I cannot, it is not my nature, to be half a friend.'"

In his person, Shenstone was above the middle stature, but largely and rather inelegantly formed; his face seemed plain, till you entered into conversation with him, and then it grew very pleasing. In his dress he was negligent, even to a fault; though when young, at the university, he was accounted a beau.

The whole of Shenstone's works have been printed in three volumes octavo. The last volume consists entirely of letters to his friends.

## Charles Churchill.

BORN A. D. 1731.—DIED A. D. 1764.

CHARLES CHURCHILL, a man who robbed himself of fair fame by misdirected talents, exerting the powers of a fertile and extraordinary genius on the fleeting politics of the day, and what is worse, in calumniating the good, and apologising for the licentious, was born in the parish of St John, Westminster, of which parish his father was curate, in the year 1731. He was educated at Westminster school, and subsequently admitted of Trinity college, Cambridge; but his residence at the university was only for a very short period. It has been stated that his deficiency in classical learning, at the age of nineteen, was so great as to cause his rejection on applying for matriculation at the sister university; but this is certainly a mistake. At matriculation there is no examination which could lead to a rejection in any case; and Churchill always exhibited fair talents while at school. The allegation may have originated in the circumstance of his standing for a fellowship at Merton college, when he wanted two or three years of the regular time for leaving school; and on which occasion, being opposed by candidates of superior age, he was not chosen.

An early and imprudent marriage was probably the cause of his abandoning the university. His conduct, however, continued irreproachable in other respects; and at the customary age he received deacon's orders from Dr Willis. In 1756 he was ordained priest by



Bishop Sherlock, and appears to have exercised with acceptance his clerical functions in the lectureship of St John's, rendered vacant by the death of his father. Under what circumstances he was first tempted to abandon the honourable path which now lay open before him is a matter of considerable obscurity ; but we find him, in his 27th year, all at once starting forth as a poet and man of the town,—neglecting not only the duties of his office, but even despising and abandoning its decent and creditable appearance,—haunting the purlieus of the theatres and other places of public amusement,—and selecting his companions from among the most dissolute and abandoned of mankind. About the year 1759 he wrote a poem, entitled 'The Bard,' which was rejected by the bookseller to whom he offered it. His next effort was 'The Conclave,' a satire levelled at the dean and chapter of Westminster, which his friends succeeded in persuading him to suppress. 'The Rosciad' was more fortunate. Though refused the paltry sum of five guineas for the manuscript of this poem, he printed it at his own risk, when he had scarcely ready money enough to pay for the necessary advertisements. It was published anonymously in March, 1761, and its sale exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the author. The critical reviewers attacked it bitterly, and Churchill, having now avowed himself the author, retorted with greater severity in 'The Apology.' In these publications the merits and characters of the different performers in the Drury-lane and Covent-garden theatres were freely canvassed and discussed, with a poignancy of satire rendered doubly galling to its objects by the acuteness of the author's criticism, and the easy vigorous flow of his poetry. The success of these pieces, and the consciousness of power which he now possessed, emboldened Churchill to fling aside the last restraints of professional decency ; Dr Pearce, the dean of Westminster, remonstrated ; and the young curate, to put an end to the murmurings of his parishioners as well as ecclesiastical superiors, and relieve himself at once of all restrictions, resigned his lectureship, and assumed the dress and manners of a man of fashion. This step was followed by a separation from his wife, who survived him, however, and to whom he bequeathed an annuity of £60.

We next find him associating with that political charlatan John Wilkes, at whose instigation he wrote 'The Prophecy of Famine,' a bitter and scurrilous satire directed against the Scottish nation. Of this poem, Wilkes declared before its appearance in January, 1763, that he was "sure it would take, as it was at once personal, poetical, and political." It did take ; its popularity exceeded that of 'The Rosciad ;' and its author obtained by it the unenviable distinction of being the first political satirist of the day. The 'Epistle to Hogarth,'—'The Conference,'—'The Duellist,'—'The Author,'—'Gotham,'—'The Candidate,'—'The Farewell,'—'The Times,'—and 'Independence,' all followed each other in rapid succession. Some critics have pretended to discover indications of declining power in these pieces ; the poet Cowper, a very competent judge it will be allowed, was of a different opinion,—"Churchill, the great Churchill," he says in one of his letters, "deserved the name of a poet. I have read him twice, and some of his pieces three times over, and the last time with more pleasure than the first. 'Gotham' is a noble and beautiful poem, and a poem with which I make no doubt the author took as much pains as with any he ever

wrote. Making allowance, and Dryden perhaps in his ‘Absalom and Achitophel’ stands in need of the same indulgence, for an unwarrantable use of scripture, it appears to me to be a masterly performance. ‘Independence’ is a most animated piece, full of strength and spirit, and marked with that bold masculine character which I think is the great peculiarity of this writer; and ‘The Times,’ except that the subject is disgusting to the last degree, stands equally high in my opinion.”

Towards the end of October, 1764, Churchill set out on a visit to Wilkes, then a voluntary exile in France. They met at Boulogne; but Churchill, almost instantly on his arrival, was attacked by a military fever, which terminated his existence on the 4th of November, in the 34th year of his age. It is said his last words were, “What a fool have I been!” but Wilkes, who attended his dying friend, denied this. His body was brought from Boulogne to Dover, where it was interred in the churchyard of St Martin.

Churchill’s poetry was by the necessity of its nature of ephemeral interest,—a necessity, however, imposed upon it by the themes which the poet chose for his muse, and not by any lack of true poetical genius. “He is indeed,” says the amiable Cowper, “a careless writer for the most part; but where shall we find in any of those authors, who finish their works with the exactness of a Flemish pencil, those bold and daring strokes of fancy, those numbers so hazardously ventured upon, and so happily finished, the matter so compressed and yet so clear, and the colouring so sparingly laid on, and yet with such a beautiful effect? In short, it is not the least praise that he is never guilty of those faults as a writer, which he lays to the charge of others. A proof that he did not charge from a borrowed standard, or from rules laid down by critics, but that he was qualified to do it by his own native powers, and his great superiority of genius. For he that wrote so much, and so fast, would, through inadvertence and hurry, unavoidably have departed from rules which he might have found in books; but his own truly poetical talent was a guide which would not suffer him to err. A race-horse is graceful in his swiftest pace, and never makes an awkward motion, though he is pushed to his utmost speed. A cart-horse might perhaps be taught to play tricks in the riding-school, and might prance and curvet like his betters; but at some unlucky time would be sure to betray the baseness of his original. It is an affair of very little consequence perhaps to the well-being of mankind, but I cannot help regretting that he died so soon. Those words of Virgil, upon the immature death of Marcellus, might serve for his epitaph:

‘Ostendant terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra  
Esse sinent.’”

The following lines from ‘Gotham’ may afford the reader some idea of Churchill’s style:

“How much do they mistake, how little know  
Of kings, of kingdoms, and the pains which flow  
From royalty, who fancy that a crown,  
Because it glistens, must be lined with down.  
With outside show, and vain appearance caught,  
They look no farther, and, by Folly taught,  
Prize high the toys of thrones, but never find  
One of the many cares which lurk behind.



The gem they worship, which a crown adorns,  
 Nor once suspect that crown is lined with thorns.  
 O might Reflection Folly's place supply,  
 Would we one moment use her piercing eye,  
 Then should we learn what woe from grandeur springs,  
 And learn to pity, not to envy, kings.

The villager, born humbly and bred hard,  
 Content his wealth, and poverty his guard,  
 In action simply just, in conscience clear,  
 By guilt untainted, undisturb'd by fear,  
 His means but scanty, and his wants but few,  
 Labour his business and his pleasure too,  
 Enjoys more comforts in a single hour,  
 Than ages give the wretch condemn'd to power.

Call'd up by health he rises with the day,  
 And goes to work, as if he went to play,  
 Whistling off toils, one half of which might make  
 The stoutest ATLAS of a palace quake ;  
 'Gainst heat and cold, which makes us cowards faint,  
 Harden'd by constant use, without complaint,  
 He bears, what we should think it death to bear ;  
 Short are his meals, and homely is his fare ;  
 His thirst he slakes at some pure neighb'ring brook,  
 Nor asks for sauce, where appetite stands cook.  
 When the dews fall, and when the sun retires  
 Behind the mountains, when the village-fires,  
 Which, waken'd all at once, speak supper nigh,  
 At distance catch, and fix his longing eye,  
 Homeward he hies, and, with his manly brood  
 Of raw-boned cubs, enjoys that clean, coarse food,  
 Which, season'd with good humour, his fond bride  
 'Gainst his return is happy to provide.  
 Then, free from care, and free from thought, he creeps  
 Into his straw, and till the morning sleeps.

Not so the king—with anxious care oppress'd,  
 His bosom labours, and admits not rest.  
 A glorious wretch, he sweats beneath the weight  
 Of majesty, and gives up ease for state.  
 E'en when he smiles, which, by the fools of pride,  
 Are treasured and preserved, from side to side  
 Fly round the court ; e'en when, compell'd by form,  
 He seems most calm, his soul is in a storm !  
 CARE, like a spectre, seen by him alone,  
 With all her nest of vipers, round his throne  
 By day crawls full in view ; when Night bids sleep,  
 Sweet nurse of Nature, o'er the senses creep,  
 When Misery herself no more complains,  
 And slaves, if possible, forget their chains,  
 Though his sense weakens, though his eyes grow dim,  
 That rest, which comes to all, comes not to him.  
 E'en at that hour, CARE, tyrant CARE, forbids  
 The dew of sleep to fall upon his lids ;  
 From night to night she watches at his bed ;  
 Now, as one mop'd, sits brooding o'er his head,  
 Anon she starts, and, borne on raven's wings,  
 Croaks forth aloud—Sleep was not made for kings."

## Robert Dodsley.

BORN A. D. 1703.—DIED A. D. 1764.

ROBERT DODSLEY was born at Mansfield in Nottinghamshire in the year 1703. Although his father is said to have been master of the free-school at Mansfield, yet neither the subject of our memoir, nor any other members of the family appear to have entered life with prospects beyond servitude. One was a servant, the other a gardener, and of Robert it is traditionally recorded in his native place, that having been entered apprentice to a stocking weaver, want and hardship compelled him to run away, and become footman to a lady. It is however satisfactorily ascertained that he was once footman to Mr Charles Dartineuf, paymaster of the works, a gentleman who had made himself so illustrious for gluttony in general, and his achievements over ham-pies in particular, as to attract the muse of Pope. In the same capacity, degrading to an enlightened mind, and not easily occupied by such a person without a tinge of moral corruption, he entered the family of Miss Lowther. That lady appears to have been gifted with the singular disposition of perceiving good qualities even in a menial; she praised Dodsley's attempts at rhyme, showed them to her visitors, and encouraged him to publish a volume of fugitive pieces, by assisting in procuring a liberal subscription. This collection he modestly termed 'The Muse in Livery,' and it was accompanied by an engraved frontispiece, emblematic of the mind attempting to escape from the 'misery, folly, and ignorance' to which the body is chained by poverty,—showing that he was not ashamed of what poverty had compelled him to accept, while he earnestly sought relief, and was not servile in his heart. His next attempt, 'The Toyshop,' a theatrical satire, was written under the same circumstances, and is allowed to be a work of real genius, displaying an insight into character, which, if often possessed by the liveried portion of the community, might make the higher classes very uncomfortable. With the confidence of real talent, he was not afraid to court the most acute scrutiny to his new piece, and he accordingly wrote to Pope a letter full of modest doubts of his own claims to notice, requesting that great man to peruse the manuscript. Pope *did* peruse the manuscript, and in a letter dated February 5th, 1733, said in answer, "I was very willing to read your piece, and do freely tell you, I like it, as far as my particular judgment goes. Whether it has action enough to please the stage, I doubt; but the morality and satire ought to be relished by the reader. I will do more than you ask me, I will recommend it to Mr Rich. If he can join it to any play, with suitable representations, to make it an entertainment, I believe he will give you a benefit night: and I sincerely wish it may be turned any way to your advantage, or that I could show you my friendship in any instance." The return for these two works must have been watched by Dodsley with a still more anxious eye than authors in general direct towards the public opinion in their works,—the profits were, if sufficient, to be used for the purpose of relieving him from servitude; and being found ample enough, he was enabled to fulfil his intention.



His shop in Pall Mall was opened in 1735, and the conversational genius of its owner, added to the friendly attention of Pope, soon filled it with illustrious visitors. Soon after being thus established, he published the well-known farce of 'The King and the Miller of Mansfield,' which was performed in 1737, and did not fail in attracting the attention naturally to be expected from the racy wit of the composition, and the real English humour of the incidents. In 1738 he produced 'Sir John Cockle,' intended as a sequel to the previous piece, but for the continuation he did not receive the same praise as for the first attempt, one exhibition on a field so narrow being probably sufficient to satisfy the public taste. In 1741 he brought on the stage 'The Blind Beggar of Bethnal-green,' a piece which met with no greater success than its precursor. Dodsley has surprised literary men, by the earliness of his literary speculations, their success, and the respectability of the authors who resorted to him from the commencement. In 1737 he published Pope's 'Second epistle of the second book of Horace;' in the following month he procured the copy-right and sole property of that author's 'Letters,' so singularly forced upon the world, and afterwards of vols. 5 and 6 of his works, and several detached pieces. Much about the same period, he ushered into the world, the works of Young and Akenside, and in the following year entered into speculations with long-established booksellers, for the works of authors of reputation. From Dodsley's establishment issued the earliest complete work of Johnson's 'London,' purchased by the rising publisher on a knowledge of its merits, after having been subjected to his notice through the instrumentality of Cave. It was disposed of by Johnson, then in great poverty, as the work of a friend "under very disadvantageous circumstances of fortune," and Dodsley thinking it "a creditable thing to be concerned in," paid for it ten guineas.

On the third of January, 1741, Dodsley commenced a periodical, entitled 'The Public Register, or Weekly Magazine;' a species of Magazine, which, interfering to a certain extent with the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' caused for some time a slight jealousy between the respective publishers. After the twenty-fourth number, it ceased, on the avowed ground of the publisher's "additional expense in stamping it, and the ungenerous usage he met with from one of the proprietors of a *certain monthly pamphlet*, who prevailed with most of the common newspapers not to advertise it." A small poetical pantomime which excited little interest, called 'Rex et Pontifex,' dropped from his pen in 1745. In the year following, he was a shareholder in another periodical, 'The Museum, or the Literary and Historical Register;' and in 1748 he published 'The Preceptor,' a periodical fed by such hands as Johnson, Walpole, and Akenside. If Dodsley was not the person who projected Johnson's English Dictionary, he was at least the first publisher to listen to the plan, and he paid much practical attention to its progress: before the vast undertaking was completed, it was the fate of Dodsley, to be, like the author, deprived of a wife "on whom his heart was fixed, and to whom every wish and desire turned." In 1748 Dodsley collected some of his pieces into a volume with the humble title, 'Trifles;' and after the treaty which immediately ensued, he produced for the stage the 'Triumph of Peace,' a masque.

In 1750 he published anonymously the famous 'Economy of Human

Life.' The deep oriental tinge of imagination, the solemn gravity of reflection, and the lofty tone of feeling and morality which pervaded this remarkable work, could not fail to attract the public eye. Those who speculated on the subject gave the authorship to the earl of Chesterfield, on the theory, one must suppose, that that author had written all his previous works in a totally opposite vein, for the purpose of more effectually concealing his authorship of this outpouring of high feeling. Chesterfield had a friendship for Dodsley; and knowing the value of the sanction of his name, did not contradict the report. The 'Economy of Human Life' has been republished in many varieties of shape; but perhaps the best evidence of its reputation is to be found in the host of ghastly imitations which followed at its heels. He had intended, in 1754, to have published a poem, to be comprised in three books, treating of agriculture, commerce, and arts. The first of these he attempted as an experiment under the name of 'Public Virtue;' but the poem was neither popular, nor admired by literary men. Johnson remarked, "It was fine blank, (meaning to express his usual contempt for blank verse;) however, this miserable poem did not sell, and my poor friend, Doddy, said, Public Virtue was not a thing to interest the age."<sup>1</sup> It is needless to say that the series was stopped. His next project was 'The World,' of which he chose the appellation, and wrote one number, (32.) The year 1758 appears to have been one of considerable import to Dodsley. At that time we find him making a tour through Scotland with Mr George Spence, one of his most early and intimate friends, in the progress towards which they both visited the poet Shenstone. Within the same year appeared his 'Melpomene, or the Regions of Terror and Pity,' an ode; and the most striking, if not the best, of his theatrical productions,—the tragedy of 'Cleone.' It is said that this piece suffered at its first appearance from the jealousy of Garrick, who could not brook the existence of a play in which there was not a character adapted to his talents. Within the same year, the 'Annual Register' made its appearance. Few bibliopolical speculations have proved so profitable as this important work, nor have the public had reason to complain of their share of its advantages. It was, in short, eminently useful, and eminently successful; and its utility and varied excellences being known to every one who reads, require no explanation. In 1760 Dodsley published another profitable work,—'Select Fables of Esop and other Fabulists.' Soon after this period he retired from the active part of his business on a considerable fortune, amassed by the most gratifying means through which man can gather wealth; and his brother, James, a person of inferior talents, previously his partner, succeeded him.

During his latter days he suffered much from the gout, of which disease he died on a visit to his friend, Mr Spence, at Durham, on the 25th day of September, 1764, in the sixty-first year of his age. He edited and published many works to which our limits have not permitted a reference, among which we ought not to forget his celebrated collection of 'Old Plays.'

<sup>1</sup> Boswell, vol. iv. p. 18.



## William Hogarth.

BORN A. D. 1697.—DIED A. D. 1764.

WILLIAM HOGARTH, one of the most remarkable men, for the originality of his genius and the peculiarity of its operation, whom it falls to the lot of these pages to commemorate, was born in London, on the 10th day of November, 1697. His grandfather was a respectable yeoman in Westmoreland, who had three sons, of whom the youngest, Richard, father to the painter, received a tolerable classical education at St Bees, where he afterwards superintended a school. He followed the same occupation in Ship-court in the Old Bailey,—was occasionally employed in correcting the press,—and left no contemptible memorial of his classical attainments, in a Latin dictionary for the use of schools. He married in London, and the painter and his two sisters, Mary and Anne, are believed to have been his only progeny. It is worthy of notice, as connected with the peculiar genius of the painter, that his junior uncle, who lived in the neighbourhood of Kendal, had acquired the fame of a hardy satirist and keen observer, not of human follies in general, but of acts which outraged the good old customs of the place, “over the whole parish, nay, to the very bounds of the Westmoreland dialect;” and from the amusing description which has been handed down, of ‘Ald Hogart,’ his boisterous jests and quibbling songs, it may easily be imagined, that had a desire for knowledge prompted him to acquire information, or accident thrown him into less rustic society, the world might have gained another Persius or Butler.

William Hogarth’s father was not possessed of sufficient wealth to give his son the education either of a scholar or an artist. “My father’s pen,” he says, “like that of many other authors, did not enable him to do more than put me in the way of shifting for myself.” He thus characteristically continues the account of his younger days: “As I had naturally a good eye, and a fondness for drawing, shows of all sorts gave me uncommon pleasure when an infant; and mimicry, common to all children, was remarkable in me. An early access to a neighbouring painter drew my attention from play, and I was, at every possible opportunity, employed in making drawings. I picked up an acquaintance of the same turn, and soon learned to draw the alphabet with great correctness. My exercises, when at school, were more remarkable for the ornaments which adorned them, than for the exercise itself. In the former, I soon found that blockheads, with better memories, could much surpass me; but for the latter I was particularly distinguished.” We have indeed few so illustrious or interesting spectacles of the most refined acuteness of the human intellect directing its whole power in one direction, and neglecting others, as may be found in a comparison of Hogarth’s plastic with his literary fame. The progress which he made at school may be simply illustrated by the fact, that he could never make himself master of the science of spelling. The scrolls and mottoes of his prints are full of stable-boy blunders; he dared not submit any literary composition to the public without the revision of a friend; and his adversary Wilkes, speaking of the analysis of beauty,

was enabled to say, "He somewhere mentions his being indebted to a friend for a third part of the *wording*; that is his phrase. We all titter the instant he takes up a *pen*, but we tremble when we see the *pencil* in his hand." He was enabled to give the first narrow vent to his depictive powers, by being apprenticed, early in life, as an engraver on plate to a respectable goldsmith, of the name of Ellis Gamble, at "the Golden Angel in Cranbourn-street, Leicester-fields." We have evidence of his knowledge of taste, and of the rules of drawing, in specimens earlier than those in which he displayed his discernment of character. Two cards for the shop of his employer, and one for an individual in the same profession, have been religiously preserved and re-engraved. These, when we hold in view the restricted nature of the work, exhibit a fund of varied and apt illustration, and of correct drawing. We find in them all that can be applied to use, of the theory of the waving line of beauty which he afterwards so elaborately illustrated, while in the lines and attitudes he has shown a disposition to imitate the manner of one of the best of early French engravers, Callot. If such was his intention, he quickly improved upon his model. Some plates, which he soon afterwards executed for a work on Roman military punishments, are evidently after Callot's method of grouping, while the figures have more variety and proportion; but, in a small plate executed for his own card as an engraver, which bears date, April, 1720, the beauty of the arrangement in the tiny parts, and the easy flow of the drapery and attitudes of two symbolical figures, so far excel Callot in purity of taste, that the resemblance ceases. Nichols tells us that an accident first drew his latent powers into their natural channel. He had taken an excursion with some companions to Highgate, one hot sunny evening, and entered a public house, where some people were quarrelling. One of the disputants lacerated the face of another with a blow from a quart-pot. The bloody face, the agonized attitude of the sufferer, and perhaps the emotions depicted on the features of the perpetrator and his companions, struck the comic feeling of the artist so forcibly, that he snatched out his pencil, and committed the incident to paper on the spot, with caricature portraits of all the persons engaged. But perhaps the earliest specimen of his attempts at character which has survived, is a rude outline sketch of one of the scenes in 'Pope's Rape of the Lock,' said to have been an impression from a scratching on the lid of a gold snuff-box. This production is so meagre, and so negligently executed, that it is only on being informed of the name of the artist, that, with the assistance perhaps of a slight tinge of fancy, we are enabled to detect his characteristics; yet so much do collectors prefer the possession of what another cannot procure to the best works of art, that while the paintings of the 'Harlot's Progress' sold at fourteen guineas each, and from one to two guineas were frequently the prices of the best impressions of his best plates, the single impression from the snuff-box was purchased at Mr Gulstone's sale, in 1786, for £33. We bestow disproportionate space on the description of the early productions of the great artist, because they are comparatively unknown, and his more mature works are so generally circulated, so well appreciated, and so voluminously illustrated, that an equal attention to them would be but a faint addition to the abundance of knowledge on the subject, which most general readers possess. He gladly left his situa-



tion with the goldsmith, and established himself as an engraver, in which capacity his efforts were for a considerable period limited to engraving shop cards, coats of arms, and illustrations of obscure books. He appears, during this period, to have lived an obscure and laborious life: "by engraving," he says, "until I was near thirty, I could do little more than maintain myself; but, even then, I was a punctual pay-master."

About the year 1728 he appears to have aimed at the higher branch of the art, by commencing to paint portraits, and small family conversation pieces. He was no flatterer of the human countenance, yet, in his obscurer years, several, who probably grudged the prices of fashionable artists, saw inducement in his talent, when added to economy, sufficient to make them become his employers. In the capacity of a portrait painter, an anecdote of the artist has been preserved, exceedingly characteristic of his desire to sport with human follies and frailties. A peer, whose ugliness exceeded that generally allotted to humanity, sat to Hogarth for his picture. The painter could not resist the happy opportunity of depicting a hideous likeness of an hereditary legislator. The peer, actuated by feelings somewhat different from those of the artist, showed considerable reluctance to receive the portrait and pay the price. Hogarth sent him the following note:—"Mr Hogarth's dutiful respects to Lord —; finding that he does not mean to have the picture which was drawn for him, is informed again of Mr H.'s necessity for the money; if, therefore, his lordship does not send for it in three days, it will be disposed of, with the addition of a tail, and some other little appendages, to Mr Hare, the famous wild-beast man; Mr H. having given that gentleman a conditional promise of it for an exhibition-picture, on his lordship's refusal." The picture was sent for and burnt. While on the subject of portrait-painting, we may here make a remark on a matter of much dispute, regarding the genius of Hogarth. It has been asserted by some, that he never depicted a female face of mental beauty; while others have doubted whether he could have guided his pencil to the delineation of a really pleasing female face. In his pictures of life and character the point admits of much dispute: the features of the bride, in the first picture of 'Marriage a la Mode,' have certainly all that could be wished of the air of a high-bred beauty; and, in an illustration of the 'Beggar's Opera,' he has given us the picture of an exceedingly pleasing and pretty girl. In these instances the ideal perfection of classic sculpture was neither requisite nor natural; but it must be allowed, that, in his female forms in general, deformity is more frequent and more strikingly interesting than beauty. There is, however, one female head and bust, which, in form of feature, in the reflection of a soul within, nay, even in the attitude and the adjustment of the head-dress, appears to have approached all that can be imagined of the most exquisite female beauty. It is unknown whether this is a portrait or a study; most probably the former. The features have all the marks of individuality; had these been the marks of low passion, of folly, or of meanness, their peculiarities would have been no reason for supposing the portrait not to have been a design by Hogarth, but they are the marks of individual graces and beauties. Hogarth's servant, Ben Ives, was aware of the excellence of this picture: showing it to Garrick, he exclaimed, "There, sir! there's a picture!

They say my master can't paint a portrait, and does not know what true beauty is: there is a head that, I think, must confound and put all his enemies to the blush." Nor in the male portraits which have survived do we find much propensity to caricature, or a wilful blindness to outward dignity of form or expression denoting good or high mental principle. His portraits, he says, "by some were said to be *nature itself*, by others most *execrable*;" and he refers to the full length portrait of Captain Thomas Coram, painted for the Foundling Hospital, as a proof of the injustice of his traducers. This represents the living figure of an easy, excellent old gentleman, with a hale body, an excellent heart, and a strong head. The portraits of Archbishop Herring, and of Gibbs the architect, may be adduced as specimens of the mental dignity which he could produce when he willed it.

The earliest of his works now known, in which he attempted a complicated arrangement of figures, is in the Wanstead Assembly, afterwards used as an illustration to the 'Analysis of Beauty.' The period of life at which he painted this picture is unknown. It is impossible to mistake in it the master-hand, although it is comparatively uninteresting: little is represented but a complication of vulgarity and clumsiness, of awkwardness varied and contrasted almost without end. There is more ingenuity in displaying grotesqueness than genius, and we look in vain for the moral satire of 'Marriage a la Mode,' or the revolting horrors of 'Gin-lane.'

In 1730 Hogarth married Jane, the only daughter of Sir James Thornhill, sergeant painter, and history painter to King George I.<sup>1</sup>—a lady, who, if we may judge from a portrait by her husband, must have possessed considerable attractions. The young artist, low born, little distinguished in his profession, illiterate, and totally destitute of any courtly ingredients in his manners, it is very natural to suppose would not have appeared a fitting son-in-law in the eyes of Sir James, and the marriage was clandestine. About a year after his marriage he had just finished the pictures of the 'Harlot's Progress,' and was advised by Lady Thornhill to have some of the scenes placed before Sir James. Mrs Hogarth placed the pictures in his dining-room, and when she satisfied the inquiries of the astonished sergeant painter as to the hand whence they had sprung, he remarked, "Very well; the man who can furnish representations like these, can also maintain a wife without a portion." In this inimitable series of pictures, and in the 'Rake's Progress,' which speedily followed, it had been the intention of the artist to present the world with painted dramas,—with series of pictures in which the mind saw so much connection, that it could dovetail the whole into narratives, more living than the pen could be made to depict. We need not say how well he accomplished his object. From the moment when they appeared before the world to the present day, the most critical eyes have been employed in examining, and the most elegant pens in analyzing, the endless varieties of these complicated productions of the human intellect; nor does it seem they could ever cease, like the nature from which they are derived, to pour forth new matter for the critic or the moralist. The conventional attributes of these plates may become strange and unnatural with the improvements or degeneracies of time,

<sup>1</sup> Nichols says she was only eighteen at the period of her marriage; Dallaway, in a note to Walpole's Anecdotes, says she was twenty-one. Vol. iv. p. 145.



and indeed many of them are already antiquated. The swords, the ponderous wigs, the extended petticoats, nay, the villanous assembly congregated in the chambers of the spendthrift, in the second plate, and the roaring debauchery exhibited in the third of the 'Rake's Progress,' are things unseen and almost forgotten in the nineteenth century; but the swaggering, consequential brutality of the jailor, the silly strut of the fop, the maudlin leer of the exhausted and decrepit drunkard, the furious contortions of the ruined gambler, and the ghastly horrors and imbecilities of the madhouse, will tell truths of the human heart to ages yet unborn. Their effect cannot change so long as mankind remain the same; and had they been painted in ancient Babylon or Rome, with the corresponding costume and manners, they could not have lost many of their attractions for the present age. The remarks of Mr Gilpen on one of these pictures—the 'Rake's Levee'—affords a good comment on the method of Hogarth's genius, and the sacrifices he made to give it freedom:—"The *composition* seems to be entirely subservient to the expression. It appears as if Hogarth had sketched, in his memorandum book, all the characters which he has here introduced; but was at a loss how to group them; and chose rather to introduce them in detached figures, as he had sketched them, than to lose any part of the expression by combining them. The *light* is very ill distributed; it is spread indiscriminately over the print, and destroys the *whole*. We have no instance of grace in any of the figures." These remarks, considered in the light of objections, spring from the technical feelings of the amateur, and we require to be told of their existence, and to search for them in the pictures, before we are aware of their existence. In the pictures of the 'Levee,' the 'Gambling House,' or the 'Asylum,' we feel scarcely more inclined to search for grouping and light, than if the actual scenes were presented before us. The artist had narrative and the display of character in view, and he has not altered the position of a limb, or darkened a feature, where, for the sake of effect, he might have deviated, in the most minute proportion, from the truth of the character. His earlier and less distinguished works show him to have been an excellent master of grouping and light. When we add to the pictures we have just been alluding to, the 'Marriage a la Mode,' the 'Four Stages of Cruelty,' 'Beer Street,' and 'Gin Lane,' and the 'Idle and Industrious Apprentice'—we have before us a set of sermons against vice, and satires on folly, which the world scarcely elsewhere equals. To weak minds the view of vice is generally either shocking or depraving, while it is well it should be known that it may be avoided: the artist seems to have glutted in its horrors, that he might represent it almost living, for the avoidance of others. "Hogarth," says Horace Walpole, "resembles Butler, but his subjects are more universal, and, amidst all his pleasantry, he observes the true end of comedy—reformation; there is always a moral in his pictures. Sometimes he rose to tragedy, not in the catastrophe of kings and heroes, but in marking how vice conducts, insensibly and incidentally, to misery and shame. He warns against encouraging cruelty and idleness in young minds, and discerns how the different vices of the great and the vulgar lead, by various paths, to the same unhappiness. The fine lady in 'Marriage a la Mode,' and Tom Nero, in the 'Four Stages of Cruelty,' terminate their story in blood—she occasions the murder of her husband, he assassinates his mistress."

Soon after his marriage, Hogarth lived at South Lambeth, and contributed to the ornaments of the gardens of Vauxhall, for which he painted the well-known 'Four parts of the Day.' The prints of his 'Harlot's Progress' introduced him speedily to the highest notice in the land, and the events of the series were made popular by dramatic performances. It is singular that a man whose eyes were so universally open to the follies of his race, should have indulged in one of the most despicable foibles of mankind—national prejudice. But he never attempted by reflection to curb the natural rough outlines of his temper; in society he was frequently rude, vulgar, overbearing, and disagreeable; and an incident which happened at this period of his life, affords a specimen of how luxuriantly he allowed his prejudices and narrow views to grow. In 1747, he made an excursion to France, for the purpose of seeing and ridiculing the inferiority of that country to his native land. Whenever he met an object which in the slightest degree attracted his tenacious attention to the ludicrous, he invariably visited it with a torrent of English abuse. Towards the termination of his journey he sat down and commenced the sketching of the gate of Calais, from which he prepared the curious caricature termed 'Roast Beef at the Gate of Calais.' His labours were interrupted by a sentinel, who seized him as a person most audaciously acting as a spy. On being brought before the commandant, he was courteously informed, that, had not the articles of the peace of Aix la Chapelle been concluded, he should have been strung up to the rampart. An examination of his sketch-book showing his designs not to be of a political nature, he was permitted to depart in the company of two guards, who attended him on board, and did not leave him until he had proceeded three miles from the shore, when they spun him round on the deck, and left him to meditate on the inferiority of the French nation. He could never patiently permit the circumstances of his journey to be alluded to in his presence.

In the year 1745, Hogarth, conceiving that his prints were sufficiently numerous for the purpose, formed them into a handsome volume, and engraved his own portrait for the frontispiece. On the corner of this celebrated portrait was a palette with a waving line, inscribed 'The Line of Beauty.' The meaning of the artist in this representation created considerable discussion, and the disputes which originated on the matter prompted him to a literary explanation of his favourite curve. In 1753 he published the well-known 'Analysis of Beauty, written with a view of fixing the fluctuating ideas of Taste.' Few men adopt a metaphysical theory without arguments in its support, founded on observation of nature; hence, the acuteness of Hogarth enabled him, while supporting his very limited theory, to make many original observations on the origin of taste, which, with the general fate of such discoveries, have found their way into the works of more enlarged and compact theorists, while their original source is neglected. His theories are laid down with uncompromising boldness; for his success in one branch of genius had not taught him humility in others. There were few things, indeed, which entered his imagination as being worthy of achievement, for which he did not conceive himself capable; and the surest way to gain his favour, was by flattering him on the performances which the world considered he had ill-achieved. "A word in



favour of *Sigismunda*," says Nichols with the simplicity of a zealous virtuoso, "might have commanded a proof print, or forced an original sketch out of our artist's hands. The furnisher of this remark owes one of his scarcest performances to the success of a compliment which might have stuck even in Sir Godfrey Kneller's throat." Some one had compared a performer to Handel, and Hogarth sneered at the idea; "but, Mr Hogarth," continued the retailer of the opinion, "he said you were equal to Vandyke." "Ay, there he was right enough," replied the artist, "and, by God, so I know that I am; give me my own subject and time." In pursuance of a similar boast, he painted 'A Conversation Scene, after the manner of Vandyke,' of which all that need be said is, that he has assembled an unpleasing group of ill-dressed and disagreeable looking people. His 'Pool of Bethesda,' and his 'Illustrations of Milton,' with their hideous angels and grotesque fiends, remain curious illustrations of his appreciation of his own powers; but his performance most unfortunate for his own peace of mind, was the renowned picture of *Sigismunda*, designed to rival the representation by Corregio of the same subject, purchased at Sir Luke Schaub's sale, in 1758, for above £400. The person for whom the picture was painted refused to receive it; and Hogarth, burning with wrath, resolved it should never be sold under £500. It is questionable whether the rolling vituperations of Walpole are a true estimate of the merits of this performance; but it is certainly a most unpleasing picture, and a circumstance, afterwards removed by the artist, must have added to its offensiveness when the critique was written—the fingers were bloody. The fate of this production elicited from the artist some verses, of no peculiar merit; but it was finally a subject of deep harassment. When, in 1762, he published his print of 'The Times,' Wilkes answered the satire in the North Britain. Hogarth caricatured Wilkes in return; Churchill came forward to the assistance of the writer, and Hogarth stamped him with the die of ridicule, in the picture of a 'Russian Bear with a pot of Porter.' The chief handle of attack to the penmen was the picture of *Sigismunda*. Mrs Hogarth displayed some animosity towards those who had underrated the picture, and it had been whispered that she was herself the model from which it had been taken. If this was the case, the feelings of the artist and his consort cannot have been allayed by the remark of Wilkes, that, "If the figure had a resemblance of anything ever on earth, or had the least pretence to meaning or expression, it was what he had seen, or perhaps made, in real life, his own wife in an agony of passion; but of what passion no connoisseur could guess." The feelings of irritation and wounded pride occasioned by this controversy, imbittered the latter days of the great artist's life. In 1762 he complained of an inward pain, which speedily increased to an incurable disorder, during which, in expectation of the speedy approach of death, he employed himself in diligently retouching his plates. The last performance of his unrivalled pencil possesses a curious and melancholy interest. "My next undertaking," he observed to a party of persons who were enjoying themselves convivially in his presence, "shall be the end of all things." "If that is the case," observed a friend, "your business will be finished; for there will be an end of the painter." "There will be so," answered the artist; "and therefore, the sooner my work is done the better." He fell busily to







*Admiral Lord Howe*

*Engraved by W. P. Freeman  
from the Original Painting by Francis Cotes R. S. A.*

work, and laboured with an energy which showed a fear that he might not live to complete his plan. He gathered together in this allegory, with his usual ingenuity, almost all the figures which could aptly be used as types of ruin: "a broken bottle—an old broom worn to the stump—the butt-end of an old musket—a cracked bell—bow unstrung—a crown tumbled in pieces—towers in ruin—the sign-post of a tavern, called the World's-end, tumbling—the moon in her wane—the map of the globe burning—a gibbet falling, the body gone, and the chain which held it dropping down—Phœbus and his horse dead in the clouds—a vessel wrecked—Time, with his hour-glass and scythe broken, a tobacco-pipe in his mouth, the last whiff of smoke going out—a play-book opened, with *exeunt omnes* stamped in the corner—an empty purse—and a statute of bankruptcy taken out against Nature." When he had looked over the dreary assemblage, he observed one omission; "Nothing remains but this," he said, taking the pencil and hastily dashing off the likeness of a broken palette; "finis!" he exclaimed, "the deed is done—all is over!" On the 25th of October, 1764, about a month after the above incident, he was conveyed from Chiswick to Leicester fields, in a state of cheerfulness, but great debility. He had received a letter from his friend Dr Franklin, to which he had drawn up a rough draught of an answer; but on retiring to bed, his disorder attacked him with unusual violence, and in two hours he expired. Among his friends and relatives he left behind him a very high character for the practice of the domestic virtues.

## Lady Mary Wortley Montague.

BORN A. D. 1690.—DIED A. D. 1762.

THIS highly-gifted lady was the eldest daughter of Evelyn, earl of Kingston. She was born at Thoresby, in Nottinghamshire, about the year 1690. Her education was of a more masculine kind than usually fell to the lot of young ladies of her time. She was placed under the same preceptors as her brother, Viscount Newark, and made distinguished proficiency under their tuition in the classical and modern languages. Among her earliest compositions was a translation of the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, which is noticed by Bishop Burnet in terms of high praise.

In 1712 she married Edward Wortley Montague, eldest son of the Honourable Sidney Montague. This union was not an auspicious one. The husband was a man of inferior parts, and of a cold suspicious temper; Lady Mary was quick, lively, and penetrating,—highly susceptible in her attachments, and at times perhaps a little indiscreet in her manner of evincing them. Mr Wortley had a seat in parliament, and, upon the accession of George I., became a confidential supporter of the administration. In 1716 he was appointed ambassador to the Porte, and set out, in the month of August, for Constantinople. His wife accompanied him; and, during her stay in Turkey, wrote those admirable and animated letters by which she is so generally known, and which contributed more than all preceding publications in the English language to familiarize the public with Turkish manners. The correspond-



ents to whom chiefly at this period she communicated the result of her foreign observations were her sister the countess of Mar, Fenton's 'Seraphic Rich,' Mrs Thistlethwaite, and Pope. These letters were afterwards collected and transcribed by herself with a view to publication. They were first surreptitiously printed by Beckett, in three vols. 12mo., in 1763. Lady Mary's descriptions are lively and faithful; her remarks exceedingly acute; and the whole style of her letters fascinating in the highest degree. Her husband also mingled the pursuits of literature with his diplomatical employments, and collected some valuable manuscripts while in the east. In 1718 Mr Wortley was recalled. Lady Mary returned with him to England, and, in order to enjoy the society of Pope, fixed her residence at Twickenham.

Pope had corresponded closely with Lady Mary during her residence abroad, and her ladyship's letters to the poet are written in a strain of high friendship and respect. Their friendship, however, it would appear, could not stand the test of familiarity. At first on Lady Mary's settlement at Twickenham, Pope was in ecstasies, and wrote and said a thousand foolish things to her and about her. He got her ladyship to sit for her portrait to Sir Godfrey Kneller. During the progress of the picture he thus writes Lady Mary:—"Indeed, dear Madam, it is not possible to tell you whether you give me, every day I see you, more pleasure, or more respect; and, upon my word, whenever I see you, after a day or two's absence, it is in just such view as that you yesterday had of your own writings. I find you still better than I could imagine, and think I was partial before to your prejudice. The picture dwells really at my heart, and I have made a perfect passion of preferring your present face to your past. I know, and thoroughly esteem yourself of this year; I know no more of Lady Mary Pierrepont, than to admire at what I have heard of her, or be pleased with some fragments of hers, as I am with Sappho's. But now, I cannot say what I would say of you now. Only still give me cause to say you are good to me, and allow me as much of your person as Sir Godfrey can help me to. Upon conferring with him yesterday, I find he thinks it absolutely necessary to draw your face first, which, he says, can never be set right on your figure, if the drapery and posture be finished before. To give you as little trouble as possible, he purposes to draw your face with crayons, and finish it up, at your own house, in a morning, from whence he will transfer it to canvass, so that you need not go to sit at his house. This, I must observe, is a manner they seldom draw any but crowned heads; and I observe it with a secret pride and pleasure. Be so kind as to tell me if you care he should do this to-morrow at twelve. Though if I am but assured from you of the thing, let the manner and time be what you best like; let every decorum you please be observed. I should be very unworthy of any favour from your hands, if I desired any at the expense of your quiet and convenience in any degree." When the artist had completed his task, Pope was enraptured, and presented Lady Mary with the following couplets:—

"The playful smiles around the dimpled mouth,  
That happy air of majesty and truth,  
So would I draw, (but oh! 'tis vain to try;  
My narrow genius does the power deny.)

The equal lustre of the heavenly mind,  
 Where every grace with every virtue's join'd,  
 Learning not vain, and wisdom not severe,  
 With greatness easy, and with wit sincere,  
 With just description show the soul divine,  
 And the whole princess in my work should shine."

Mr Dallaway's account of the origin and progress of the misunderstanding betwixt the two friends, fails, we think, to account entirely for the rupture. "Upon the accession of George II. the countess of Bristol and her son Lord Hervey possessed great influence in the new court, and were the favourites of Queen Caroline. The political sentiments of Lady Mary were conformable with those of Sir Robert Walpole and his administration, and she was much connected with the courtiers of that day. With Lord Hervey she seems to have formed an alliance of genius, as well as politics; and as both were poets, they were in habits of literary communication, and sometimes assisted each other in joint compositions. Pope, who had been the original promoter of Lady Mary's residence at Twickenham, now became jealous of her partiality to the Herveys, and insinuated many severe criticisms against verses which were admired at court. He had now mixed politics with his poetry, and was so firmly attached to Bolingbroke and Swift, that he held the whigs in a detestation which he was careless to conceal. There was still a common friend, Lady Oxford, at whose house they frequently met, but rarely without opening their batteries of repartee, and that with so many personalities, that Pope's petulance, 'willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,' sought to discharge itself by abrupt departure from the company. Seeming reconciliation soon followed out of respect to Lord and Lady Oxford; but the wound was rankling at his heart. Lady Mary had long since omitted to consult him upon any new poetical production; and when he had been formerly very free in proposing emendations, would say, 'Come, no touching Pope; for what is good the world will give to you, and leave the bad for me!' and she was well aware that he disingenuously encouraged that idea. She had found, too, another inconvenience in these communications, which was, that many poems were indiscriminately imputed to Pope, his confederates, and to herself. Swift, on one of these occasions, sent her 'the Capon's Tale,' published in Sheridan's edition of his works, and concluding there,—

'Such Lady Mary are your tricks,  
 But since you hatch, pray own your chicks.'

"In the original copy now before the editor, four more very abominable lines are added. The apparent cause of that dissension, which was aggravated into implacability, were satires in the form of a pastoral, entitled, 'Town Eclogues.' They were certainly some of the earliest of Lady Mary's poetical essays, and it is proved by the following extract from one of Pope's letters, addressed to her at Constantinople, that they had been written previously to the year 1717, when she left England: 'The letters of gold, and the curious illuminating of the sonnets, was not a greater token of respect than what I have paid to your eclogues; they lie inclosed in a monument of Turkey, written in my fairest hand; the gilded leaves are opened with no less veneration



than the pages of the Sibyls; like them, locked up and concealed from all profane eyes, none but my own have beheld these sacred remains of yourself, and I should think it as great a wickedness to divulge them, as to scatter abroad the ashes of my ancestors.'

"After her return, the veil of secrecy was removed, and they were communicated to a favoured few. Both Pope and Gay suggested many additions and alterations, which were certainly not adopted by Lady Mary; and as copies, including their corrections, have been found among the papers of these poets, their editors have attributed three out of six to them. 'The Basset Table,' and the 'Drawing-Room,' are given to Pope, and the 'Toilet,' to Gay. It is, therefore, singular, that Pope should himself be subject to his own satire on Philips, and

'The Bard whom pilfered pastorals renown.'

"The Town Eclogues contained that kind of general satire which rendered them universally popular, and as the sagacity of every reader was prompted to discover whom he thought the persons characterized, the manuscript was multiplied by many hands, and was in a short time committed to the press by the all-grasping Curl. Characters thus appropriated soon became well-known; Pope and his friends were willing to share the poetical fame, but averse from encountering any of the resentment which satire upon powerful courtiers necessarily excites. He endeavoured to negotiate with the piratical bookseller, and used threats, which ended in no less than Curl's publishing the whole in his name. Irritated by Pope's ceaseless petulance, and disgusted by his subterfuge, Lady Mary now retired totally from his society, and certainly did not abstain from sarcastic observations, which were always repeated to him. One told him of an epigram,—

'Sure Pope and Orpheus were alike inspired,  
The blocks and beasts flocked round them and admired;'

and another, how Lady Mary had observed, that 'some called Pope, little Nightingale—all sound, and no sense.'" We think Mr Dallaway has borne rather hard on Pope in this explanation; and the reader will do well to receive it as the statement of the lady's professed apologist.

Lady Mary remained in England till the year 1739, when finding her health declining she formed the resolution of returning to the continent. She at first settled herself on the shores of Lake Isco, in the Venetian territory, where she led a truly rural life, superintending her garden and orchard, and entering into the domestic economy of her establishment with great zeal: at the same time exchanging visits with the neighbouring nobility, and keeping up her acquaintance with English literature through the medium of her daughter, the countess of Bute, who supplied her with the new publications. Under date, Louvere, 19th June 1751, we find her thus writing to the countess:—"The people, I see here, make no more impression on my mind than the figures in the tapestry; while they are directly before my eyes, I know one is clothed in blue, and another in red; but out of sight, they are so entirely out of memory, I hardly remember whether they are tall or short. I sometimes call myself to account for this insensibility, which has something of ingratitude in it, this little town thinking themselves highly honoured and obliged by my residence: they intended me an

extraordinary mark of it, having determined to set up my statue in the most conspicuous place: the marble was bespoke, and the sculptor bargained with, before I knew any thing of the matter; and it would have been erected without my knowledge, if it had not been necessary for him to see me to take the resemblance. I thanked them very much for the intention; but utterly refused complying with it, fearing it would be reported, (at least in England,) that I had set up my own statue. They were so obstinate in the design, I was forced to tell them my religion would not permit it. I seriously believe it would have been worshipped, when I was forgotten, under the name of some saint or other, since I was to have been represented with a book in my hand, which would have passed for a proof of canonization. This compliment was certainly founded on reasons not unlike those that first famed goddesses, I mean being useful to them, in which I am second to Ceres. If it be true she taught the art of sowing wheat, it is certain I have learned them to make bread, in which they continued in the same ignorance Misson complains of, (as you may see in his letter from Padua.) I have introduced French rolls, custards, minced pies, and plumb-pudding, which they are very fond of. 'Tis impossible to bring them to conform to syllabub, which is so unnatural a mixture in their eyes, they are even shocked to see me eat it: but I expect immortality from the science of butter-making, in which they are become so skilful from my instructions." Again she writes from the same place, under date the 10th of June, 1753:—"I have been these six weeks, and still am, at my dairy-house, which joins to my garden. I believe I have already told you it is a long mile from the castle, which is situate in the midst of a very large village, once a considerable town, part of the walls still remaining, and has not vacant ground enough about it to make a garden, which is my greatest amusement, it being now troublesome to walk, or even go in the chaise till the evening. I have fitted up in this farm-house a room for myself, that is to say, strewed the floor with rushes, covered the chimney with moss and branches, and adorned the room with basons of earthen ware (which is made here to great perfection,) filled with flowers, and put in some straw chairs, and a couch bed, which is my whole furniture. This spot of ground is so beautiful, I am afraid you will scarce credit the description, which, however, I can assure you, shall be very literal, without any embellishment from imagination. It is on a bank, forming a kind of peninsula, raised from the river Oglio fifty feet, to which you may descend by easy stairs cut in the turf, and either take the air on the river, which is as large as the Thames at Richmond, or by walking an avenue two hundred yards on the side of it, you find a wood of a hundred acres, which was all ready cut into walks and ridings when I took it. I have only added fifteen bowers in different views, with seats of turf. They were easily made, here being a large quantity of underwood, and a great number of wild vines, which twist to the top of the highest trees, and from which they make a very good sort of wine they call brusco. I am now writing to you in one of these arbours, which is so thick shaded, the sun is not troublesome, even at noon. Another is on the side of the river, where I have made a camp kitchen, that I may take the fish, dress, and eat it immediately, and at the same time see the barks, which ascend or descend every day to or from Mantua, Guastalla, or Ponte de Vie, all



considerable towns. This little wood is carpetted in their succeeding seasons, with violets and strawberries, inhabited by a nation of nightingales, and filled with game of all kinds, excepting deer and wild boar, the first being unknown here, and it not being large enough for the other. My garden was a plain vineyard when it came into my hands not two years ago, and it is, with a small expense, turned into a garden that (apart from the advantage of the climate) I like better than that of Kensington. The Italian vineyards are not planted like those in France, but in clumps, fastened to trees planted in equal ranks, (commonly fruit trees,) and continued in festoons from one to another, which I have turned into covered galleries of shade, that I can walk in the heat without being incommoded by it. I have made a dining-room of verdure capable of holding a table of twenty covers; the whole ground is three hundred and seventeen feet in length, and two hundred in breadth. You see it is far from large; but so prettily disposed, though I say it, that I never saw a more agreeable rustic garden, abounding with all sorts of fruit, and producing a variety of wines. I would send you a pipe if I did not fear the customs would make you pay too dear for it. I believe my description gives you but an imperfect idea of my garden. Perhaps I shall succeed better in describing my manner of life, which is as regular as that of any monastery. I generally rise at six, and as soon as I have breakfasted, put myself at the head of my needle-women, and work with them till nine. I then inspect my dairy, and take a turn among my poultry, which is a very large inquiry. I have at present two hundred chickens, besides turkeys, geese, ducks, and peacocks. All things have hitherto prospered under my care; my bees and silk-worms are doubled, and I am told that, without accidents, my capital will be so in two years' time. At eleven o'clock I retire to my books; I dare not indulge myself in that pleasure above an hour. At twelve I constantly dine, and sleep after dinner till about three. I then send for some of my old priests, and either play at piquet or whist, till 'tis cool enough to go out. One evening I walk in my wood, where I often sup, take the air on horseback the next, and go on the water the third. The fishery of this part of the river belongs to me; and my fisherman's little boat—to which I have a green lute-string awning—serves me for a barge. He and his son are my rowers without any expense, he being very well paid by the profit of the fish, which I give him on condition of having every day one dish for my table. Here is plenty of every sort of fresh water fish, excepting salmon; but we have a large trout so like it, that I, who have almost forgot the taste, do not distinguish it. We are both placed properly in regard to our different times of life: you amidst the fair, the gallant, and the gay; I, in a retreat, where I enjoy every amusement that solitude can afford. I confess I sometimes wish for a little conversation; but I reflect that the commerce of the world gives more uneasiness than pleasure, and quiet is all the hope that can reasonably be indulged at my age." These extracts are alike creditable to her ladyship's head and heart. They prove that she had preserved the freshness of her feelings throughout a life spent, from early years, in circles by no means favourable to simple tastes and unsophisticated habits.

We give one other extract from her correspondence, as a specimen of the justness of her criticism, and the acuteness of her political views.

Writing to her daughter, she says of Lord Bolingbroke's works, they furnish "a glaring proof how far vanity can blind a man, and how easy it is to varnish over to one's self the most criminal conduct. He declares he always loved his country, though he confesses he endeavoured to betray her to popery and slavery; and loved his friends, though he abandoned them in distress, with all the blackest circumstances of treachery. His account of the peace of Utrecht is almost equally unfair or partial; I shall allow that, perhaps, the views of the whigs, at that time, were too vast, and the nation, dazzled by military glory, had hopes too sanguine; but surely the same terms that the French consented to, at the treaty of Gertruydenberg, might have been obtained; or if the displacing of the duke of Marlborough raised the spirits of our enemies to a degree of refusing what they had before offered, how can he excuse the guilt of removing him from the head of a victorious army, and exposing us to submit to any articles of peace, being unable to continue the war? I agree with him, that the idea of conquering France is a wild extravagant notion, and would, if possible, be impolitic; but she might have been reduced to such a state, as would have rendered her incapable of being terrible to her neighbours for some ages: nor should we have been obliged, as we have done almost ever since, to bribe the French ministers to let us live in quiet. So much for his political reasonings, which, I confess, are delivered in a florid, easy style; but I cannot be of Lord Orrery's opinion, that he is one of the best English writers. Well turned periods, or smooth lines, are not the perfection either of prose or verse; they may serve to adorn, but can never stand in the place of good sense. Copiousness of words, however ranged, is always false eloquence, though it will ever impose on some sort of understandings. How many readers and admirers has Madame de Sevigné, who only gives us, in a lively manner, and fashionable phrases, mean sentiments, vulgar prejudices, and endless repetitions? Sometimes the tittle tattle of a fine lady, sometimes that of an old nurse, always tittle tattle; yet so well gilt over by airy expressions and a flowing style, she will always please the same people to whom Lord Bolingbroke will shine as a first-rate author. She is so far to be excused, as her letters were not intended for the press; while he labours to display to posterity all the wit and learning he is master of, and sometimes spoils a good argument by a profusion of words, running out into several pages a thought that might have been more clearly expressed in a few lines; and, what is worse, often falls into contradiction and repetitions, which are almost unavoidable to all voluminous writers, and can only be forgiven to those retailers, whose necessity compels them to diurnal scribbling, who load their meaning with epithets, and run into digressions, because, in the jockey phrase, it rids ground, that is, covers a certain quantity of paper to answer the demand of the day. A great part of Lord Bolingbroke's letters are designed to show his reading, which, indeed, appears to have been very extensive; but I cannot perceive that such a minute account of it can be of any use to the pupil he pretends to instruct; nor can I help thinking he is far below either Tillotson or Addison, even in style, though the latter was sometimes more diffuse than his judgment approved, to furnish out the length of a daily Spectator. I own I have small regard for Lord Bolingbroke as an author, and the highest contempt for him as a man. He



came into the world greatly favoured both by nature and fortune, blest with a noble birth, heir to a large estate, endowed with a strong constitution, and, as I have heard, a beautiful figure, high spirits, a good memory, and a lively apprehension, which was cultivated by a learned education: all these glorious advantages being left to the direction of a judgment stifled by unbounded vanity, he dishonoured his birth, lost his estate, ruined his reputation, and destroyed his health by a wild pursuit of eminence even in vice and trifles."

These extracts must, we think, impress the reader with a very favourable view of Lady Mary's talents, and of her epistolary style. She wrote verses which are always sprightly and entertaining; but it is to the ease and beauty of her letters that she owes her rank in English literature. She returned to England in 1761, and died in 1762. Her works were published in four volumes, 12mo, by Mr Dallaway of the Herald's college, London, in 1803.

Lady Mary's son, Edward Wortley Montague, born in 1713, was one of the most singular characters of his age. After spending a rambling life in various parts of Europe, he set out for the East, where he first embraced Roman Catholicism, and then Mahommedanism. He was a man of considerable genius, and wrote some pieces of merit; but he seems to have been latterly, at least, deranged in his intellect. He died at Padua in 1776.

## Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk.

BORN A. D. 1688.—DIED A. D. 1767.

WE can scarcely overlook this lady, after the notice we have just bestowed on her not more gifted contemporary. To her letters and those of Lady Mary Wortley Montague we are indebted for much of our information respecting the political parties of their day; the letters themselves are, besides, models of epistolary composition.

Henrietta Hobart was the eldest daughter of Sir Henry Hobart, the fourth baronet of his family, and sister of Hobart, earl of Buckinghamshire. In 1708 she married the honourable Charles Howard, third son of Henry, fifth earl of Suffolk. The union was unfortunate; though it may be doubted whether the husband deserved all the reproaches which Horace Walpole has heaped upon him. When the Hanoverian succession became a matter of daily expectation, the young couple repaired to the court of Hanover, where they succeeded in ingratiating themselves with the future king and queen of Britain. On the accession of George I., to use the words of the editor of Lady Suffolk's correspondence, "the elder whig politicians became ministers to the king. The most promising of the young lords and gentlemen of the party, and the prettiest and liveliest of the young ladies, formed the new court of the prince and princess of Wales. The apartment of the bedchamber-woman in waiting became the fashionable evening rendezvous of the most celebrated wits and beauties. In this brilliant circle were formed the intimacies and friendships which produced the following correspondence:—Though Miss Bellenden, one of the maids of honour, bore away the palm of beauty, and her colleague, Miss Lepell, that of

grace and wit, Mrs Howard's good sense, amiability, and sweetness of temper and manners, made her a universal favourite; and it was her singular good fortune to be at once distinguished by her mistress, and beloved by her companions."

Every one has heard of Lady Hobart's undue intimacy with George II. The editor of her letters holds her guiltless of the charges which have been so often preferred against her on this score. His argument is by no means convincing, but we shall let her ladyship have the benefit of it:—"It is remarkable," he says, "that though her favour with the prince seemed gradually to increase, that with the princess kept pace with it. This latter circumstance should, it may be thought, have prevented any scandal which might otherwise have arisen from the former: but although, as Walpole allows, that 'the propriety and decency of Mrs Howard's behaviour were so great that she was always treated as if her character never had been questioned—her friends affecting to suppose that her connexion with the prince had been confined to pure friendship,'—yet the world certainly suspected a more tender attachment; and Walpole has, in his 'Reminiscences', made direct charges of this nature, with such confidence and particularity, that the transitory scandal of the day has been, on his authority, embodied in the graver pages of history. But a careful perusal of all Lady Suffolk's original papers obliges the editor to declare, that he not only finds a large proportion of Walpole's anecdotes to be unfounded; but that he has not, in Mrs Howard's correspondence with the king, nor the notes of her conversations with the queen, nor in any of her most confidential papers, found a single trace of the feeling which Walpole so confidently imputes. Lady Suffolk, in her old age, became Mr Walpole's neighbour, and their acquaintance grew into intimacy; but most of what he relates of her early life he had from his father and his father's friends, who were inflamed with violent personal and political prejudices against Mrs Howard. It is therefore not surprising that stories, thus envenomed by faction, should be often unfounded, and always exaggerated. Walpole had, moreover, a decided antipathy to George the Second; and the friendship of his later years for Lady Suffolk was not strong enough to control his early inclination to depreciate that monarch. Individual instances of his mistakes and misrepresentations will appear in the notes; but it is necessary thus generally to state, that all his anecdotes relative to George the Second and Mrs Howard must be received with great caution. There is no doubt that Mr Howard took some violent steps to remove his lady from her situation in the princess's family; and this circumstance the world admitted, and Walpole quotes, as proof that there was reason for the jealousy of the husband. It appears, however, that, in this inference, as to Mr Howard's motives, the world and Walpole were certainly mistaken. It is well-known, that within a very few years after their arrival in England, a difference broke out between George the First and his son: this rupture was not only violent but public, and never was completely healed. The old king's resentment, open as it was against his son, was still more rooted against the princess, whom to his familiars he used, with a whimsical mixture of respect and rage, to designate as '*cette diabolique Madame la Princesse*.' In this unhappy dispute Mr and Mrs Howard were soon involved. He was groom of the bedchamber to the



king. She was favourite to '*cette diablesse Madame la Princesse.*' It is therefore not surprising that they should have been estranged from one another, when the quarrel ran so high that even the casual visitors at one court were, by notice in the London Gazette, forbidden to appear at the other. As Mrs Howard's favour increased, she became a more marked object of the king's hostility,—not so much on her own personal account, as on that of the prince and princess: and at last, by his majesty's positive commands, as appears from Mr Howard's own letters, this gentleman was induced to endeavour to separate his wife from the princess. Walpole imputes, as we have stated, Mr Howard's proceedings to jealousy, and it is now impossible to prove a negative on such a subject; but the editor can assert, that in no part of his correspondence does Mr Howard allege any such feeling. He grounds his proceedings on the king's positive commands; though he also admits that he himself had a separate object of his own; namely, to oblige his lady to enter into some legal settlements of her property, which her lawyers advised her to resist. Walpole further states that Mr Howard procured the archbishop of Canterbury to be the bearer of a letter from him to his wife, commanding her to return to conjugal obedience; and he adds that the princess had the malicious pleasure of delivering this letter to her rival. This anecdote affords a striking instance of the mode of misrepresentation in which the whole subject has been treated. The letter which Walpole alludes to is in existence. It is not a letter from Mr Howard to his lady, but from the archbishop to the princess; and, although his grace urges a compliance with Mr Howard's demand of the restoration of his wife, he treats it not as a matter between them, but as an attack on the princess herself; whom the archbishop considers as the direct protectress of Mrs Howard, and the immediate cause of her resistance. So that, in this letter at least, there is no ground for imputing to Mrs Howard any rivalry with the princess, or to the princess any malicious jealousy of Mrs Howard. These unhappy disputes lasted as long as George the First lived, but when its cause ceased, Mr Howard's violence began to subside. The question, as to the settlement of the property, was speedily arranged, and a formal separation between the parties was effected."

In 1731, Mr Howard succeeded to the earldom of Suffolk, and the countess was made mistress of the robes to her majesty,—an office which she resigned in 1734, on the death of Lord Suffolk. In 1735, she married the honourable George Berkeley, youngest son of the earl of Berkeley, with whom she appears to have lived in great cordiality and affection until the period of his death in 1746.

Lady Suffolk died in July, 1767. "Her ladyship," says Walpole, "was of a just height, well made, extremely fair, with the finest light-brown hair; was remarkably genteel, and always well dressed, with taste and simplicity. Those were her personal charms, for her face was regular and agreeable rather than beautiful; and those attractions she retained with little diminution to her death, at the age of 79. Her mental qualifications were not so shining; her eyes and countenance showed her character, which was grave and mild. Her strict love of truth and her accurate memory were always in unison. She was discreet without being reserved; and having no bad qualities, and being

constant to her connexions, she preserved uncommon respect to the end of her life."

Lady Suffolk's correspondence was published in 1824, in 2 vols. 8vo.<sup>1</sup> The catalogue of her correspondents includes Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, Gay, and Young;—the duchesses of Buckingham, Marlborough, and Queensberry; Ladies Orkney, Mohun, Hervey, Vere, and Temple;—Misses Bellenden, Blount, Howe, and Pitt;—Lords Peterborough, Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, Lansdowne, Mansfield, and Bathurst;—Messrs Fortescue, Pulteney, Pelham, Pitt, Grenville, and Horace Walpole.

In Swift's posthumous works is the following character of Lady Suffolk, which the dean presented to her himself, and which is often referred to in her ladyship's correspondence with Pope and Swift:—"I shall say nothing of her wit or beauty, which are freely allowed by all persons of taste and eyes, who hear or see her: for beauty, being transient, and a trifle, cannot justly make part of a character intended to last; and I leave others to celebrate her wit, because it will be of little use in the light I design to show her. As to her history, it will be sufficient to observe, that she went in the prime of her youth to the court of Hanover, and there became of the bedchamber to the present princess of Wales, living with the rest in expectation of the great event of the queen's death, after which she came over with her mistress, and hath ever since continued in her royal highness's service; where, from the attendance duly paid her by all the ministers, as well as others who expect advancement, she hath been reckoned for some years to be the great favourite of the court at Leicester-fields, which is a fact that of all others she most earnestly wishes might not be believed.

"There is no politician who more carefully watches the motions and dispositions of things and persons at St James's-house, nor can form a language with more imperceptible dexterity to the present situation of the court, or more early foresee what style may be proper upon any approaching juncture of affairs, whereof she can gather timely intelligence without asking it, and often when those from whom she receives it do not know that they are giving it to her, but equally with others admire her sagacity. Sir Robert Walpole and she both think they understand each other, and are both of them mistaken.

"With persons where she is to manage she is very expert in what the French call *tâter le pavé*: with others she is a great vindicator of all present proceedings, but in such a manner as if she were under no concern further than her bare opinion, and wondering how any body can think otherwise; but the danger is, that she may come in time to believe herself, which, under a change of princes, and with a great addition of credit, might have terrible consequences. She is a most unconscionable dealer; for in return for a few good words given to her lords and gentlemen daily waiters, during their attendance, she receives ten thousand from them behind her back. The credit she hath is managed with the utmost parsimony, and whenever she employs it, which is as seldom as possible, it is only upon such occasions where she is sure to get more than she spends. She would readily press Sir Robert Walpole to do some favour for Ch. Churchill or Mr Doddington, the

<sup>1</sup> London: Murray.



princess for some mark of grace to Mrs Clayton, or his royal highness to remember Mr Schutz. She sometimes falls into the general mistake of all courtiers, of not suiting her talents to the different abilities of others, but thinking those she deals with to have less art than they really are masters of, whereby she may possibly be sometimes deceived when she thinks she deceiveth. In all offices of life, except that of a courtier, she acts with justice, generosity, and truth; she is ready to do good as a private person, and I could almost think in charity, that she will not do hurt as a courtier, unless it be to those who deserve it.

"In religion she is at least a latitudinarian, neither an enemy nor a stranger to books which maintain the opinions of freethinkers; wherein she is the more to be blamed, as having too much morality to need their assistance, and requiring only a due degree of faith for putting her in the road to salvation. I speak this of her as a private lady, not as a court favourite, for in this latter capacity she can show neither faith nor works. If she had never seen a court, it is possible she might have been a friend. She abounds in good words and good wishes, and will concert a hundred schemes with those whom she favours, in order to their advancement; schemes that sometimes arise from them, and sometimes from herself, although at the same time she very well knows that both are without the least probability to succeed. But to do her justice, she never feeds or deceives any person with promises where she doth not then think that she intendeth some degree of sincerity. She is upon the whole an excellent companion for men of the best accomplishments who have nothing to ask.

"What part she may act hereafter in a larger sphere, as lady of the bedchamber to a great queen, and in high esteem with a king, neither she nor I can foretell. My own opinion is natural and obvious, that her talents as a courtier will spread, enlarge, and multiply to such a degree, that her private virtues, for want of room and time to operate, must be folded and laid up clean like clothes in a chest, never to be put on till satiety, or some reverse of fortune, shall dispose her to retirement. In the mean time it will be her prudence to take care that they may not be tarnished or moth-eaten, for want of opening and airing, and turning at least once a year."

## David Mallet.

BORN A. D. 1700.—DIED A. D. 1765.

THIS author was of Scottish descent. His father's name was Malloch, which David thought fit to change to Mallet after his removal to England. His parents were people in poor circumstances; but they appear to have obtained a liberal education for their son, for we find him, while yet a young man, appointed tutor to the duke of Montrose's sons, at the recommendation of some of the Edinburgh professors. He made the tour of Europe with his pupils; and, on his return to England, was introduced under their auspices to the best society of the day.

Mallet's first production was the ballad of 'William and Margaret,' which was printed in Aaron Hill's 'Plain Dealer,' No. 36. In subsequent editions various alterations—not all improvements—were intro-

duced into this popular piece. In 1728 he published 'The Excursion,' a poem not without merit, but of which the idea was evidently caught from Thomson's 'Seasons,' then in their full-tide of popularity. In 1734 he appeared as a dramatic author, but unsuccessfully. Even the acting of Garrick and Mrs Cibber failed to render this first tragedy acceptable to an English audience, at a distance of nearly thirty years from its first appearance. His 'Mustapha,' published in 1739, succeeded much better than 'Eurydice;' but its success was chiefly owing to its political allusions. Mallet was at this time under-secretary to the prince of Wales; and endeavoured to serve and gratify his patron by his exhibition of Sir Robert Walpole under the character of Rustan the vizier, and the king, as Solymán the magnificent. On the first night of its representation, the heads of the opposition attended, and by their plaudits sustained the performance throughout. In the following year Mallet, in conjunction with Thomson, wrote the masque of 'Alfred.'

In 1747 Mallet published his 'Hermit, or Amyntor and Theodora,' a poem which has been praised by Johnson for copiousness of language and vigour of sentiment, and censured by Warton for nauseous affectation. "Not long after this," says Chalmers, "Mallet was employed by Lord Bolingbroke in an office which he executed with all the malignity that his employer could wish. This was no other than to defame the character of Pope—Pope, who by leaving the whole of his MSS. to Lord Bolingbroke, had made him in some respect the guardian of his character—Pope, on whose death-bed Lord Bolingbroke looking earnestly down, repeated several times, interrupted with sobs, 'O great God, what is man? I never knew a person that had so tender a heart for his particular friends, or a warmer benevolence for all mankind!' who certainly had idolized this nobleman throughout his whole life, and who adhered to his lordship's cause through all the vicissitudes of popular odium and exile. What could have induced Bolingbroke to the malice of degrading Pope's character, and the cowardice of employing a hireling to do it? The simple fact is, that after Pope's death it was thought to be discovered that he had privately printed 1500 copies of one of Lord Bolingbroke's works, 'The Patriot King,' the perusal of which his lordship wished to be confined to a select few. This offence, which Mallet only could have traced to a bad motive, if fairly examined, will probably seem disproportioned to the rage and resentment of Bolingbroke. A very acute examiner of evidence (Mr D'Israeli) has therefore imputed that to the preference with which Pope had distinguished Warburton, and is of opinion that Warburton, much more than Pope, was the real object. Between Bolingbroke and Warburton there was, it is well-known, a secret jealousy, which at length appeared in mutual and undisguised contempt. But much of this narrative belongs rather to them than to Mallet, who could feel no resentment, could plead no provocation. On the contrary, he had every inducement to reflect with tenderness on the memory and friendship of Pope, who speaks of him, in a letter we have already alluded to, in the following terms: 'To prove to you how little essential to friendship I hold letter-writing—I have not yet written to Mr Mallet, whom I love and esteem greatly, nay, whom I know to have as tender a heart, and that feels a friendly remembrance as long as any man.' Such was the man who gladly undertook what Bolingbroke was ashamed to perform, and in a preface



to the 'Patriot King,' misrepresented the conduct of Pope in language the most malignant and contemptuous. That he had an eye to his own interest in all this, it would be a miserable affectation of liberality to doubt. No other motive can account for his conduct, and this conduct will be found to correspond with his general character. Bolingbroke accordingly rewarded him by bequeathing to him all his writings, published and unpublished, and Mallet immediately began to prepare them for the press. His conduct at the very outset of this business affords another illustration of his character. Francklin, the printer, to whom many of the political pieces written during the opposition to Walpole, had been given, as he supposed, in perpetuity, laid claim to some compensation for those. Mallet allowed his claim, and the question was referred to arbitrators, who were empowered to decide upon it, by an instrument signed by the parties; but when they decided unfavourable to Mr Mallet, he refused to yield to the decision, and the printer was thus deprived of the benefit of the award, by not having insisted upon bonds of arbitration, to which Mallet had objected as degrading to a man of honour! He then proceeded, with the help of Millar, the bookseller, to publish all he could find; and so sanguine was he in his expectations, that he rejected the offer of £3000 which Millar offered him for the copyright, although he was at this time so distressed for money that he was forced to borrow some of Millar to pay the stationer and printer. The work at last appeared, in 5 vols. 4to, and Mallet had soon reason to repent his refusal of the bookseller's offer, as this edition was not sold off in twenty years. As these volumes contained many bold attacks on revealed religion, they brought much obloquy on the editor, and even a presentment was made of them by the grand-jury of Westminster. His memory, however, will be thought to suffer yet more by his next appearance in print. When the nation was exasperated by the ill success of the war, and the ministry wished to divert public indignation from themselves, Mallet was employed to turn it upon Admiral Byng. In this he entered as heartily as into the defamation of Pope, and wrote a letter of accusation under the character of a 'Plain Man,' a large sheet, which was circulated with great industry, and probably was found to answer its purpose. The price of blood, on this occasion, was a pension which he retained till his death."

From 1757 to 1763 we hear little of Mallet. He was during a portion of this period understood to be engaged upon a life of the celebrated Marlborough, and was actually in receipt of a pension from the family on account of the promised work. But it never appeared, and no trace of it was discovered amongst his manuscripts after his death; so that it is even doubtful whether he ever put pen to paper about it. In 1763 Mallet again appeared as a candidate for dramatic fame in his tragedy of 'Elvira;' but this too was a political brochure intended to support the Bute administration, and met the fate it deserved.

Mallet died in 1765. His collected works were published in 1769, in 3 vols. 8vo.

## Edward Young.

BORN A. D. 1681.—DIED A. D. 1765.

DR EDWARD YOUNG, the well-known author of the 'Night Thoughts,' was born in the year 1681, at Upham in Hampshire, of which place his father, Dr Edward Young, dean of Sarum, was then rector. At a proper age he went to Winchester school, where he became a scholar upon that foundation. In his eighteenth year he was admitted of New College, Oxford; but there being no fellowship vacant, he removed, before the expiration of the year, to Corpus Christi college, where he entered himself a gentleman-commoner. In 1708 he was put into a law-fellowship at All Souls by Archbishop Tennison, into whose hands it came by a devolution. In consequence of this preferment, in 1714 he took the degree of bachelor of civil laws; and in 1719 he became a doctor of laws. Two years after this, he was prevailed upon by the duke of Wharton, who patronized him, to offer himself a candidate for the representation of the borough of Cirencester; but in this attempt he was unsuccessful.

In the mean time he had applied himself to the study of poetry with such success, that he produced, the same year, a tragedy called 'Busiris,' which was acted with great applause; and in 1721 this play was followed by another, entitled 'The Revenge,' which is esteemed his best dramatic performance, and is still a standard play. He afterwards brought a third tragedy upon the stage, entitled 'The Brothers,' which was also acted with applause.

While at Oxford, our author published 'A Poem on the Last Day,' which was received with peculiar applause, but it must be confessed, fails to approach the intrinsic grandeur of its lofty theme. This production was soon followed by another, entitled 'The Force of Religion, or Vanquished Love;' which was also well received, and was particularly pleasing to the noble family more immediately interested in the subject of his verse.

As a poet, Dr Young has other and better claims upon posterity for reputation than what arise from these performances; but whatever may be their merit, they served to introduce him to the notice of several of the nobility; and the turn of his mind leading to divinity, he quitted the study of the law, and entering into holy orders, was appointed chaplain in ordinary to George II. in the year 1728. Ruffhead, in his life of Pope, relates that when Young determined to go into orders, he applied to Pope for directions as to his new studies; and that Pope presented him with the works of Thomas Aquinas, assuring him that he could not employ himself more profitably than in studying that author. "With this treasure," says Ruffhead, "he retired, in order to be free from interruption, to an obscure place in the suburbs. His director hearing no more of him in six months, and apprehending he might have carried the jest too far, sought after him, and found him out just in time to prevent an irretrievable derangement."

In the year 1730, Dr Young was presented by his college to the valuable rectory of Welwyn in Hertfordshire; and his fellowship being



vacated by this preferment, he entered soon after into a marriage with Lady Betty Lee, widow of Colonel Lee, and daughter to the earl of Litchfield; a woman of excellent endowments, and great sweetness of temper. In the mean time, the duties of the clerical profession had not entirely withdrawn his attention from those elegant pursuits to which he was attached by nature and education; polite literature still attracted his regard; and, amidst his severer studies, he continued to cultivate his poetical talents.

His seven satires, entitled 'The Love of Fame the Universal Passion,' and which were at first separately printed in folio, at different times, were well-received by the public; but his most celebrated performance is his 'Night Thoughts.' Dr Young's lady had two children by her former husband, a son and a daughter, whose amiable qualities so entirely engaged his affections, that he loved them with all a father's fondness; and as she had also brought him a son, his domestic felicity seemed complete. But in the year 1741, it was suddenly and irretrievably interrupted by the death of his wife, and her son and daughter, who were all taken from him within a short time of each other. This was an affliction which called for every consolation that reason and religion could inspire; and how deeply he was affected by his loss, and what painful struggles he underwent before he could regain any tolerable tranquillity of mind is evident from the 'Night Thoughts,' the idea of which was first suggested by this severe domestic calamity. It is generally supposed that Mr and Mrs Temple, the daughter and son-in-law of Lady Elizabeth, were the Philander and Narcissa of the 'Night Thoughts;' but the supposition that by Lorenzo the poet indicated his own son is absurd, for Young's own child was not born till June 1733, and was only eight years old when the poem was published.

In 1755, he published 'The Centaur not fabulous. In Six Letters to a Friend, on the Life in Vogue.' An explanation of this singular title will throw some light on the nature of the work. The author himself has thus given it to his readers: "The men of pleasure," says he, "the licentious and profligate, are the subjects of these letters; and in such, as in the fabled centaur, the brute runs away with the man; therefore I call them centaurs. And further, I call them centaurs not fabulous, because, by their scarcely half-human conduct and character, that enigmatical and purely ideal figure of the ancients is not unriddled only but realized." The general strain of these letters is strongly characteristic of the author of the 'Night Thoughts,' notwithstanding an air of gaiety and even levity which is occasionally assumed; and they are, in many instances, distinguished by a striking originality of sentiment and peculiar brilliancy of expression.

As Dr Young possessed so much talent, and had been appointed chaplain to George II. so early as the year 1728, it appears extraordinary that he never obtained any preferment in the church, but ended his days upon a living which came to him from his college without any favour. "To satisfy curiosity of this kind," says Mr Herbert Croft, "is at this distance of time far less easy. The parties themselves know not often at the instant why they are neglected. The neglect of Young is by some ascribed to his having attached himself to the prince of Wales, and to his having preached an offensive sermon at St James's. It has been told me, that he had two hundred a-year in

the late reign, by the patronage of Walpole; and that, whenever the king was reminded of Young, the only answer was, 'he has a pension.' "

About two years after this, he published a prose piece of great merit, entitled 'Conjectures on Original composition, in a Letter to the Author of Sir Charles Grandison.'

Dr Young's last performance was a poem, entitled 'Resignation,' which is inferior to his other works. It was published not long before his death, which happened at Welwyn, on the 12th of April, 1765. He was buried under the altar-piece of that parish-church, by the side of his wife.

Dr Young was a man of considerable genius and great wit. The turn of his mind is said to have been naturally solemn; and it is affirmed that, during his residence in the country, he commonly spent some hours a-day amongst the tombs in his own churchyard. This must have been, we think, with the view of exciting an artificial melancholy, for the whole tone of his writings is that of exaggeration and artificiality; it betrays neither tenderness nor deep emotion. Percival Stockdale's estimate of Young's general character as a poet appears to us very just: "Nature had bestowed on Young an exuberant, vigorous, and original genius. It was boundless in its versatility; it was inexhaustible in its resources. But its uncommon and splendid qualities were darkened and dishonoured by their opposite characteristics. He has left us many proofs that he could be extremely injudicious; his taste was extremely vitiated. He is apt to prolong a forcible and shining thought to its debility and its death, by an Ovidian redundancy and puerility; and he seems to have exerted the whole stretch and grasp of his mind to unite remote images and thoughts which could never have been associated but by the most elaborate affectation." And yet, notwithstanding this natural gloominess of temper, he was so fond of amusements, that he instituted an assembly and a bowling-green in his parish, which he frequently honoured with his presence.<sup>1</sup>

Dr Young himself, in 1762, published a collection of such of his works as he thought best of in four volumes, 12mo, under the title of 'The Works of the Author of the Night Thoughts.' A fifth volume was published after his death.

## Thomas Birch, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1705.—DIED A. D. 1766.

THIS industrious writer was born of Quaker parents, in the parish of St John's, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, on the 23d of November, 1705. His early education was conducted under many disadvantages; but his energy and application enabled him to triumph over them, and he received orders in the church of England in the beginning of the year 1728. Mr Birch obtained several successive preferments in the church, chiefly through the influence of the Hardwicke family, who steadily patronized him. In 1752 he was elected one of the secretaries of the Royal so-

<sup>1</sup> It is a traditionary report at Oxford that, when he was composing, he would shut up his windows, and sit by a lamp, even at mid-day; and that skulls and bones were among the ornaments of his study!



ciety; and, the following year, was created D. D. Dr Birch died on the 9th of January, 1766.

The first great work in which Dr Birch engaged, was 'The General Dictionary, historical and critical,' founded on Bayle's celebrated work. The first volume of this work appeared in 1734; the tenth and last in 1741. He was next employed on the Thurlow state-papers. This collection, comprised in seven volumes folio, was published in 1742. In 1744 he published a life of Mr Boyle; and in the same year he lent his assistance to Houbraken and Vertue, in their design of publishing the portraits of illustrious persons. In 1747 he published 'An Inquiry into the share which King Charles I. had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan;' and soon after, he edited the miscellaneous works of Sir Walter Raleigh. The next publication was 'An Historical View of the Negotiations between the courts of England, France, and Brussels, from 1592 to 1617.' His 'Life of Tillotson,' 'Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,' 'History of the Royal society,' 'Life of Henry, Prince of Wales,' and miscellanies of Lord Bacon, were successively published between the year 1753 and that of his death; and afford ample proof of his unwearied industry.

### Richard Dawes.

BORN A. D. 1708.—DIED A. D. 1766.

A RESPECTABLE family of the name of Dawes had long been resident at Stapleton, between Market-Bosworth and Hinckley in Leicestershire: our critic was probably of the same family, but it does not appear from the register of the parish that he was born at that place. There was a Dr Dawes who resided at Stapleton early in the eighteenth century, and is recollected to have been a great scholar, and a searcher after the philosopher's stone. It has been supposed that he might be father to the subject of the present article; but of this fact no decisive evidence can be produced. All the traditions concerning Richard Dawes are, that the place of his birth was either Market-Bosworth, or the vicinity of that town. Whoever his parents were, or whatever was their condition in life, it is probable that they perceived such marks of capacity in their son as determined them to devote him to a literary profession; and accordingly he was put to the free grammar-school at Bosworth, where he had the good fortune to receive part of his education under the care of Anthony Blackwall, an excellent grammarian, and well-known in the world of letters by several critical publications. Under so able an instructor, young Dawes laid the foundation of that exquisite knowledge of the Greek language to which he afterwards attained. In 1725 he was admitted a sizar of Emanuel college, in the university of Cambridge, where he proceeded Bachelor of Arts in 1729. On the 2d of October, 1731, he became a fellow of the college on the nomination of Sir Wolston Dixie, Bart. In 1733 he took the degree of master of arts. The next year he was a candidate for the place of esquire beadle of the university; but his application was not crowned with success. Whilst Mr Dawes was at Cambridge, he distinguished himself by some peculiarities of conduct which probably arose from a

dash of insanity in his constitution; and in his conversation he occasionally took such liberties on certain topics as gave great offence to those about him. Having indulged himself too much at college in an indolent sedentary way of life, he at length found it absolutely necessary to have recourse to some kind of exercise. In this case, being of a strong athletic frame of body, and not over delicate in the choice of his company, he took to the practice of ringing; and, as such a genius could not stop at mediocrity, he quickly became the leader of the peal, and carried the art to the highest perfection.

Another circumstance, though of a very different nature, by which Mr Dawes rendered himself remarkable, was his taking a violent part against Dr Bentley. He even went so far as to depreciate that great man's literature. In his '*Miscellanea Critica*,' he endeavours, on several occasions, to detract from Dr Bentley's praises; he even did not scruple to assert, that the Doctor, "*nihil in Græcis cognovisse, nisi ex indicibus petitum*,"—knew nothing relative to Grecian literature, but what he had drawn from indexes! It was impossible that any thing could be more unjust than such an assertion; and it could only proceed from extreme vanity, or personal dislike, or a bigoted attachment to a party.

In 1736, Mr Dawes published proposals for printing, by subscription, '*Paradisi amissi, a cl. Miltono conscripti, Liber primus, Græcâ versione donatus, una cum Annotationibus*.' These proposals were accompanied with a specimen, which may be seen in the '*Great General Dictionary*,' under the article Milton, and in the preface to the '*Miscellanea Critica*,' where our author explains his reasons for not proceeding in his undertaking, and very ingenuously points out the errors of his own performance. It was customary with him, in conversation, humorously to expose his version to ridicule; and, therefore—though he had actually completed his design, by translating the whole First Book of the '*Paradise Lost*'—it is no wonder that he did not commit it to the press.

On the 10th of July, 1738, Mr Dawes was appointed master of the free grammar-school in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the room of Mr Edmund Lodge who had resigned that office. The commencement of his duties was to take place at the Michaelmas following. In the same year, on the 9th of October, he was preferred, by act of common-council, to the mastership of the hospital of the Virgin Mary in Newcastle.

The business of this new station did not prevent him from prosecuting his inquiries into the nature, peculiarities, and elegancies of the Greek tongue; and accordingly, in 1745, he published his '*Miscellanea Critica*.' Mr Hubbard of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and Dr Mason of Trinity, assisted in the publication. It was Mr Dawes's design in this work, to afford such a specimen of his critical abilities as should enable the learned world to judge what might be expected from him in an edition which he had projected of all the Attic poets, as well as of Homer and Pindar. Though his scheme was never carried into execution, he has obtained, by his '*Miscellanea Critica*,' a very high place among those who have contributed to the promotion of Greek learning in England.

Mr Dawes's situation at Newcastle was neither so happy nor so useful as might have been expected. This was, in a great measure, owing to the eccentricity of his disposition, and, indeed, to his mind



being under morbid impressions. He fancied that all his friends had slighted him or used him ill; and of the jealousy of his temper he has left a remarkable instance, on a very trifling occasion. His printer, by an unfortunate mistake in a passage of Terentianus Maurus, which Mr Dawes had produced in order to correct, had inserted a comma that destroyed the merit of the emendation. In consequence of this involuntary error, our author, in the Addenda to his Miscellanea, has expressed himself with great indignation. He declares, that he could not conjecture what fault he had committed against the printer that he should envy him the honour, whatever it was, that was due to his correction; and he adds, that he knows not how it has happened, that, for several years past, he has been ill used by those from whom he had deserved better treatment. With the corporation of Newcastle he got involved in altercation; and he adopted a singular method of displaying his resentment, or rather his contempt; for in teaching the boys at school, he made them translate the Greek word for ass into alderman. Such being the disposition of his mind, it is not surprising that his scholars were at length reduced to a very small number; so that it became expedient for him to consent to quit his station. Accordingly, at midsummer, 1749, he resigned the mastership of the grammar-school, and the mastership of St Mary's hospital; and, in consideration of these sacrifices, the mayor and burgesses of Newcastle, on the 25th of September following, executed a bond by which they engaged to grant him an annuity of eighty pounds a-year during life.

Mr Dawes, after his resignation of the above two offices, retired to Heworth-shore, about three miles below Newcastle, on the south side of the Tyne, where his favourite amusement was the exercise of rowing in a boat. In his conversation he preserved to the last his splenetic humour,—abusing every thing, and every person that he had formerly regarded. He departed this life, at Heworth, on the 21st of March, 1766, and, agreeably to his own desire, was buried in the churchyard of that place.<sup>1</sup>

### Zachary Grey.

BORN A. D. 1687.—DIED A. D. 1766.

THIS miscellaneous writer was rector of Houghton-Conquest in Bedfordshire, and vicar of St Peter's and St Giles's in Cambridge. He was educated at Cambridge, and spent his life chiefly in literary pursuits. Chalmers, in his 'Biographical Dictionary,' has given a list of thirty-three works from the pen of this author. Several of these are on the ecclesiastical transactions of the 17th century, in which he endeavours to vindicate the church-party against the charges of Neal and other puritan divines. He is chiefly known by his edition of Hudibras, which exhibits him as a learned and industrious commentator.

<sup>1</sup> Abridged from Dr Kippis's memoir in the 'Biographia Britannica.'

## James Quin.

BORN A. D. 1693.—DIED A. D. 1766.

THIS great actor was born in London in 1693. His family is generally represented as of Irish origin; but Galt says that it was an ancient English house. He received his education in Dublin, and about the age of twenty came over to London to study law, and took chambers in the Temple. The death of his father threw him upon his own resources before he had nearly finished his studies. In this situation he allowed his friend Ryan, the comedian, to introduce him to the managers of Drury-lane, who were pleased with him, and engaged him to appear in their company in the winter of 1717. He remained some time in the condition of a faggot, as novice-performers were then called; nor was it until the year 1720 that his great talents blazed out, in his being permitted to attempt Falstaff.

“The next year, 1721, of Quin’s performance,” says Galt in his amusing notice of this player, “is remarkable in dramatic history, as the first in which soldiers appeared as guards in the theatre; an useless pageant, and an event which may be ascribed to the occasional want of common sense, for which the English government has been of old distinguished. Before that season, the theatres had only been guarded by civil constables. A riot arising in that of Lincoln’s-inn-fields, gave an occasion for the military power to be added to the civil, for the protection of the audience and the players from insult. The occasion was this:—A certain noble earl, whether Scotch or Irish the record does not say, much addicted to the wholesome and inspiring beverage of whiskey, was behind the scenes, and seeing one of his friends on the other side among the performers, crossed the stage; of course, was hissed by the audience. Rich, who was on the side that the noble earl came to, was so provoked, that he told his lordship ‘not to be surprised if he was not allowed again to enter.’ The drunken peer struck Mr Rich a slap on the cheek, which was immediately returned, and his lordship’s face being round, and fat, and sleek, resounded with the smack of the blow; a battle royal ensued, the players on the one side, and that part of the aristocracy then behind the scenes on the other. In the end, the players being strongest, either in number or valour, thrashed the gentlemen, and turned them all out into the street, where they drew their swords, stormed the boxes, broke the sconces, cut the hangings, and made a wonderful riot, just as foolish sprigs of quality presume even yet to do. Quin came round with a constable and watchmen from the stage, charged the rioters, and they were all taken into custody, and carried in a body before Justice Hungerford, who then lived in the neighbourhood, and were bound by him over to answer the consequences; they were soon, however, persuaded by their wiser friends to make up the matter, and the manager got ample redress. The king, on hearing of the affair, was indignant, and ordered a guard to attend the theatres, and there it nightly stands ever since, a warning monument of a lord drinking too much whiskey.”

Quin’s reputation gradually rose, until he obtained the summit of his



profession, and could make his own terms with the managers. He was at the head of the Drury Lane company when Garrick made his first appearance in the character of Richard III. In the season of 1746–7, these two great actors were both engaged for Covent Garden. “It is not, perhaps,” says Mr Davies, “more difficult to settle the covenants of a league between mighty monarchs, than to adjust the preliminaries of a treaty in which the high and potent princes of a theatre are the parties. Mr Garrick and Mr Quin had too much sense and temper to squabble about trifles. After one or two previous and friendly meetings, they selected such characters as they intended to act, without being obliged to join in the same play. Some parts were to be acted alternately, particularly Richard III. and Othello.” The same writer adds:—“Mr Quin soon found that his competition with Mr Garrick, whose reputation was hourly increasing, whilst his own was on the decline, would soon become ineffectual. His ‘Richard the Third’ could scarce draw together a decent appearance of company in the boxes, and he was with some difficulty tolerated in the part, when Garrick acted the same character to crowded houses, and with very great applause. The town often wished to see these great actors fairly matched in two characters of almost equal importance. The ‘Fair Penitent’ presented an opportunity to display their several merits, though it must be owned that the balance was as much in favour of Quin, as the advocate of virtue is superior in argument to the defender of profligacy. The shouts of applause when Horatio and Lothario met on the stage together, 14th November, 1746, in the second act, were so loud, and so often repeated before the audience permitted them to speak, that the combatants seemed to be disconcerted. It was observed that Quin changed colour, and Garrick seemed to be embarrassed; and it must be owned that these actors were never less masters of themselves than on the first night of the contest for pre-eminence. Quin was too proud to own his feelings on the occasion; but Mr Garrick was heard to say, ‘I believe Quin was as much frightened as myself.’ The play was repeatedly acted, and with constant applause, to very brilliant audiences; nor is it to be wondered at; for, besides the novelty of seeing the two rival actors in the same tragedy, the ‘Fair Penitent’ was admirably played by Mrs Cibber.”

Quin’s last appearance on the stage was on the 19th of March, 1753. He died in January, 1766.

## Laurence Sterne.

BORN A. D. 1713.—DIED A. D. 1768.

LAURENCE STERNE was the son of an Irish officer, and born in the barracks of Dublin. His great-grandfather was an archbishop, and his uncle a prebendary of one of our cathedrals.

From school he passed in due course to the university, where he spent the usual number of years,—read a great deal, laughed more, and sometimes amused himself with puzzling his tutors. He left Cambridge with the character of an odd man who had no harm in him, and who had parts if he would use them.

Upon quitting the university, he seated himself quietly in the lap of

the church, at Sutton in the forest of Galtrees, a small village in Yorkshire. Here he waited patiently for the issues of time and chance; and here a circumstance happened to which, perhaps, we owe the 'History of Tristram.' A person who filled a lucrative benefice, not satisfied with enjoying it during his own lifetime, exerted all his interest to have it entailed upon his wife and son after his decease. A friend of Sterne's expected the reversion of this living, but had not sufficient influence to prevent the success of his adversary. At this critical period Sterne attacked the monopolizer in joke, and wrote 'The History of a good warm Watch-coat, with which the present possessor is not content to cover his own shoulders, unless he can also cut out of it a petticoat for his wife, and a pair of breeches for his son.' What all the serious arguments in the world could not have effected, Sterne's satirical pen brought about. The party aimed at sent him word, that if he would suppress the publication of this sarcasm, he would resign his pretensions in favour of the next candidate. The pamphlet was suppressed, the reversion took place, and Sterne was requited, by the interest of his patron, with the prebendary of York.

Another incident, which occurred much about the same time, contributed to establish the reputation of Sterne's wit. He was sitting in a coffee-house at York, when a stranger came in, who gave much offence to the company by descanting very freely upon religion and the hypocrisy of the clergy. The young fellow at length addressed himself to Sterne, and asked him what were his sentiments upon the subject. Sterne, instead of answering him directly, told the witling that "his dog was reckoned one of the most beautiful pointers in the whole country, was very good natured, but had an infernal trick, which destroyed all his good qualities. He never sees a clergyman," continued Sterne, "but he immediately flies at him." "How long may he have had that trick, Sir?" "Ever since he was a puppy." The young man felt the keenness of the satire, turned upon his heel, and left Sterne to enjoy his triumph.

At this time Sterne was possessed of two good livings. In addition to the vicarage of Sutton, where he usually performed divine service on Sunday mornings; in the afternoon he preached at the rectory of Stillington, which he held as one of the prebends of York, in which capacity he also assisted in his turn at the cathedral. He might have lived respectably had not his Rabelaisian spirit immersed him in the gaieties and frivolities of the world.

His wit and humour were already greatly admired within the circle of his acquaintance; but his fame had not yet reached the capital, when the first two volumes of 'Tristram Shandy' made their appearance. They were printed at York, and offered to the booksellers there at a very moderate price; but these gentlemen scarce named the price of paper and print for them. Sterne sold the second edition for six hundred pounds, after being refused fifty pounds for the first impression and proprietorship. The first two volumes of 'Tristram Shandy' were soon in every body's hand: all read, most approved, but few understood them. Those who had not entered into the manner of Rabelais, or the poignant satire of Swift, did not comprehend them; but they joined with the multitude, and pronounced 'Tristram Shandy' a very clever book.



Sterne was now considered as the genius of the age; his company was courted by the great, the witty, and the gay; and it was considered an enviable honour to have passed an evening with the author of 'Tristram Shandy:' even among the clergy the acquaintances he made by this publication were, in many respects, advantageous to him.

His next production consisted of two volumes of sermons, which the critics applauded for the purity and elegance of their style, and the excellence of their morals.

When the third and fourth volumes of 'Tristram Shandy' made their appearance, the public was not quite so eager in purchasing and applauding them as it had been with respect to the first two volumes. The novelty of the style and manner no longer remained; the author's digressions were by many considered as tedious, and his asterisks too obscure. He had, nevertheless, a great number of admirers, and was encouraged to publish a fifth and sixth volume. Their satire was still poignant, spirited, and in general extremely just. The characters, though somewhat overcharged, are lively and natural. His story of *Le Fevre* is highly finished, and truly pathetic; and would alone rescue his name from oblivion. In these volumes, Sterne carries his readers through France, and introduces some scenes and characters which are afterwards taken up in the 'Sentimental Journey,' particularly that of Maria.

It is almost needless to observe of a book so well known as 'Tristram Shandy,' that the story of the hero's life is the least part of the author's concern. It is in reality nothing more than a vehicle for satire on a great variety of subjects. Most of these satirical strokes are introduced with little regard to connection, either with the principal story or with each other. The author having no determined end in view, runs from object to object as they happen to strike a very lively and very irregular imagination. In fact, the book is a perpetual series of disappointments; yet with this and other blemishes, 'Tristram Shandy' has uncommon merit; and in its own line cannot be equalled by any thing, except the writings of the incomparable Montaigne.

As Sterne advanced in literary fame, he left his livings to the care of his curates; and though he acquired a good deal of money by his productions, yet his savings were no greater at the end of the year than when he had no other support but the single vicarage of Sutton. Indeed, his travelling expenses abroad, and the luxurious manner in which he lived with the gay and polite at home, wholly dissipated his means. He died as he lived. A day or two before, he seemed not in the least affected by the prospect of his approaching dissolution. He was buried privately in the burying-ground belonging to the parish of St George's, Hanover-square, attended only by two gentlemen in a mourning coach. His death was announced in the newspapers of March 22d, 1768, by the following paragraph:—"Died at his lodgings in Bond-street, the Rev. Mr Sterne. Alas poor Yorick! I knew him well; a fellow of infinite jest, most excellent fancy, &c.

Wit, humour, genius, hadst thou, all agree;  
One grain of wisdom had been worth the three!"

As Sterne has drawn his own character, under the name of Yorick,

with great happiness and skill, we will take the liberty of introducing it here:—"This is all that ever stagger'd my faith in regard to Yorick's extraction, who, by what I can remember of him, and by all the accounts I could ever get of him, seemed not to have had one single drop of Danish blood in his whole carcase; in nine hundred years it might possibly have all run out. I will not philosophize one moment with you about it; for happen how it would, the fact was this:—That instead of that cold phlegm and exact regularity of sense and humours, you would have looked for in one so extracted, he was, on the contrary, as mercurial and sublimated a composition,—as heteroclite a creature in all his declensions,—with as much life and whim, *gaiete de cœur* about him, as the kindest climate could have engendered and put together. With all this sail, poor Yorick carried not one ounce of ballast; he was utterly unpractised in the world; and, at the age of twenty-six, knew just about as well how to steer his course in it, as a romping and unsuspecting girl of thirteen; so that, upon his first setting out, the brisk gale of his spirits, as you will imagine, ran him foul ten times a day of somebody's tackling; and as the grave and more slow-paced were oftenest in his way,—you may likewise imagine, it was with such he generally had the ill luck to get the most entangled. For aught I know, there might be some mixture of unlucky wit at the bottom of such fracas: for, to speak the truth, Yorick had an invincible delight and opposition in his nature to gravity; not to gravity as such,—for where gravity was wanted, he would be the most grave and serious of mortal men for days and weeks together; but he was an enemy to the affectation of it, and declared open war against it, only as it appeared a cloak for ignorance or for folly; and then, whenever it fell in his way, however sheltered and protected, he seldom gave it much quarter.

"Sometimes in his wild way of talking, he would say, that gravity was an arrant scoundrel; and he would add—of the most dangerous kind too,—because a sly one; and that he verily believed, more honest, well-meaning people were bubbled out of their goods and money by it in one twelvemonth, than by pocket-picking and shop-lifting in seven. In the naked temper which a merry heart discovered, he would say, there was no danger, but to itself; whereas, the very essence of gravity was design, and consequently deceit; 'twas a taught trick to gain credit of the world for more sense and knowledge than a man was worth; and that, with all his pretensions, it was no better, but often worse, than what French wit had long defined it, viz. a mysterious carriage of the body, to cover the defects of the mind. Which definition of gravity, Yorick, with great imprudence, would say, deserved to be wrote in letters of gold.

"But in plain truth, he was a man unhackneyed and unpractised in the world, and was altogether as indiscreet and foolish on every other subject of discourse where policy is wont to impose restraint. Yorick had no impression but one, and that was what arose from the nature of the deed spoken of; which impression he would usually translate into plain English without any periphrasis, and too oft without much distinction of either personages, time or place; so that when mention was made of a pitiful or an ungenerous proceeding, he never gave himself a moment's time to reflect who was the hero of the piece,—what his station, or how far he had power to hurt him hereafter; but it was



a dirty action—without more ado,—the man was a dirty fellow, and so on. And as his comments had usually the ill fate to be terminated either in a *bon mot*, or to be enlivened throughout with some drollery or humour of expression, it gave wings to Yorick's indiscretion. In a word, though he never sought, yet, at the same time, as he seldom shunned occasions of saying what came uppermost, and without much ceremony, he had but too many temptations in life of scattering his wit and his humour, his gibes and his jests about him. They were not lost for want of gathering."

## William Duncombe.

BORN A. D. 1690.—DIED A. D. 1766.

THIS author was the youngest son of John Duncombe, Esq. of Stocks, Hertfordshire. He was privately educated, and in early life obtained a clerkship in the navy office. His first acknowledged production was a translation of the 29th ode of the first book of Horace. In 1721 he published a translation of the 'Carmen Seculare.'

In 1732 he appeared as a dramatic author. His tragedy of 'Lucius Junius Brutus' was brought out at Drury-lane, in the winter of that year, with moderate success. In 1759, with the aid of his son, he completed a translation of Horace, with notes and other apparatus. Besides these works Mr Duncombe wrote a number of miscellaneous pieces, and edited the remains of his brother-in-law, Jabez Hughes, and of Mr Samuel Say, a dissenting minister. He died in 1766.

## James Merrick.

BORN A. D. 1720.—DIED A. D. 1769.

JAMES MERRICK, whom a most competent judge, Bishop Lowth, has characterized as one of the best of men and most eminent of scholars, was born on the 8th of January, 1720. After being opposed, (very unjustly according to his biographer,) as a candidate for a scholarship at St John's, he was entered at Trinity college, Oxford, April 14th, 1736, and admitted a scholar June 6th, 1737. He took the degree of B. A. in December, 1739, of M. A. in November, 1742, and was chosen a probationer-fellow in May, 1744. The celebrated Lord North, and Lord Dartmouth, were his pupils at this college. He entered into holy orders; but never engaged in any parochial duty, being subject to acute pains in his head, frequent lassitude, and feverish complaints; but, from the few manuscript sermons which he left behind him, he appears to have preached occasionally in 1747, 1748, and 1749. His life was chiefly passed in study and literary correspondence; and much of his time and property were employed on acts of benevolence. Few men have been mentioned with higher praise by all who knew him. He died after a short illness at Reading, where he had principally resided, on the 5th of January, 1769; and was buried at Caversham church, near the remains of his father, mother, and brothers.

Mr Merrick early commenced his career as an author. In 1734, while he was yet at school, he published 'Messiah, a Divine essay;' and in April, 1739, before he was twenty years of age, he was engaged in a correspondence with the learned Reimarus. The imprimatur from the vice-chancellor, prefixed to his translation of Tryphiodorus, is dated October 26, 1739, before he had taken his bachelor's degree. In Alberti's last volume of Hesychius, published by Ruhnkenius, are many references to Mr Merrick's notes on Tryphiodorus, which are all ingenious, and serve to illustrate the Greek writer by historical and critical explanations; many of them have a reference to the New Testament, and show how early the author had turned his thoughts to sacred criticism. The translation itself is correct and truly poetical. It is indeed, for his years, a very extraordinary proof of classical erudition and taste, and was deservedly supported by a more numerous list of subscribers than perhaps any work of the time. It was handsomely printed in an 8vo. volume, at the Clarendon press, but without date or publisher's name.

The rest of Mr Merrick's works were published in the following order: 1. 'A Dissertation on Proverbs, chapter ix. containing occasional remarks on other passages in sacred and profane writers,' 1744, 4to. 2. 'Prayers for a time of Earthquakes and violent Floods,' a small tract, printed at London in 1756, when the earthquake at Lisbon had made a very serious impression on the public mind. 3. 'An encouragement to a good life; particularly addressed to some soldiers quartered at Reading,' 1759. 4. 'Poems on Sacred subjects,' Oxford, 1763, 4to. 5. 'A Letter to the Rev. Joseph Warton, chiefly relating to the composition of Greek indexes,' Reading, 1764. In this letter are mentioned many indexes to Greek authors, some of which were then begun, and others completed. Mr Robert Robinson, in the preface to his 'Indices Tres,' of words in Longinus, Eusebius, and Hierocles, printed at the Clarendon press in 1772, mentions these as composed by the advice of Mr Merrick, by whose recommendation to the delegates of the press they were printed at the expense of the university; and they rewarded the compiler with a very liberal present. 6. 'Annotations, critical and grammatical, on chapter 1, verses 1 to 14 of the Gospel according to St John,' Reading, 1764, 8vo. 7. 'Annotations, critical, &c. on the Gospel of St John, to the end of the third chapter,' Reading, 1767, 8vo. 8. 'The Psalms translated, or paraphrased, in English verse,' Reading, 1765. Of this, which is esteemed the best poetical English version of the Psalms now extant, the only defect was, that not being divided into stanzas, it could not be set to music for parochial use. This objection was removed, after the author's death, by the Rev. W. D. Tattersall. 9. 'Annotations on the Psalms,' Reading, 1768, 4to. 10. 'A Manual of Prayers for common occasions,' *ibid.* 1768, 12mo. Mr Merrick occasionally composed several small poems, some of which are inserted in 'Dodsley's Collection;' and some of his classical effusions may be found among the Oxford gratulatory poems of 1761 and 1762. In the second volume of the 'Museum,' is the Benedicite paraphrased by him.



## Alexander Monro, M. D.

BORN A. D. 1697.—DIED A. D. 1767.

THIS eminent anatomist, the father of the anatomical school of Edinburgh, was descended, both by his paternal and maternal parents, from distinguished families in the north of Scotland. He was born in London, in September, 1697, where his father, then a surgeon in the army of King William in Flanders, resided upon leave of absence. On quitting the army, Mr Monro settled in Edinburgh; and perceiving early indications of talent in his son Alexander, he gave him the best instruction which Edinburgh then afforded, and afterwards sent him to London, where he attended the anatomical courses of Cheselden. He then pursued his studies successively at Paris and Leyden, where his industry and promising talents recommended him to the particular notice of Boerhaave. On his return to Edinburgh, in the autumn of 1719, he was appointed professor and demonstrator of anatomy to the company of surgeons, the joint demonstrators having spontaneously resigned in his favour, and soon after began also to give public lectures on anatomy, aided by the many preparations which he had made when abroad. At the same time Dr Alston, then a young man, united with him in the plan, and began a course of lectures on the *materia medica* and botany. These courses may be regarded as the opening of that medical school, which has since extended its fame, not only throughout Europe, but over the New world. Mr Monro, senior, anxious for his son's honour, without the young teacher's knowledge, had invited the president and fellows of the college of Physicians, and the whole company of surgeons, to honour the first day's lecture with their presence. This unexpected audience threw the doctor into such confusion, that he forgot the words of the discourse, which he had written and committed to memory. Having left his papers at home, he was at a loss for a little time what to do: but, with much presence of mind, he immediately began to show some of the anatomical preparations, in order to gain time for recollection; and finally resolved not to attempt to repeat the discourse which he had prepared, but to express himself in such language as should occur to him from the subject, which he was confident he understood. The experiment succeeded: he delivered himself well, and gained great applause as a good and ready speaker. Thus discovering his own strength, he resolved henceforth never to recite any written discourse in teaching, and acquired a free and elegant style of delivering lectures. In the same year, 1720, a regular series of medical instruction was instituted at Edinburgh; and through the interest of Dr Monro's father, these two lectureships were put upon the university-establishment, to which were soon after added those of Drs Sinclair, Rutherford, Innes, and Plummer. This system of medical education was, however, incomplete, without affording some opportunity to the students of witnessing the progress and treatment of diseases, as well as of hearing lectures. A proposal was, therefore, made to erect and endow an hospital by subscription; and Dr Monro published a pamphlet explaining the advantages of such an institution. The royal infirmary was speedily

raised, endowed, and established by charter; and the institution of clinical lectures—which were commenced by Dr Monro on the surgical cases, and afterwards by Dr Rutherford, in 1748, on the medical cases—completed that admirable system of instruction, upon which the reputation and usefulness of the medical school of Edinburgh were subsequently founded.

Dr Monro, who was indefatigable in the labours of his office, soon made himself known to the professional world by a variety of ingenious and valuable publications. His first and principal publication was his ‘Osteology, or Treatise on the Anatomy of the Bones,’ which appeared in 1726, and passed through eight editions during his life, and was translated into most of the languages of Europe. To the later editions of this work he subjoined a concise neurology, or description of the nerves, and a very accurate account of the lacteal system and thoracic duct.

Dr Monro was also the father and active supporter of a society which was established by the professors and other practitioners of the town, for the purpose of collecting and publishing papers on professional subjects, and to which the public is indebted for six volumes of ‘Medical Essays and Observations by a Society at Edinburgh,’ the first of which appeared in 1732. Dr Monro was the secretary of this society; and after the publication of the first volume, when the members of the society became remiss in their attendance, the whole labour of collection and publication was carried on by himself; “insomuch that after this,” says his biographer, “scarce any other member ever saw a paper of the five last volumes, except those they were the authors of, till printed copies were sent them by the bookseller.” Of this collection, many of the most valuable papers were written by Dr Monro, on anatomical, physiological, and practical subjects: the most elaborate of these is an ‘Essay on the Nutrition of the Fœtus,’ in three dissertations. Haller, speaking of these volumes as highly valuable to the profession, adds, “Monrous ibi eminet.”

After the conclusion of this publication, the society was revived, at the suggestion of the celebrated mathematical professor, Colin Maclaurin, and was extended to the admission of literary and philosophical topics. Dr Monro again took an active part in its proceedings, as one of its vice-presidents, especially after the death of Maclaurin, when two volumes of its memoirs, entitled ‘Essays Physical and Literary,’ were published, and some materials for a third collected, to which Dr Monro contributed several useful papers. The third was not published during his life. His last publication was an ‘Account of the Success of Inoculation in Scotland,’ written originally as an answer to some inquiries addressed to him from the committee of the faculty of physicians at Paris appointed to investigate the merits of the practice. It was afterwards published at the request of some of his friends, and contributed to extend the practice in Scotland. Besides the works which he published, he left several MSS. written at different times, of which the following are the principal, viz. ‘A History of Anatomical Writers,’—‘An Encheiresis Anatomica,’—‘Heads of many of his Lectures,’—‘A Treatise on Comparative Anatomy,’—‘A Treatise on Wounds and Tumours,’—and ‘An Oration de Cuticula.’ This last, as well as the short tract on comparative anatomy, was inserted in an edition of his



whole works, in one volume quarto, published by his son, Dr Alexander Monro, at Edinburgh, in 1781. The tract had been published surreptitiously in 1744, from notes taken at his lectures; but is here given in a more correct form.

In 1759 Dr Monro resigned the anatomical chair, which he had so long occupied with the highest reputation, in favour of his son; but he still continued to lecture as one of the clinical professors on the cases in the infirmary. His life was also a scene of continued activity in other affairs, as long as his health permitted: for he was not only a member, but a most assiduous attendant, of many societies and institutions for promoting literature, arts, sciences, and manufactures in Scotland. Dr Monro was a man of middle stature, muscular, and possessed of great strength and activity, but was subject for many years to a spitting of blood on catching the least cold, and through his life to frequent inflammatory fevers. After an attack of the influenza in 1762, he was afflicted with symptoms of a disease of a painful and tedious nature, a fungous ulcer of the bladder and rectum, the distress of which he bore with great fortitude and resignation, and died with perfect calmness on the 10th of July, 1767, at the age of seventy.

## Mark Akenside.

BORN A. D. 1721.—DIED A. D. 1770.

MARK AKENSIDE was the son of a respectable Newcastle butcher. His parents were dissenters, and placed their son for some time under the care of a Mr Wilson, a dissenting minister, from whose academy he was sent, in his eighteenth year, to the university of Edinburgh, with the view of completing his studies for the dissenting ministry.

The wishes of his parents were ultimately frustrated by the young man exhibiting a decided preference for the medical profession above that of theology. He was, however, very properly allowed to follow the bent of his own inclinations, and ultimately graduated at Leyden in Holland. His thesis, on this occasion, was remarkably well-written, and attracted considerable attention; yet it appears that his ambition ranged somewhat higher than the practice of surgery and physic, when he first ostensibly devoted himself to the study of these arts. Stewart, in his 'Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind,' says, "There are various passages in Akenside's works which will be read with additional pleasure when it is known, that they were not entirely suggested by fancy. I allude to those passages where he betrays a secret consciousness of powers adapted to a higher station of life than fell to his lot. Akenside, when a medical student at Edinburgh, was a member of the Medical society, then recently formed, and was eminently distinguished by the eloquence which he displayed in the course of the debates. Dr Robertson, who was at that time a student of divinity in the same university, told me that he was frequently led to attend their meetings, chiefly to hear the speeches of Akenside, the great object of whose ambition then was a seat in parliament; a situation which, he was sanguine enough to flatter himself, he had some prospect

of obtaining, and for which he conceived his talents to be much better adapted than for the profession he had chosen."

Akenside's poetical genius had early begun to develop itself. At the age of sixteen, he was a poetical contributor to the 'Gentleman's Magazine;' and he seems to have already sketched the outline of his great didactic poem before he went to Leyden. Soon after his return to England, he completed the manuscript of his 'Pleasures of Imagination,' and offered the copyright to Dodsley for £120. The bibliopole was a little startled at the price demanded by so young an author; but on carrying the manuscript to Pope, he was advised "to make no niggardly offer, since this was no every-day writer," and immediately acted upon the advice. The poem was published anonymously, but was very favourably received both in this country and on the continent. Of course he did not altogether escape censure, and amongst the dissatisfied was the poet Gray, who, in a letter to a correspondent, writes thus disparagingly of it: "To show you that I am a judge, as well as my countrymen, I will tell you, though I have rather turned it over than read it, (but no matter; no more have they,) that it seems to me above the middling; and now and then, for a little while, rises even to the best, particularly in description. It is often obscure, and even unintelligible, and too much infected with the Hutchinsonian jargon. In short, its great fault is, that it was published at least nine years too early; and so, methinks, in a few words, *à la mode de Temple*, I have very pertly despatched what, perhaps, may for several years have employed a very ingenious man, worthy fifty of myself."

For some years, to use the words of one of his biographers, "Akenside was well-known as a poet, but he had still to make himself known as a physician." The truth is, he possessed too much independence of mind to have recourse to those artifices by which medical men in too many instances contrive to creep into practice; and but for the generous and steady friendship of a college friend, Mr Dyson, he would soon have been reduced to very great straits for the means of livelihood. Dyson was a man of fortune, and moved in the upper circles; and he at last succeeded in introducing his friend to a competent practice.

In July, 1755, Akenside read the Gulstonian lectures before the college of physicians. In these prelections he advanced certain opinions relative to the lymphatics, in opposition to those of Boerhaave which had so long ruled in the medical world. This led to a controversy with Dr Alexander Monro, the celebrated professor of anatomy in Edinburgh, who charged Akenside with plagiarism from him, but, we think, failed to make good the charge. In January, 1759, Akenside was appointed assistant-physician to St Thomas's hospital, and two months after principal physician. In 1764, he published his principal professional work, 'De Dysenteria Commentarius.' After this period he wrote and published little; being now in high practice, the duties of his profession occupied the greater part of his time. He died in the midst of a highly active and useful career, on the 23d of June, 1770.

"The features of Akenside," says his recent biographer, Mr Bucke, "were expressive and manly in a very high degree; but his complexion was pale, and his deportment solemn. He dressed too in a very precise manner, and wore a powdered wig in stiff curl. In respect to disposition, he is said to have been irritable, and to have had little re-



straint upon his temper before strangers ; with whom he was precise and ceremonious, stiff, and occasionally sententious and dictatorial. \* \* \* He had a high sense of his own merits ; and when persons of an inferior cast presumed upon their ignorance, or want of good breeding, to intrude their observations too unceremoniously, Akenside seldom denied himself the satisfaction of chastising their presumption by the adoption of a manner, perhaps too severe, satirical, and splenetic. But in the society of those mild and gentle spirits who admired his genius, and respected his virtues, he was kindness itself. His language flowed chastely, gracefully, and eloquently ; and his varied knowledge, argumentative reasonings, and nice distinctions,—his fine appreciation of philosophical allusions, and keen relish for the beauties of creation,—would display themselves in pure and copious streams of eloquence, never, perhaps, surpassed by the greatest masters of social life the world ever knew. His memory was at once discriminative and comprehensive. He retained all the riches of art, science, and history, legislation, poetry, and philosophy ; and these he would draw out and embody to suit the occasion required, in a manner not more wonderful to those who were partially informed, than delightful to those who could follow his track, and continue with him to the end. Yet he is said to have, in general, wanted gaiety of heart in society. He was naturally of a cheerful temper ; but his cheerfulness was accompanied by a mellowness of feeling which sometimes relapsed into melancholy. Not that corrosive melancholy, however, which unstrings the mind, and renders it incapable of life and action ; but of that sweet and delightful nature, which Dyer has so beautifully characterized in his ‘ Ruins of Rome.

————— “ ‘ There is a mood  
(I sing not to the vacant or the young,)  
There is a kindly mood of melancholy,  
That wings the soul, and points her to the skies.’ ”

Akenside is a poet by no means of the highest order of genius. His taste is unexceptionable, and his verse mellifluent ; but he has little originality ; his enthusiasm seems all to have been caught at second hand from the authors he was chiefly conversant with. It was his intention to have remodelled and nearly rewritten his principal poem, ‘ The Pleasures of Imagination ; ’ and he had proceeded some length in the execution of this design. “ Soon after the publication of the Pleasures of Imagination, Akenside,” says Mr Dyson, “ became conscious that it wanted revision and correction ; but so quick was the demand for successive editions, that in any of the intervals to have completed the whole of his corrections was impossible. He chose, therefore, to continue reprinting it without any corrections or improvements, until he should be able at once to give them to the public complete ; and with this view he went on, for several years, to review and correct his poem at leisure, till at length he found the task grow so much upon his hands, that despairing ever being able to execute it to his own satisfaction, he abandoned the purpose of correcting, and resolved to write the poem over anew, upon a somewhat different and enlarged plan ; and in the execution of this design he had made a considerable progress.” He printed the first and second books for his own private use, and tran-

scribed a considerable portion of the third book, in order to its being printed in the same manner; "and to these," continues Mr Dyson, "he added the introduction to a subsequent book, which in MS. is called the fourth, and which appears to have been composed at the time, when the author intended to comprise the whole in four books; but as he afterwards determined to distribute the poem into more books, might, perhaps, more properly be called the last book. This," continues Mr Dyson, "is all that is executed of the new work; which, although it appeared to the editor too valuable, even in its imperfect state, to be withholden from the public, yet, he conceives, takes in by much too small a part of the original poem to supply its place, and to supersede the republication of it." Hazlitt prefers the revised version, so far as it goes, to the original; but there are few, we think, who will agree with him in taste on this point.

### John Dollond.

BORN A. D. 1706.—DIED A. D. 1761.

JOHN DOLLOND, an eminent optician, and the inventor of the achromatic telescope, was born in Spitalfields, June 10th, 1706. His parents were French protestants, and at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in 1685, resided in Normandy, but in what particular part cannot now be ascertained. M. de Lalande does not believe the name to be of French origin; but however this may be, the family were compelled, soon after this period, to seek refuge in England, in order to avoid persecution, and to preserve their religion. The fate of this family was not a solitary case; fifty thousand persons were compelled to exile themselves; and we may date from this period the rise of several arts and manufactures which have become highly beneficial to this country. An establishment was given to these refugees, by the wise policy of our government, in Spitalfields, and particular encouragement granted to the silk manufacture.

The first years of Mr Dollond's life were employed at the loom; but being of a very studious and philosophic turn of mind, his leisure hours were engaged in mathematical pursuits; and though by the death of his father, which happened in his infancy, his education gave way to the necessities of his family, yet at the age of fifteen, before he had an opportunity of seeing works of science or elementary treatises, he amused himself by constructing sun-dials, drawing geometrical schemes, and solving problems. An early marriage and an increasing family afforded him little opportunity of pursuing his favourite studies: but such are the powers of the human mind when called into action, that difficulties, which appear to the casual observer insurmountable, yield and retire before perseverance and genius; even under the pressure of a close application to business for the support of his family, he found time, by abridging the hours of his rest, to extend his mathematical knowledge, and made a considerable proficiency in optics and astronomy, to which he now principally devoted his attention, having, in the earlier stages of his life, prepared himself for the higher parts of those subjects by a perfect knowledge of algebra and geometry.



He designed his eldest son, Peter Dollond, for the same business with himself; and for several years they carried on their manufactures together in Spitalfields; but the employment neither suited the expectations nor disposition of the son, who, having received much information upon mathematical and philosophical subjects from the instruction of his father, and observing the great value which was set upon his father's knowledge in the theory of optics by professional men, determined to apply that knowledge to the benefit of himself and his family; and, accordingly, under the directions of his father, commenced optician. Success, though under the most unfavourable circumstances, attended every effort; and in 1752, John Dollond, embracing the opportunity of pursuing a profession congenial with his mind, and without neglecting the rules of prudence towards his family, joined his son, and in consequence of his theoretical knowledge, soon became a proficient in the practical parts of optics.

His first attention was directed to improve the combination of the eye-glasses of refracting telescopes; and having succeeded in his system of four eye-glasses, he proceeded one step further, and produced telescopes furnished with five eye-glasses, which considerably surpassed the former; and of which he gave a particular account in a paper presented to the Royal society, and which was read on March 1st, 1753, and printed in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' vol. xlviii. Soon after this he made a very useful improvement in Mr Savery's micrometer; for, instead of employing two entire eye-glasses, as Mr Savery and M. Bouguer had done, he used only one glass cut into two equal parts, one of them sliding or moving laterally by the other. This was considered to be a great improvement, as the micrometer could now be applied to the reflecting telescope with much advantage, and which Mr James Short immediately did. An account of the same was given to the Royal society in two papers, which were afterwards printed in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' vol. xlviii. This kind of micrometer was afterwards applied by Mr Peter Dollond to the achromatic telescope, as appears by a letter of his to Mr Short, which was read in the Royal society, February 7th, 1765.

Mr Dollond's celebrity in optics became now universal; and the friendship and protection of the most eminent men of science, flattered and encouraged his pursuits. To enumerate the persons, both at home and abroad, who distinguished him by their correspondence, or cultivated his acquaintance, however honourable to his memory, would be only an empty praise. Yet among those who held the highest place in his esteem as men of worth and learning, may be mentioned, Mr Thomas Simpson, master of the royal academy at Woolwich; Mr Harris, assaymaster at the Tower, who was at that time engaged in writing and publishing his 'Treatise on Optics;' the Rev. Dr Bradley, then astronomer-royal; the Rev. William Ludlam, of St John's college, Cambridge; and Mr John Canton, a most ingenious man, and celebrated not less for his knowledge in natural philosophy, than for his neat and accurate manner of making philosophical experiments. To this catalogue of the philosophical names of those days, we may add that of the late venerable astronomer-royal, the Rev. Dr Maskelyne, whose labours have so eminently benefited the science of astronomy.

Surrounded by these enlightened men, in a state of mind prepared

for the severest investigation of philosophic truths, and in circumstances favourable to liberal inquiry, Mr Dollond engaged in the discussion of a subject, which at that time not only interested this country, but all Europe. Sir Isaac Newton had declared, in his 'Treatise on Optics,' p. 112, "That all refracting substances diverged the prismatic colours in a constant proportion to their mean refraction," and drew this conclusion, "that refraction could not be produced without colour," and consequently, "that no improvement could be expected in the refracting telescope." No one doubted the accuracy with which Sir Isaac Newton had made the experiment; yet some men, particularly M. Euler and others, were of opinion that the conclusion which Newton had drawn from it went too far, and maintained that in very small angles refraction might be obtained without colour. Mr Dollond was not of that opinion, but defended Newton's doctrine with much learning and ingenuity, as may be seen by a reference to the letters which passed between Euler and Dollond upon that occasion, and which were published in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' vol. xlviii.; and contended, that, "if the result of the experiment had been as described by Sir Isaac Newton, there could not be refraction without colour."

A mind constituted like Mr Dollond's, could not remain satisfied with arguing in this manner, from an experiment made by another, but determined to try it himself, and accordingly, in 1757, began the examination; and, to use his own words, with "a resolute perseverance," continued during that year, and a great part of the next, to bestow his whole mind on the subject, until in June, 1758, he found, after a complete course of experiments, the result to be very different from that which he expected, and from that which Sir Isaac Newton had related. He discovered "the difference in the dispersion of the colours of light, when the mean rays are equally refracted by different mediums." The discovery was complete, and he immediately drew from it this practical conclusion, "that the object-glasses of refracting telescopes were capable of being made without the images formed by them being affected by the different refrangibility of the rays of light." His account of this experiment, and of others connected with it, was given to the Royal society, and printed in their 'Transactions,' vol. L., and he was presented in the same year by that learned body, with Sir Godfrey Copley's medal, as a reward of his merit, and a memorial of the discovery, though not at that time a member of the society. This discovery no way affected the points in dispute between Euler and Dollond, respecting the doctrine advanced by Sir Isaac Newton. A new principle was in a manner found out, which had no part in their former reasonings, and it was reserved for the accuracy of Dollond to have the honour of making a discovery which had eluded the observation of the immortal Newton. The cause of this difference of the results of the eighth experiment of the second part of the first book of Newton's Optics, as related by himself, and as it was found when tried by Dollond in 1757 and 1758, is fully and ingeniously accounted for by Mr Peter Dollond in a paper read at the Royal society, March 21st, 1789, and afterwards published in a pamphlet.

This new principle being now established, he was soon able to construct object-glasses, in which the different refrangibility of the rays of light was corrected, and the name of achromatic was given to them by



the late Dr Bevis, on account of their being free from the prismatic colours, and not by Lalande, as some have said. As usually happens on such occasions, no sooner was the achromatic telescope made public, than the rivalry of foreigners, and the jealousy of philosophers at home, led them to doubt of its reality; and Euler himself, in his paper read before the academy of sciences at Berlin, in 1764, says, "I am not ashamed frankly to avow that the first accounts which were published of it appeared so suspicious, and even so contrary to the best established principles, that I could not prevail upon myself to give credit to them;" and he adds, "I should never have submitted to the proofs which Mr Dollond produced to support this strange phenomenon, if M. Clairaut, who must at first have been equally surprised at it, had not most positively assured me that Dollond's experiments were but too well founded." And when the fact could be no longer disputed, they endeavoured to find a prior inventor, to whom it might be ascribed; and several conjecturers were honoured with the title of discoverers. But Mr Peter Dollond, in the paper we have just mentioned, has stated and vindicated, in the most unexceptionable and convincing manner, his father's right to the first discovery of this improvement in refracting telescopes, as well as of the principle on which it was founded. In so doing he has corrected the mistakes of M. de la Lande in his account of this subject; those of M. N. Fuss, professor of mathematics at St Petersburg, in his 'Eulogy on Euler,' written and published in 1783; and those of Count Cassini, in his 'Extracts of the Observations made at the Royal Observatory at Paris in the year 1787;' and it must appear to every impartial and candid examiner, that Mr Dollond was the sole discoverer of the principle which led to the improvement of refracting telescopes.

This improvement was of the greatest advantage in astronomy, as they have been applied to fixed instruments; by which the motions of the heavenly bodies are determined to a much greater exactness than by the means of the old telescope. Navigation has also been much benefited by applying achromatic telescopes to the Hadley's Sextant; and from the improved state of the lunar tables, and of that instrument, the longitude at sea may now be determined by good observers, to a great degree of accuracy; and their universal adoption by the navy and army, as well as by the public in general, is the best proof of the great utility of the discovery.

In the beginning of 1761, Mr Dollond was elected F. R. S. and appointed optician to his majesty, but did not live to enjoy these honours long; for, on November 30th, in the same year, as he was reading a new publication of M. Clairaut, on the theory of the moon, and on which he had been intently engaged for several hours, he was seized with apoplexy, which rendered him immediately speechless, and occasioned his death in a few hours afterwards.

## Tobias Smollett.

BORN A. D. 1721.—DIED A. D. 1771.

TOBIAS SMOLLETT was born in the year 1721 at Dalquhurn within two miles of Renton in Dumbartonshire, Scotland. He was the grandson of Sir James Smollett of Bonhill, one of the Scottish commissioners for the Union. He appears to have received a classical education, and was bred to the practice of physic and surgery. At the age of eighteen he wrote a tragedy entitled 'The Regicide,' founded on the story of the assassination of James I. of Scotland; which was afterwards altered and improved, and published by subscription. He was some time on board a ship-of-war, as surgeon or surgeon's mate; and was present at the siege of Carthage in 1741. His connection with the navy seems not to have been of very long continuance. He came to London in 1746, and applied himself to literary pursuits: he is supposed to have written several pieces before he became known to the public by his more considerable productions. In 1746 he published a satire called 'Advice;' and in the following year another, which he entitled 'Reproof.' In the former he also wrote a poem, to which he gave the title of 'The Tears of Scotland,' and in which he expressed his indignation at the severities which were exercised upon his countrymen, and the ravages which were committed in Scotland after the battle of Culloden, and the suppression of the rebellion. His friends wished him to suppress this piece, but he refused to listen to their advice. Soon after this he wrote an opera for Covent Garden theatre, which, however, in consequence of some dispute with the manager, was neither acted nor printed.

In 1748 Smollett published his famous novel of 'Roderick Random,' which had an extensive sale, and procured him a considerable degree of reputation. It is said that some of the incidents of his own life, particularly the earlier part of it, and some real characters among his acquaintances are introduced into this work. In 1752 he published 'The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle.' He introduced into this book, by way of episode, some of the adventures of the profligate Lady Vane. In this work he endeavoured to ridicule Dr Akenside, in his description of the entertainment given by the Republican doctor, "after the manner of the ancients." Smollett appears to have conceived a dislike to Akenside on account of the difference of their political sentiments. Akenside was an ardent friend to liberty; while the principles of Smollett were more congenial to those of the Tories and the Jacobites. He also introduced Garrick and Quin with the view of exposing them to ridicule.

In 1752 he published 'An Essay on the External use of Water, in a Letter to Dr ———, with particular Remarks upon the present Method of using the Mineral Waters at Bath, in Somersetshire, and a Plan for rendering them more safe, agreeable, and efficacious.' Smollett had now taken the degree of doctor of physic; but from what university he received his diploma, or in what year, we have met with no account. About this time he attempted to settle as a practitioner



of physic at Bath; and it was with this view that he wrote his piece on the Bath waters. But at Bath he was unsuccessful; it is said that the chief reason of this was, that he could not render himself agreeable to the women, though he possessed a very handsome and graceful person. Abandoning physic, therefore, altogether as a profession, he fixed his residence at Chelsea, and turned his thoughts entirely to writing and translating. He published translations of 'Gil Blas' and of 'Don Quixote,' both of which were well-executed and well-received. He has himself given a sketch of his establishment at Chelsea in his 'Humphrey Clinker.' It was while residing there, that he published his 'Adventures of Count Fathom.' In 1757, he published his 'History of England,' which was first printed in 8vo. It had a great sale; so that he is said to have received £2000 for writing the 'History and the Continuation.' This work is often deficient in impartiality, and many instances of misrepresentation occur in it; but some parts of it are much superior to others, and it has considerable merit in point of style.

In 1755 he set on foot 'The Critical Review,' and continued the principal manager of it till he went abroad in the year 1763. As he was apt to be somewhat acrimonious in his censures of other writers, and was generally known to be the conductor of this literary journal, he became engaged in several disputes with Shebbeare, Granger, and others. Among other controversies in which this publication involved him, the most material in its consequences was that which was occasioned by his remarks on a pamphlet published by Admiral Knowles. That gentleman, in defence of his conduct in the expedition to Rochfort, had published a vindication of himself, which, falling under the doctor's examination, produced some very severe strictures both on the performance as well as on the character of the writer of it. The admiral immediately commenced a prosecution against the printer; declaring, at the same time, that he desired only to be informed who the writer was, that, if he proved to be a gentleman, he might obtain the satisfaction of one from him. In this affair the doctor behaved with prudence and spirit. Desirous of compromising the dispute with the admiral in an amicable manner, he applied to his friend Wilkes to interpose his good offices. The admiral, however, continued inflexible; and just as sentence was going to be pronounced against the printer, the doctor came into court, avowed himself the author of the strictures, and declared himself ready to give Mr Knowles any satisfaction he chose. The admiral immediately commenced a fresh action against the doctor, who was found guilty, fined £100, and condemned to three months' imprisonment in the King's Bench. It was there he is said to have written 'The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves,' in which he has described some remarkable characters, then his fellow-prisoners.

From the commencement of the Review, Dr Smollett was always considered as the principal author and conductor of it. On the publication of the 'Rosciad,' the author, considering himself and some of his friends to have been very injuriously treated in the review of that work, and imagining Smollett the author of the offensive article, retorted with great spirit in a poem entitled 'An Apology to the Critical Reviewers.' It appears however he was mistaken in his suspicion.

In 1762, when the Earl of Bute was first lord of the treasury, that nobleman found it necessary to employ some able writers to vindicate

his administration, and to palliate and defend the steps which had led to his advancement. Amongst others Smollett was pitched upon; and in defence of his patron he commenced a weekly paper, which he called 'The Briton.' The first number made its appearance on the 29th of May, 1762, and was immediately followed by the publication of 'The North Briton,' which in the end entirely routed his antagonist, and put an end to the friendship which subsisted between Smollett and Wilkes. 'The Briton' continued to be published till the 12th of February, 1763, when it was given up. The Earl of Bute did so little for his advocate that Smollett afterwards satirized him, as well as some other political characters, in his 'Adventures of an Atom.'

Smollett's constitution being at length much impaired by a sedentary life, and assiduous application to study, he went abroad for his health in the month of June, 1763, and continued in France and Italy two years. He wrote an account of his travels in a series of letters to some friends, which were published in two volumes, 8vo, in 1766. These letters are evidently the production of a man of genius, and possess no inconsiderable degree of merit; but during his stay abroad he appears to have been almost constantly under the influence of chagrin, and of ill health; and was much inclined to speak unfavourably of the persons that he met with, and the places through which he passed. Before he quitted the kingdom, he found, in the road to Dover, that "the chambers were in general cold and comfortless, the beds paltry, the cookery execrable, the wine poison, the attendance bad, the publicans insolent, and the bills extortion," and that there was "not a drop of tolerable malt liquor to be had from London to Dover." When he arrived at Dover, he discovered, that, "without all doubt, a man could not be much worse lodged and worse treated in any part of Europe; nor would he in any other place meet with more flagrant instances of fraud, imposition, and brutality." He met with similar evils in other places, and it was to this cynical relation of his travels, that Sterne is supposed to have alluded in the following passage of his 'Sentimental Journey.' "The learned Smelfungus travelled from Bologne to Paris—from Paris to Rome—and so on—but he set out with the spleen and jaundice, and every object he passed by was discoloured and distorted. He wrote an account of them, but it was nothing but an account of his miserable feelings. I met Smelfungus in the grand portico of the Pantheon—he was just coming out of it—'It is nothing but a huge cockpit,' said he. 'I wish you had said nothing worse of the Venus of Medicis,' replied I,—for in passing through Florence I had heard he had fallen foul upon the goddess, and used her worse than a common strumpet, without the least provocation in nature. I popped upon Smelfungus again at Turin, in his return home, and sad tale of sorrowful adventures had he to tell, wherein he spoke of moving accidents by flood and field, and of the cannibals which eat each other, the Anthropophagi. He had been flayed alive, and bedeviled, and worse used than St Bartholomew, at every stage he had come at. 'I'll tell it,' cried Smelfungus, 'to the world!' 'You had better tell it,' said I, 'to your physician.'"

Smollett returned from Italy to England; but finding his health continue to decline, and meeting with fresh mortifications and disappointments, he went back to Italy, where he died on the 21st of October, 1771, near Leghorn.



Besides the pieces already mentioned, Smollett was the author of sundry small poems, and of a dramatic piece called 'The Reprisals, or the Tars of Old England,' which was acted with applause at Drury-lane theatre.

Smollett was a man of very considerable abilities and varied talents. It has been remarked, that there is "a very obvious similitude between the characters of the three heroes of the doctor's chief productions: Roderick Random, Peregrine Pickle, and Matthew Bramble, are all brothers of the same family. The same satirical, cynical disposition, the same generosity and benevolence, are the distinguishing and characteristic features of all three; but they are far from being servile copies or imitations of each other. They differ as much as the Ajax, Diomed, and Achilles, of Homer. This was undoubtedly a greater effort of genius; and the doctor seems to have described his own character at the different stages and situations of his life."

## Christopher Smart.

BORN A. D. 1722.—DIED A. D. 1770.

CHRISTOPHER SMART was born at Shipbourne, in Kent. In 1739 he was admitted of Pembroke hall, Cambridge, where he brought himself into notice by the excellence of his Tripos verses. In 1745 he was elected a fellow of his hall. The Seatonian prize was adjudged to him four times successively. He also wrote a considerable number of miscellaneous and some dramatic pieces.

"Though the fortune," says his biographer, "as well as the constitution of Mr Smart, required the utmost care, he was equally negligent in the management of both, and his various and repeated embarrassments acting upon an imagination uncommonly fervid, produced temporary alienations of mind; which at last were attended with paroxysms so violent and continued as to render confinement necessary. In this melancholy state, his family, for he had now two children, must have been much embarrassed in their circumstances, but for the kind friendship and assistance of Mr Newbery. Many other of Mr Smart's acquaintance were likewise forward in their services; and particularly Dr Samuel Johnson, who, on the first approaches of Mr Smart's malady, wrote several papers for a periodical publication in which that gentleman was concerned, to secure his claim to a share in the profits of it." The publication alluded to, was the 'Universal Visitor and Memorialist,' published by Gardner, a bookseller in the Strand. Smart, and Rolt, a political writer, are said to have entered into an engagement to write for this magazine, and for no other work whatever; for this they were to have a third of the profits, and the contract was to be binding for ninety-nine years. In Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' we find this contract discussed with more gravity than it seems to deserve. It was probably a contrivance of Gardner's to secure the services of two irregular men for a certain period. Johnson, however, wrote a few papers for our poet, "not then," he added, "knowing the terms on which Smart was engaged to write, and thinking I was doing him good. I hoped his wits would soon return to him. Mine returned to me, and

I wrote in the 'Universal Visitor' no longer." The publication ceased in about two years from its commencement.

In 1763 he published his 'Song to David,'—a composition remarkable for its alternate magnificence and meanness, indicating the state of the composer's mind.

In his intervals of health and regularity he still continued to write, and although he perhaps formed too high an opinion of his effusions, he spared no labour when employed by the booksellers, and formed, in conjunction with them, many schemes of literary industry which he did not live to accomplish. In 1765 he published 'A Poetical Translation of the Fables of Phædrus,' with the appendix of Godius, and an accurate original text on the opposite page. This translation appears to be executed with neatness and fidelity, but has never become popular. His 'Translation of the Psalms,' which followed in the same year, affords a melancholy proof of want of judgment and decay of powers. Many of his psalms scarcely rise above the level of Sternhold and Hopkins, and they had the additional disadvantage of appearing at the same time with Merrick's more correct and chaste translation. In 1767 he republished his Horace with a metrical translation, in which, although we find abundance of inaccuracies, irregular rhymes, and redundancies, there are some passages conceived in the true spirit of the original. His last publication in 1768 exhibited a more striking proof of want of judgment than any of his other performances. It was entitled 'The Parables of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; done into familiar verse, with occasional applications for the use of younger minds.' This was dedicated to Master Bonnel George Thornton, a child of three years old, and is written in that species of verse which would be tolerated only in the nursery. In what manner he lived during his latter years, his biographer has not informed us; but at length he was confined for debt in the king's bench prison. Here he died after a short illness occasioned by a disorder in his liver, May 18th, 1770.

## John Harrison.

BORN A. D. 1693.—DIED A. D. 1776.

JOHN HARRISON was the son of Henry Harrison, carpenter and joiner, and was born in the latter end of May, 1693, at Foulby, in Yorkshire, where his father was then employed. At Sir Rowland's request he removed to another seat belonging to him in Lincolnshire, and at last settled at Barrow, near Barton-upon-Humber. At this time our mechanic was only seven years of age; but as soon as he was able he assisted his father in his own business, in which he continued until he was twenty years of age. Occasionally, however, he was employed in surveying land, and mending clocks and watches. He was from his childhood attached to any wheel-machinery. When he lay sick of the small-pox, about his sixth year, he had a watch placed open upon his pillow that he might amuse himself by contemplating the movement. Though his opportunities of acquiring knowledge were very few, he eagerly improved every incident for information. He frequently employed all or great part of the night in writing or drawing; and he



always acknowledged his obligations to a clergyman who officiated every Sunday in his neighbourhood for lending him a MS. copy of Professor Saunderson's lectures, which he carefully and neatly transcribed with all the diagrams.

The act of the 14th of Queen Anne, offering a large reward for discovering the longitude, probably excited Mr Harrison's notice; and living near a sea-port town, he was induced to consider how to alter the construction of a clock which he had made in 1726, so as it might not be subject to any irregularities occasioned by the difference of climates, and the motions of a ship. These difficulties he also surmounted; and his machine having answered his expectations in a trial attended with very bad weather upon the river Humber, he was advised to carry it to London, in order to apply for the parliamentary reward. Accordingly he arrived with it in London in the year 1735, and showing it to several members of the Royal society, he received a certificate from several that the principles of his machine for measuring time promised a very great and sufficient degree of exactness. In 1739 he finished another machine; and various experiments being made, it was found to be sufficiently exact to authorize the inventor to claim the reward assigned by parliament. This was followed by a third machine, produced in 1741, still less complicated than the second, and superior in accuracy, as erring only three or four seconds in a week. This he conceived to be the *ne plus ultra* of his attempts, and in the year 1749 he received the annual gold medal from the Royal society; but in an endeavour to improve pocket-watches, he found the principles he applied to surpass his expectations so much as to encourage him to make his fourth time-keeper, which is in the form of a pocket-watch, about six inches in diameter, and was finished in 1759. With this time-keeper his son made two voyages, the one to Jamaica, and the other to Barbadoes; in both which experiments it corrected the longitude within the nearest limits required by the act of parliament; and the inventor at different times, though not without infinite trouble, received the proposed reward of £20,000.

These four machines were given up to the board of Longitude. The three former were not of any use, as all the advantages gained by making them were comprehended in the last. They were worthy however of being carefully preserved as mechanical curiosities, to show the gradations of ingenuity executed with the most delicate workmanship. The fourth machine, which is the time-keeper, has been copied by Mr Kendall; and this copy, during a three years' voyage round the globe in the southern hemisphere with Captain Cook, answered as well as the original. The latter part of Mr Harrison's life was employed in making a fifth time-keeper, on the same principles with the preceding one, which at the end of a ten years' trial, 1772, in the king's private observatory at Richmond, erred only four seconds and a half. In 1775 he published '*A Description concerning such Mechanism as will afford a nice or true Mensuration of Time*,' 8vo. This small work also includes an account of his new Musical scale; for he had in his youth been the leader of a distinguished band of church-singers, and had a very delicate ear for music. Mr Harrison died at his house in Red Lion-square, London, March 24th, 1776, aged 83.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO EIGHTH PERIOD,

EXTENDING

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. TO THE FRENCH  
REVOLUTION.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

**Eminent Englishmen**

WHO FLOURISHED DURING THAT PERIOD.



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## HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO

### EIGHTH PERIOD.

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George the Third's reign historically divided into two periods—Prosperous situation of the country at accession of George III.—Pernicious influence of Lord Bute—Affair of Wilkes—Junius—Lord North's ministry—The American revolution—Coalition ministry—Peace with France—Ecclesiastical affairs—Rise of Methodism—Fine arts.

IN the immediately preceding section of our work we have passed under slight review some of the master-spirits of an age in nowise distinguished for any of those great movements by which the political or literary destinies of our country have been determined. We are now about to enter on a busier scene, and to offer a few biographical notices of men who took part in transactions highly momentous in themselves and still more so in their consequences. The reign of the third George conspicuously divides itself into two parts: the former embracing those transactions which led to the revolt and final separation of the North American colonies from Great Britain,—the latter commencing with the French revolution, and terminating with the accession of George IV. to the regency. It is to the former of these periods that we purpose to devote the present section.

The period we have now marked out opens under the administration of the greatest minister that had yet been called to direct the energies of this country. During the last four years of George the Second's reign, and the first year of his successor, England assumed a most commanding attitude among the nations of Europe, and she owed her greatness entirely to the genius of one individual. It was Pitt who made her all she then became. He entered office when the affairs of the country were in a wretched state; his coadjutors were the same imbeciles who had reduced the fortunes of Britain to so low an ebb; his alone were the genius, the spirit, and the system which retrieved them. The new monarch too was well-qualified to win golden opinions from his people: "Youth,—striking appearance,—a fondness not less for the gay and peaceful amusements of court-life than for those field-sports which make the popular indulgence of the English landholder,—a strong sense of the national value of scientific and literary pursuits,—piety unquestionably sincere, and morals on which even satire never dared to throw a stain,—were the claims of the king to the approbation of his



people."<sup>1</sup> But all these advantages were destined to be soon neutralized by the pernicious influence of the favourite, Lord Bute. The history of the next ten years, is the history of a series of struggles betwixt a nominal ministry and the influence of a virtual premier behind the throne.

Among the earliest and bitterest opponents of Bute was the famous John Wilkes. His story—which will be told at some length in our notices of him and Lord Camden—marks an epoch in the period now under consideration. A spirit had long been fostering at home which only required such an event as that of Wilkes's misjudged and mismanaged prosecution to rouse it into activity and visible display. "Our new world," says Simond, "has generally the credit of having first lighted the torch which was to illuminate and soon set in a blaze the finest part of Europe; yet I think the flint was struck and the first spark elicited by the patriot John Wilkes, a few years before. In a time of profound peace, the restless spirits of men, deprived of other objects of public curiosity, seized with avidity on those questions which were then agitated with so much violence in England, touching the rights of the people and of the government, and the nature of power. The end of the political drama was in favour of what was called, and in some respects was, the liberty of the people. Encouraged by the success of this great comedian, the curtain was no sooner dropped on the scene of Europe, than new actors hastened to raise it again in America, and to give the world a new play infinitely more interesting and brilliant than the first." Who all these actors were, and how their drama gradually unfolded itself, it would now be impossible to say. John Adams, writing to Niles, says: "In plain English, and in few words, I consider the true history of the American revolution, and the establishment of our present constitution, as lost for ever; and nothing but misrepresentations, or partial accounts of it, will ever be recovered." Jefferson had before communicated to Adams the same opinion. "On the subject of the American revolution, you ask, who shall write it? who can write it? and who will ever be able to write it? Nobody: except merely its external facts; all its councils, designs, and discussions having been conducted by Congress with closed doors, and no member, as far as I know, having even made notes of them. These, which are the life and soul of history, must for ever be unknown." Much of the agitation of the public mind in Britain was also due to the appearance of Junius's letters. Hitherto the circulation of political pamphlets had been usually very limited, and their effect seldom visible; there was no reading public yet formed. Junius, by his eloquence, boldness, and tremendous force of invective, arrested universal attention, and infused a love of political controversy into the mind of the nation at large.

"The Rockingham administration, during the four months of its existence, did more perhaps for the principles of the constitution than any one administration that England had seen since the Revolution. They were betrayed, it is true, into a few awkward overflowings of loyalty, which the rare access of whigs to the throne may at once account for and excuse; and Burke, in particular, has left us a specimen of his taste for extremes, in that burst of optimism with which he described

<sup>1</sup> Croly.

the king's message, as 'the best of messages to the best of people from the best of kings.' But these first effects of the atmosphere of a court, upon heads unaccustomed to it, are natural and harmless: while the measures that passed during that brief interval, directed against the sources of parliamentary corruption, and confirmatory of the best principles of the constitution, must ever be remembered to the honour of the party from which they emanated. The exclusion of contractors from the house of commons,—the disqualification of revenue-officers from voting at elections,—the disfranchisement of corrupt voters at Cricklade, by which a second precedent was furnished towards that plan of gradual reform, which has, in our own time, been so forcibly recommended by Lord John Russell,—the diminution of the patronage of the crown, by Mr Burke's celebrated bill,—the return to the old constitutional practice of making the revenues of the crown pay off their own incumbrances, which salutary principle was again lost in the hands of Mr Pitt,—the atonement at last made to the violated rights of electors, by the rescinding of the resolutions relative to Wilkes,—the frank and cordial understanding entered into with Ireland, which identifies the memory of Mr Fox and this ministry with the only oasis in the whole desert of Irish history,—so many and such important recognitions of the best principles of whiggism, followed up, as they were, by the resolutions of Lord John Cavendish at the close of the session, pledging the ministers to a perseverance in the same task of purification and retrenchment,—give an aspect to this short period of the annals of the late reign, to which the eye turns for relief from the arbitrary complexion of the rest; and furnish us with, at least, one consoling instance, where the principles professed by statesmen, when in opposition, were retained and sincerely acted upon by them in power."<sup>2</sup>

North came into office as chancellor of the exchequer in 1767. His misrule cost Britain only her American colonies. Yet it would be unjust to ascribe the dogged determination of the English government to persist in the subjection of the colonies to the settled hostility and unyielding temper of the premier alone. The king himself insisted upon the prosecution of the war, and Lord North not only made frequent and earnest endeavours to bring it to a close, but urged a coalition with the very men who had opposed the American war throughout. One fact in regard to the conduct of the English ministry in persevering in this war long after, to every dispassionate mind, the chances of success were as nothing, is now apparent; and their behaviour is explained upon the ground of the utterly erroneous views they entertained of the disposition of the mass of the American people. These views were derived from the reports of refugees, and late civil officers in the colonies, who had returned to England. Reports too were constantly sent to England of different intended movements in favour of the mother-country, which invariably deceived expectation; and they had the effect too of interfering with the plans and arrangements of the British commanders in America. Mr Sparks, an American writer, says: "This delusion prevailed during the whole war. The ministers acted under a perpetual deception. In looking back upon events as they actually occurred, it is impossible to conceive a collection of state-papers more

<sup>2</sup> Moore's 'Life of Sheridan.'



extraordinary for the erroneous impressions, contracted knowledge, and impracticable aims of the writer, than the correspondence of Lord George Germaine with the British commanders in America."<sup>3</sup> On the 4th of July, 1776, the American people entered on their career of independence. But it would be misjudging the matter altogether were we to trace that great movement, with all its reflected impulses on the old countries of Europe, to the ebullition of a momentary impatience under existing hardships; neither was it the result of extensive distresses pressing upon a large mass of the American community. When the people of the United colonies rose in resistance to the mother-country, they were in possession of as large a portion of the elements and means of social comfort as those of the mother-country itself. It was a revolution brought about by principles which the colonists had inherited from their English ancestors, the exiled puritans; these principles<sup>4</sup> had never perished from the bosoms of the descendants of 'the pilgrim-fathers;' on the contrary, every year had added to their strength, and every accession of strength had brought the unavoidable crisis nearer to maturity. The annals of each one of the colonies exhibit ample evidences of the long existence of this leaven of freedom, which was perpetually working upwards to the surface; and although it ultimately broke forth in one particular spot, yet the whole interior had been long and equally in a ferment, and the agitation must have forced a vent somewhere and soon. It had long been evident that wherever the pressure from without should be greatest, there would be the point of most active resistance. The new spirit which was thus called to life, or rather activity, on the other side of the Atlantic, manifested itself at a critical period for the old continent. There the political existence of the people was for the most part extinguished; the maxims by which nations were governed lay less in the great fundamental principles of human nature and the social constitution, than in the fluctuating systems of cabinets, and the personal feelings and caprices of their rulers; external aggrandisement, not domestic tranquillity and prosperity, seemed to be the great object aimed at by the leading powers of Europe; and the rapacity of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, had found a present object in the hapless kingdom of Poland. The British government, too, were actively engaged in the plan of supporting the national commerce upon territorial acquisitions, and of forming a new and gigantic empire in the East; and the exasperated feelings manifested towards the western colonies were to be attributed as much to mistaken views of commercial polity as to the love of dominion and a thirst for conquest.

The peace of 1782 also marks an important epoch in the period now under review. We shall relate the effects of that measure in the words of Mr Croly:—"It was scarcely proclaimed when France was crowded with the English nobility. Versailles was the centre of all that was sumptuous in Europe. The graces of the young queen then in the pride of youth and beauty,—the pomp of the royal family and the noblesse,—and the costliness of the fêtes and celebrations for which France has been always famous, rendered the court the dictator of manners,

<sup>3</sup> 'Writings of George Washington, &c.'

<sup>4</sup> For example, the familiar principle of English liberty,—their right of exemption from taxes unsanctioned by their own assent in the persons of their representatives.

morals, and politics, to all the higher ranks of the civilized world. But the Revolution was now hastening with the strides of a giant upon France: the torch was already waving over the chambers of this morbid and guilty luxury. The corrective was terrible; history has no more stinging retrospect than the contrast of that brilliant time with the days of shame and agony that followed,—the untimely fate of beauty, birth, and heroism,—the more than serpent-brood that started up in the path which France once emulously covered with flowers for the step of her rulers,—the hideous suspense of the dungeon,—the heart-broken farewell to life and royalty upon the scaffold. But France was the grand corruptor, and its supremacy must in a few years have spread incurable disease through the moral frame of Europe. The English men of rank brought back with them its dissipation and its infidelity. The immediate circle of the English court was clear. The grave virtue of the king held the courtiers in awe; and the queen—with a pious wisdom for which her name should long be held in honour—indignantly repulsed every attempt of female levity to approach her presence. But beyond this sacred circle, the influence of foreign association was felt through every class of society. The great body of the writers of England, the men of whom the indiscretions of the higher ranks stand most in awe, had become less the guardians than the seducers of the public mind. The ‘*Encyclopédie*,’ the code of rebellion and irreligion still more than of science, had enlisted the majority in open scorn of all that the heart should practise or the head revere; and the Parisian atheists scarcely exceeded the truth when they boasted of erecting a temple that was to be frequented by worshippers of every tongue. A cosmopolite, infidel republic of letters was already lifting its front above the old sovereignties,—gathering under its banners a race of mankind new to public struggle, the whole secluded, yet jealous and vexed race of labourers in the intellectual field, and summoning them to devote their most unexhausted vigour and masculine ambition to the service of a sovereign, at whose right and left like the urns of Homer’s Jove, stood the golden founts of glory. London was becoming Paris in all but the name. There never was a period when the tone of our society was more polished, more animated, or more corrupt. Gaming, horse-racing, and still deeper deviations from the right rule of life, were looked upon as the natural embellishments of rank and fortune. Private theatricals—one of the most dexterous and assured expedients to extinguish first the delicacy of woman, and then her virtue—were the favourite indulgence; and by an outrage to English decorum, which completed the likeness to France, women were beginning to mingle in public life, try their influence in party, and entangle their feebleness in the absurdities and abominations of political intrigue.”

The coalition between North and Fox was nearly as short-lived as it deserved to be. Its death was, in the words of Sheridan’s biographer, “worthy of its birth. Originating in a coalition of whigs and tories, which compromised the principles of freedom, it was destroyed by a coalition of king and people, which is even, perhaps, more dangerous to its practice. The conduct, indeed, of all estates and parties, during this short interval, was any thing but laudable. The leaven of the unlucky alliance with Lord North was but too visible in many of the measures of the ministry, in the jobbing terms of the loan, the resistance



to Mr Pitt's plan of retrenchment, and the diminished numbers on the side of parliamentary reform. On the other hand, Mr Pitt and his party, in their eagerness for place, did not hesitate to avail themselves of the ambidexterous and unworthy trick of representing the India bill to the people as a tory plan for the increase of royal influence, and to the king, as a whig conspiracy for the curtailment of it. The king himself, in his arbitrary interference with the deliberations of the lords, and the lords, in the prompt servility with which so many of them obeyed his bidding, gave specimens of their respective branches of the constitution, by no means creditable, while finally the people, by the unanimous outcry with which they rose in defence of the monopoly of Leadenhall-street and the sovereign will of the court, proved how little of the '*vox Dei*' there may sometimes be in such clamour." The history of the younger Pitt's administration belongs to the succeeding period.

The ecclesiastical annals of the period now under consideration are rich in great names. Foremost among these is Warburton, whose 'Divine Legation' placed him at the head of all contemporary theologians for extensive and profound learning. The exquisite taste of Lowth,—the deep devotional piety of Horne,—the argumentative powers of Ogden, Powell, and Balguy,—the critical erudition of Kennicott and Travis,—the ardent practical Christianity of the two Wesleys, Romaine, Venn, Toplady, and many others,—distinguish and adorn this era. To the exertions of this latter class of divines England is deeply indebted. Between the period of the Restoration and that on which we are now entering a set of preachers had arisen, "who, discarding every thing that was peculiar and impressive in the gospel, contented themselves and their hearers with dry disquisitions on morality, inferior often to the instructions of heathen writers. Hence followed a state of spiritual ignorance among the people, and a total apathy on all subjects connected with true religion. Devotion was in a great measure extinguished in the mass of the community. The people became alienated from the articles and doctrines of the church,—eternal concerns dropped out of the mind,—and what remained of religion was confined to an attention to a few forms and ceremonies. An exception might now and then be traced in a heartless and scholastic discussion of the Trinity, or the atonement, on the return of appropriate festivals; but such doctrines as the corruption of human nature, the necessity of the new birth, justification by faith, and the influence of the Spirit, were either abandoned to oblivion, or held up in opprobrious names to ridicule and contempt. The creed established by law had no sort of influence on the people; 'the pulpit completely vanquished the desk, piety and puritanism were confounded in one common reproach, an almost pagan darkness in the concerns of salvation prevailed, and the English became the most irreligious people upon earth.' Such was the situation of things when Whitefield and Wesley made their appearance, who—whatever failings may be allowed in their character—will be hailed by posterity as the second reformers of England. It was no part of their wish to innovate on the established religion of their country; their sole aim was to recall the people to the good old way, and to imprint the doctrine of the articles and homilies on the spirits of men. Most earnest and indefatigable were they in the prosecution of this design; but this doc-

trine had been so completely obliterated from the mind by contrary instruction, that the attempt to revive it met with obloquy and reproach; 'the revival of the old appeared like the introduction of a new religion, and the hostility it excited was less sanguinary, but scarcely less virulent, than that which signalized the first publication of Christianity.' This picture might be enlarged, and rendered still more gloomy, by the description of particular facts and circumstances; but this rapid sketch is sufficient to show that the rise of methodism was a revival of religion in England, whatever irregularities may have attended it. Since the Reformation there had been no efforts for religion equally vigorous and extensive. Churchmen and dissenters were aroused by methodism from a religious slumber in which both were bound; it 'came upon the breadth of the land' with a sound and a power to awake the dead; and thousands were awakened, and raised to 'newness of life.'<sup>5</sup>

In literature we have the distinguished names of Goldsmith, Bryant, Hume, Gibbon, Porson, Jones, and a host of minor names, and foremost, and above all, Johnson.

In poetry the school of West, Mason, and Gray, to which the Wartons also may be referred, was in the ascendant at the accession of George III. Churchill, Chatterton, Michael Bruce, Emily, Russell, and Bampfylde, belonged not indeed to this school, but their lives were too short to produce any great effect on their contemporaries. Darwin wrote much and well; but he did nothing for poetry with all his ingenious personifications; his praise lies in the departments more immediately connected with his profession. He was a man of extensive scientific acquirements, and his views in physiology are original and profound. As a poet, we do not remember that he has had any followers. Merry, with no genius whatever, was highly popular in his day,—a most convincing proof that the fortunes of poesy were at a low ebb indeed in England. Cowper, with little consciousness perhaps that he was an innovator, produced a mighty reform in English poetry. He affected no peculiarity of style, no unusual trains of thought; but addressed himself from the heart to the heart in a strain of feeling, that all could appreciate—for it was pure, simple nature—and in language at once simple and chaste. He created a new species of blank verse infinitely superior in variety to that to which the English ear had been so long accustomed. He presented to us "the primitive muse of England in her own undisguised features, her flexibility of deportment, her smiles and tears, her general animation and frequent rusticity." The public at once recognised the superior nature and loveliness of the long-forgotten stranger; and all succeeding poets did homage to the muse of Cowper. The rise and success of Cowper in the period we have now entered upon compensates for the absence of the great comic novelists of the preceding period.

The establishment of the society of arts, manufacture, and commerce, in 1750, contributed not a little to the promotion of the fine arts in Great Britain. The exertions of the artists themselves did still more. On the 21st of April, 1760, the first exhibition of paintings by British artists was made in the rooms of the society of arts. In 1765 a char-

<sup>5</sup> Anonymous Life of Wesley.



ter was granted to the associated artists ; and in 1768 the Royal academy was established, and Sir Joshua Reynolds elected president ; but previous to this event, Hogarth, Gainsborough, Wilson, Barry, Sir Joshua himself, and several others, had established for themselves high reputation both in their own country and on the continent.

## I.—POLITICAL SERIES.

### George III.

BORN A. D. 1738.—DIED A. D. 1820.

GEORGE, son of Frederick, prince of Wales, and the princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, was born on the 4th of June, (new style,) 1738. He was publicly baptized by the name of George William Frederick. At his birth he was a weak infant; but became robust under the care of a nurse selected for him from a very humble class of the community.

At the age of six he was placed under the care of Dr Francis Ayscough to learn his letters. The doctor seems to have neglected his duty towards his pupil, or perhaps was incompetent to the charge he had undertaken.<sup>1</sup> Walpole says that, at eleven years of age, the prince could not read English. He appears, however, to have been a diligent and docile child, though not of quick parts. His governor at this time was Lord North. In 1751 he was transferred to the care of Lord Harcourt as governor, and the bishop of Norwich and Andrew Stone as subgovernor and preceptor. The bishop and Lord Harcourt resigned their charge in the following year, and were succeeded by Lord Waldegrave and the bishop of Peterborough; Stone continuing to fill the office of preceptor. Stone appears to have been a man of energy and well-qualified for his important task, had he not been hampered by others. The princess-dowager used to say, that when Stone discoursed with the prince on any topic his attention seemed to be caught, which was not the case when the bishop assumed the office of tutor. When the prince would plead idleness of disposition as a reason why he had not accomplished his tasks, Stone has replied: "Sir, yours is not idleness. Your brother Edward is idle; but you must not call being asleep all day being idle."

In 1755, George II. contemplated a match between his grandson and a niece of the king of Prussia. "The suddenness of the measure, and the little time left for preventing it," says Walpole, "at once unhinged all the prudence of the princess. From the death of the prince, her object had been the government of her son. She had taught him great devotion, and she had taken care that he should be taught nothing else. She saw no reason to apprehend, from his own genius, that he would escape her; but bigotted, and young, and chaste, what empire might not a youthful bride—and the princess was reckoned artful—assume over him! The princess thought that prudence now would be most imprudent. She instilled into her son the greatest aversion to the match; and he protested against it!" In the following year, the princess proposed an union between the heir-apparent, and a female of the house of Saxe-Gotha; but it was instantly reprobated by the king, who said "he knew enough of that family already."

<sup>1</sup> Walpole thus writes of him: "Mr Pelham said, 'I know nothing of Dr Ayscough. —Oh, yes! I recollect I was told by a very worthy man, two years ago, that he was a great rogue.'"



In 1756, the prince having attained the age of royal majority, ministers, wishing to get him into their own management, persuaded the king to offer him a handsome allowance from the civil list, with a suite of apartments at St James's and also at Kensington. He took the allowance, but declined to leave the society of his mother. Lord Bute had already gained that unbounded influence over the mind of the heir-apparent, which was so often put forth in the succeeding reign to the destruction of cabinets and embarrassment of public affairs.

The decease of George II., and the accession of George III., took place on the 25th of October, 1760. The people do not appear to have formed very high expectations of their future sovereign. He had hitherto appeared little in public, and was known to be entirely guided by the united influence of his mother and Lord Bute. There was one circumstance, however, which operated greatly in his favour. He was a Briton; and the throne was now again to be filled in him, after a succession of foreigners, with a prince born and bred in England. His majesty was proclaimed on the 26th, and on the 27th of October held his first council. Contrary to expectation, notwithstanding the novelty of his situation, he acquitted himself with great care and propriety. Even Horace Walpole's prying eye could detect nothing very faulty in the new king's demeanour. "Every thing," he writes, "goes on with great propriety and decency; the civilest letter to Princess Emily; the greatest kindness to the duke; the utmost respect to the dead body. There is great dignity and grace in the king's manner. I don't say this—like my dear Madame Sevigné—because he was civil to me, but the part is well acted. He has all the appearances of being amiable: there is great grace to temper much dignity, and good nature which breaks out on all occasions." Having added the duke of York and Lord Bute to the privy-council, the king ordered parliament to be prorogued to the 18th of November. On the day of its re-assembling, he opened the session in person. In his speech on this occasion, he said: "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me, I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne; and I doubt not, but their steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolution to adhere to, and strengthen this excellent constitution in church and state; and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown; and, as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue. Happier still should I have been, had I found my kingdoms, whose true interest I have entirely at heart, in full peace; but since the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous designs of my enemies, rendered the war both just and necessary, and the generous overture, made last winter, towards a congress, for a pacification has not yet produced any suitable return, I am determined, with your cheerful and powerful assistance, to prosecute this war with vigour, in order to that desirable object, a safe and honourable peace. For this purpose, it is absolutely incumbent upon us to be early prepared; and I rely upon your zeal and hearty

concurrence to support the king of Prussia and the rest of my allies, and to make ample provision for carrying on the war, as the only means to bring our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation." The principal events of this first session were the voting of the supplies, the fixing of the civil list at £800,000, and the election of a new speaker in room of Arthur Onslow, resigned. On the 19th of March parliament was prorogued, and on the 21st dissolved. Next day Mr Legge was dismissed from his office of chancellor of the exchequer, and succeeded by Viscount Barrington. On the 25th the earl of Holderness resigned, and Lord Bute was appointed one of the secretaries of state in his room. Pitt, however, continued in office as premier till the 5th of October.

On the 8th of July the king announced, at an extraordinary council, his intentions of demanding the hand of the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. The announcement surprised the greater part of the council, for the previous negotiations had been kept a profound secret by the principal managers, the dowager-princess, and Lord Bute. It has been said that the king's affections were already occupied before this match was pressed upon his attention. It is certain he evinced a great partiality for the beautiful Lady Sarah Lennox, and this attachment was artfully fostered by Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, the young lady's brother-in-law.<sup>2</sup> The princess-dowager at first wished to select a consort for her son from her own family of Saxe-Gotha; but, as the members of it were supposed to possess an hereditary disease, her desire was over-ruled. A Colonel Græme, it is said, was then sent by Lord Bute to the various courts in Germany in quest of a princess of pure blood, and healthy constitution; possessed of elegant accomplishments, particularly music, to which the king was much attached; and of a mild disposition. Such were the colonel's instructions; and his choice fell on Sophia Charlotte, the second daughter of Charles Lewis Frederick, duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, by his consort, Albertina Elizabeth, daughter of the duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen. This princess was born at the palace of Mirow, on the 16th of May, 1744. Whatever were the feelings of some members, no opposition was offered in council to his majesty's wishes. On the 15th of August preliminaries were concluded, and on the 6th of September, the royal yacht, with the princess and suite on board, convoyed by Lord Anson, entered Harwich roads. That indefatigable chronicler of court-gossip, Horace Walpole, gives us some amusing notices of the circumstances attending the princess's introduction to the country of which she was the destined queen. "I forgive history," he writes, "for knowing nothing, when so public an event as the arrival of a new queen is a mystery, even at this very moment, in St James's street. The messenger that brought

<sup>2</sup> This lady has been described in glowing terms by Walpole. "There was a play," he says, "at Holland-house, acted by children; not all children, for Lady Sarah Lennox and Lady Susan Strangeways played the women. It was Jane Shore: Charles Fox was Hastings. The two girls were delightful, and acted with so much nature, that they appeared the very things they represented. Lady Sarah was more beautiful than you can conceive, and her very awkwardness gave an air of truth to the sham of the part, and the antiquity of the time, which was kept up by her dress, taken out of Montfauçon. Lady Susan was dressed from Jane Seymour. I was more struck with the last scene between the two women, than ever I was when I have seen it on the stage. When Lady Sarah was in white, with her hair about her ears, and on the ground, no Magdalen of Corregio was half so lovely and expressive."



the letter yesterday morning said she arrived at half an hour after four at Harwich. This was immediately translated into landing, and notified in those words to the ministers. Six hours afterwards it proved no such thing, and that she was only in Harwich road; and they recollected that half an hour after four happens twice in twenty-four hours, and the letter did not specify which of the twices it was. Well! the bridesmaids whipped on their virginity; the New road and the parks were thronged; the guns were choaking with impatience to go off; and Sir James Lowther, who was to pledge his majesty, was actually married to Lady Mary Stuart. Five, six, seven, eight o'clock came, and no queen! She lay at Witham, at Lord Abercorn's, who was most tranquilly in town; and it is not certain even whether she will be in town to-night. She has been sick but half an hour; sung and played on the harpsichord all the voyage, and been cheerful the whole time." At last, however, she reached London under an escort of the life-guards. On her arrival at the palace, the duke of York handed her out of the carriage, and the king raised her up and saluted her, just as she was about to drop on her knee to pay him obeisance. It was afterwards rumoured that the king, on first seeing his bride, shrunk back from a feeling of disappointment, her personal graces being far from striking. But Walpole says, "In half an hour, one heard of nothing but proclamations of her beauty; every body was content, every body was pleased. At seven," he continues, "one went to court; the night was sultry. About ten, the procession began to move towards the chapel; and at eleven they all came up into the drawing-room. She looks very sensible, cheerful, and is remarkably genteel. Her tiara of diamonds was very pretty,—her stomacher sumptuous,—her violet-velvet mantle and ermine so heavy, that the spectators knew as much of her upper half as the king himself. You will have no doubt of her sense by what I shall tell you. On the road they wanted her to curl her toupet,—she said she thought it looked as well as that of any of the ladies sent to fetch her; if the king bid her, she would wear a periwig, otherwise she would remain as she was. When she caught the first glimpse of the palace she grew frightened, and turned pale. The duchess of Hamilton smiled, the princess said, 'My dear duchess, you may laugh; you have been married twice, but it is no joke to me!' Her lips trembled as the coach stopped, but she jumped out with spirit, and has done nothing but with good humour and cheerfulness. She talks a great deal, is easy, civil, and not disconcerted. At first, when the bridesmaids and the court were introduced to her, she said, '*Mon Dieu, il y en a tant, il y en a tant!*' She was pleased when she was to kiss the peeresses; but Lady Augusta was forced to take her hand and give it to those that were to kiss it, which was prettily humble and good-natured. While they waited for supper, she sat down, sung, and played. Her French is tolerable; she exchanged much both of that and German with the king." The archbishop of Canterbury performed the marriage ceremony on the evening of the same day.

On the 22d of September, the august ceremony of the coronation of their majesties took place. An eye-witness has thus described it: "First, conceive to yourselves the fronts of all the houses that could command the least point of view lined with scaffolding, like so many galleries or boxes, raised one above another to the very roofs. These were covered

with carpets and cloths of different colours, which presented a pleasing variety to the eye ; and if you consider the brilliant appearance of those seated in them—many of whom were most splendidly dressed—you will imagine that this was no indifferent part of the show. A rank of foot-soldiers was placed on each side within the platform, and on the outside were stationed, at proper intervals, parties of horse-guards. As soon as it was daybreak, we were diverted with seeing the coaches and chairs of the nobility passing along with much difficulty ; many persons richly dressed were forced to leave their carriages, and be escorted by the soldiers to their places. Their majesties came in chairs from St James's to Westminster hall, about nine o'clock. In spite of the pains taken to have every thing in order, some curious blunders were committed. They actually forgot the sword of state, the chairs for the king and queen, and even the canopies ; so that, as a substitute for the first, they were forced to borrow the lord-mayor's sword, and to keep their majesties waiting till matters were arranged in the hall. It is not in the power of words to describe either the beauty of the spectacle or the joy of the multitude when the royal pair passed. It was observed, that as they turned the corner which commanded a view of Westminster bridge, they stopped to look at the people, the appearance of whom, uncovered, and gradually rising in a dense mass from the ground, resembled a pavement of heads and faces." When the king approached the altar, in order to receive the sacrament, he asked if he should lay aside his crown. The archbishop of Canterbury replied, that there was no order in the service-book on the subject. "Then there ought to be," rejoined the king, and immediately took off his crown.—Bishop Newton, speaking of his majesty's deportment at the coronation, declares, "that no actor in the character of Pyrrhus in the Distressed Mother, not even Booth himself, who was celebrated for it in the Spectator, ever ascended the throne with so much grace and dignity."—Walpole has given us some amusing anecdotes of this ceremony :—"At the dinner, Earl Talbot, as lord-steward, on the second course being served up, rode from the hall-gate to the platform steps. The earl piqued himself on backing his horse down the hall and not turning its rump towards the king ; but he had taken such pains to dress it to that duty, that it entered backwards ; and at his retreat, the spectators clapped,—a terrible indecorum, but suitable to such Bartholomew fair doings. He had twenty demelés, but came out of none creditably." Lady Townshend said, she should be very glad to see a coronation, as she had never seen one. "Why," said Walpole, "madam, you walked at the last." "Yes, child," said she, "but I saw nothing of it : I looked to see who looked at me." The king complained of the paucity of precedents as to the ceremonies. Lord Effingham owned that the earl-marshal's office had been strangely neglected ; "but," added he, "I have taken such care, that the *next* coronation may be regulated in the most exact manner imaginable." Lady Cowper, for some time, "refused to set a foot with my Lady M. ; and when she was at last obliged to associate with her, set out on a round trot, as if she designed to prove the antiquity of her family, by marching as lustily as a maid of honour of Queen Gwinevir."

On the resignation of Pitt, Lord Bute became the virtual head of the government. The new minister was instantly assailed by Wilkes in the



'North Britain' and a host of other writers, and the king came in for his share in the favourite's unpopularity. For a time the minister was supported against fearful odds by his sovereign's partiality; and when he was at last compelled to retire from the public exercise of power, he continued, "while lurking behind the throne, to be nearly as much prime minister as he had been while standing before it." It was by his advice that, on the death of the earl of Egremont, overtures were made to Pitt to resume office. The king had two interviews of some hours' duration with the haughty commoner, but found him impracticable. Lord Hardwicke, describing this interview, says: "His majesty mentioned Lord Northumberland for the treasury, still proceeding upon the supposition of a change. To this Mr Pitt hesitated an objection: that certainly Lord Northumberland might be considered, but that he should not have thought of him for the treasury. Mr Pitt said, 'Suppose your majesty should think fit to give his lordship the paymaster's place?' The king replied, 'But, Mr Pitt, I had designed that office for poor George Grenville. He is your near relation, and you once loved him.' To this the only answer made was a low bow. And now here comes the bait. 'Why,' says his majesty, 'should not Lord Temple have the treasury? You could go on then very well.' 'Sir, the person whom you shall think fit to honour with the chief conduct of your affairs, cannot possibly go on without a treasury connected with him; but that alone will do nothing. It cannot be carried on without the great families who have supported the revolution government, and other great persons of whose abilities and integrity the public have had experience, and who have weight and credit in the nation. I should only deceive your majesty if I should leave you in an opinion that I could go on, and your majesty make a solid administration on any other foot.' 'Well, Mr Pitt, I see (or I fear,) this won't do. My honour is concerned, and I must support it.'" Lord Hardwicke adds: "Ministers are so stung with this admission that they cannot go on—and what has passed on this occasion will certainly make them less able to go on—and with my Lord Bute's having thus carried them to market in his pocket, that they say Lord Bute has attempted to sacrifice them to his own fears and timidity,—that they do not depend upon him, and will have nothing more to do with him. And I have been very credibly informed, that both Lord Halifax and George Grenville have declared, that he is to go beyond the sea, and reside for a twelvemonth or more." In these interviews the king conceived a strong dislike, amounting almost to antipathy, to Pitt; he was afterwards heard to declare that he would rather have placed the crown with his own hands on Pitt's head, than have submitted to his arrogant dictation as to the formation of any ministry in which he was to bear a part.

The American war was doubtless the consequence of the king's obstinacy and misapprehension of the reciprocal duties of the citizens of a free state and the head of the state. He compelled George Grenville to introduce the unfortunate American stamp act, and although this obnoxious measure was repealed on the accession of the Rockingham party, yet the king persisted in goading on his ministers to those steps which ended in the dismemberment of the transatlantic colonies from the British empire. The prosecution of Wilkes,—the appointment of Lord Hillsborough to the colonial secretaryship,—the announcement of a

deficiency in the civil list to the amount of half a million,—the retirement of Chatham, the nation's idol, in disgust,—the dismissal of the lord-chancellor and the elevation of Lord North to the premiership,—were all events which filled the public mind with alarm and disgust, and rendered the king, at the close of 1769, one of the most unpopular sovereigns that had ever sat on the throne of Britain. The natural dissatisfaction was fostered by the appearance of Junius's famous letter to the king. On the 14th of March, 1770, Mr Beckford, then a second time lord-mayor, attended by the sheriffs, a few of the aldermen, and a great body of the common council, with a prodigious mob, went to St James's, and there presented to the king what was called "the humble address, remonstrance, and petition of the city of London," though written in a strain of the most daring and unparalleled insolence. It stated, that the complaints made in a former petition remained unanswered: that the only judge removable at the pleasure of the crown had been dismissed from his high office for defending in parliament the laws and the constitution: that under the same secret and malign influence, which through each successive administration had defeated every good intention, the majority of the house of commons had deprived the people of their dearest rights: that the decision on the Middlesex election was a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship-money by Charles the first, or the dispensing power by James the second,—a deed that must vitiate all the future proceedings of the parliament, as the acts of the legislature could no more be valid without a legal house of commons, than without a legal prince on the throne: that representatives of the people were essential to the making of laws: that the present house of commons did not represent the people: and that its sitting was continued for no other reason but because it was corruptly subservient to the designs of his majesty's ministers. The petitioners concluded with reminding his majesty of his coronation oath, and with assuring themselves that he would dissolve the parliament, and remove those evil ministers for ever from his council. His majesty replied with great temper and dignity: "I shall always be ready to receive the requests, and to listen to the complaints of my subjects: but it gives me great concern to find that any of them should have been so far misled, as to offer me an address and remonstrance, the contents of which I cannot but consider as disrespectful to me, injurious to my parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution. I have ever made the law of the land the rule of my conduct, esteeming it my chief glory to reign over a free people. With this view I have always been careful, as well to execute faithfully the trust reposed in me, as to avoid even the appearance of invading any of those powers which the constitution has placed in other hands. It is only by persevering in such a conduct, that I can either discharge my own duty, or secure to my subjects the free enjoyment of those rights which my family were called to defend: and while I act upon these principles, I shall have a right to expect, and I am confident I shall continue to receive, the steady and affectionate support of my people." A motion was made in the house of commons, on the following day, for a copy of the remonstrance, as well as of his majesty's answer. This motion was carried by a majority of almost three to one, after a warm debate, in which the lord-mayor, Alderman Trecothic one of the city



members, and both the sheriffs Townshend and Sawbridge, gloried in the part they had taken in that transaction. A third and fourth communication to the throne was made by the same sturdy remonstrants ; but the king treated them with silent contempt. Nothing daunted by the royal displeasure, the citizens of London again approached the throne with a petition praying his majesty to treat the American colonies with justice, and dismiss from his councils his present advisers. His majesty condescended to reply on this occasion in a few words : " It is with the utmost astonishment," he said, " that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in the wisdom of my parliament, the great council of the nation, I will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdoms." His majesty's obstinacy, however, seldom carried him beyond self-control ; in circumstances which might have embarrassed or irritated very weak minds, he is known to have maintained his dignity with coolness and self-possession. When Adams, the first American envoy to Britain, attended at the levee, the king received him with dignified composure, and said, " I was the last man in England to acknowledge the independence of America, but having done so, I shall also be the last to violate it ! " Adams's own account of the interview is as follows :—" The king asked me whether I came last from France, and, on answering in the affirmative, he put on an air of familiarity, and, smiling, or rather laughing, said, ' There is an opinion among some people, that you are not the most attached of all your countrymen to the manners of France.' I was surprised at this, because I thought it an indiscretion, and a descent from his dignity. I was a little embarrassed, but determined not to deny the truth on the one hand, nor leave him to infer from it any attachment to England on the other. I threw off as much gravity as I could, and assumed an air of gaiety and a tone of decision, saying, ' That opinion, sir, is not mistaken ; I must avow to your majesty I have no attachment but to my own country.' The king replied, as quick as lightning, ' An honest man will never have any other.' "

The coalition ministry, headed by Fox and North, was highly ungrateful to the king, who embraced the opportunity afforded him by the introduction of Fox's India bill, and the opposition of the house of lords to that measure, to demand the seals of office from both, and place them in the hands of Pitt. The change was hailed by a large party in the nation. The city of London, so lately malcontent, took the lead in congratulating the throne. " Your faithful citizens," they said, " lately beheld with infinite concern the progress of a measure which equally tended to encroach on the right of your majesty's crown—to annihilate the chartered rights of the East India company—and to raise a power unknown to this free government, and highly inimical to its safety. As this dangerous measure was warmly supported by your majesty's late ministers, we heartily rejoice in their dismissal, and humbly thank your majesty for exerting your prerogative in a manner so salutary and constitutional." And concluding in a style widely different from the usual tenor of their addresses on former occasions, they say, " Highly sensible of your majesty's paternal care and affection for your

people, we pray the Almighty that you may long reign in peace over a free, a happy, and united nation."

On the 2d of August, 1786, as the king was alighting from his carriage at the gate of St James's, an attempt was made on his life by an insane woman named Margaret Nicholson, who, under pretence of presenting a petition, endeavoured to stab him with a knife which was concealed in the paper. Fortunately the weapon was so much worn and so very thin that when she thrust it against his waistcoat it bent, and the king drew back uninjured, while the yeoman of the lodge seized her arm, and a footman wrested the knife from her grasp, at the moment she was about to repeat the blow. The king exhibited great coolness and humanity on this occasion. Margaret Nicholson afterwards underwent a long examination before the board of green cloth, and no doubt appearing of her insanity, she was consigned to Bethlehem hospital.<sup>3</sup>

Soon after the recess of parliament, in 1788, the king's health, which had been for some time infirm, became worse, and symptoms of mental aberration appeared. Parliament stood prorogued to the 20th of November. On the 14th of that month circular letters were addressed to the members of the legislature, signifying that the indisposition of the sovereign rendered it doubtful whether there would be a possibility of receiving his commands for the further prorogation of parliament. If not, in that case the two houses must of necessity assemble, and the attendance of the different members was earnestly requested. Parliament being accordingly assembled, the state of the king's health was formally notified to the house of peers by the lord-chancellor, and to the commons by Mr Pitt; and as the session of parliament could not be opened in the regular mode, an adjournment of fourteen days was recommended and adopted. Upon the re-assembling of parliament, December the 4th, a report of the board of privy council was presented

<sup>3</sup> The following account of this poor woman appeared in the 'European Magazine' of August, 1786: "Margaret Nicholson is said to have lived some years ago with a lady of quality in Brudenel-street, as her own servant; her general disposition of mind was of a reserved and thoughtful cast, seldom subject to the influence of the livelier sallies of mirth. This restraint of temper was considered by her fellow-servants as prudery. Her master's valet de chambre paid her his addresses: her conduct before the family was very reserved, and such in appearance as prevented them from discerning that he had any prospect of success with her; but one of the family happening to remain up after the rest were a-bed, in walking up stairs so as not to be heard, at a late hour, surprised the valet de chambre coming out of her bed-room. In such a discovery as this, every one knows how anxious the discoverer is to unburthen his mind; and next morning the servants were entertaining themselves at the expense of the reserved, as they called her, prude; the news soon reached the mistress's ears, and both the servants concerned were instantly discharged. They sought for a new place, where they lived still together in the same house; but quitted that also. Their attachment still subsisted, and they got into a third service; there her sweetheart slighted her, and paid his addresses to a person who had some property, whom he married; and then left his place to take an inn on the western road. This disappointment could not but affect the woman who was deserted, and she abandoned herself to solitude: intense thought upon one object debilitates the mind; and with a temper already prone to melancholy, an accumulation of thought and distress must increase intense thinking, which cannot but produce paroxysms of madness. Society and variety are necessary to remove the ill consequences of melancholy; neither of these it appears she sought; for even her brother acknowledged that she seldom called on him. After this she sought no more for a place as a servant, but betook herself to her industry by her needle."



to the two houses, containing an examination of the royal physicians; and it was suggested, that, considering the extreme delicacy of the subject and the person concerned, parliament would do well to rest satisfied without any more direct or express information, especially as the examinations of council had been taken upon oath, which the house of commons had no power to administer: doubts, however, were started by Fox, Burke, and others of the same party, whether parliament could in this momentous case dispense with that sort of evidence on which they had been accustomed to proceed. As the minister's chief object was procrastination, the objection was too acceptable to be warmly contested, and therefore, after a trifling debate, a committee of twenty-one persons was appointed in each house to examine and report the sentiments of the royal physicians. The report of the committee was laid upon the table of the house of commons on the 10th of December, when a motion was made by Pitt, for the appointment of another committee to inspect the journals for precedents. "With respect to precedents, there were," said Fox, "notoriously none which applied to the present instance; and he affirmed, that all that was requisite to their ultimate decision had been obtained by the report now lying upon their table. By that report they had ascertained the incapacity of the sovereign: and he advanced as a proposition deducible from the principles of the constitution, and the analogy of the law of hereditary succession, that whenever the sovereign was incapable of exercising the functions of his high office, the heir-apparent, if of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive authority, in the name and on the behalf of the sovereign, during his incapacity, as in the case of his natural demise." Pitt immediately, with much apparent warmth, declared, "that the assertion which had been made by Fox was little short of treason against the constitution; and he pledged himself to prove, that the heir-apparent in the instance in question, had no more right to the exercise of the executive power than any other person; and that it belonged entirely to the two remaining branches of the legislature, to make such a provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think proper. To assert an inherent right in the prince of Wales to assume the government, was virtually to revive those exploded ideas of the divine and indefeasible authority of princes, which had so justly sunk into contempt, and almost into oblivion. Kings and princes derive their power from the people, and to the people alone, through the organ of their representatives, did it appertain to decide in cases for which the constitution had made no specific or positive provision." The motion of Pitt was carried; and on the 16th of December the minister moved two declaratory resolutions to the effect, first, that an interruption of the royal authority presently existed, and, secondly, that it was the duty of parliament to provide the means for supplying that defect, and conducting the government. A letter was then written by Pitt to the prince of Wales, informing his royal highness of the plan meant to be pursued: that the care of the king's person and the disposition of the royal household should be committed to the queen, who would by this means be vested with the patronage of four hundred places, amongst which were the great offices of lord-steward, lord-chamberlain, and the master of the horse. That the power of the prince should not extend to the granting any office, re-

version, or pension, for any other term than during the king's pleasure, nor to the conferring any peerage. In his reply to this communication, the prince said: "It was with deep regret that he perceived in the propositions of administration a project for introducing weakness, disorder, and insecurity into every branch of political business;—for separating the court from the state, and depriving government of its natural and accustomed support; a scheme for disconnecting authority to command service, from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to him all the invidious duties of the kingly station, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity."

The regency bill had reached its last stage when it was suddenly announced that the king had completely recovered. On the 22d of February, 1789, his majesty addressed the following note to the premier: "The king renews with great satisfaction his communication with Mr Pitt, after the long suspension of their intercourse, owing to his very tedious and painful illness. He is fearful that during this interval, the public interests have suffered great inconvenience and difficulty. It is most desirable that immediate measures should be taken for restoring the functions of his government; and Mr Pitt will consult with the lord-chancellor to-morrow morning, upon the most expedient means for that purpose; and the king will receive Mr Pitt at Kew afterwards, about one o'clock." The next morning Pitt waited upon the king, who was quite rational, and among other pertinent observations, said: "I made several promises before my illness, and they must now be fulfilled." Shortly before he wrote to Pitt, he had inquired of his attendant, why a pier-glass in his apartment was covered with baize; the attendant, unwilling to confess that it was to prevent the king from perceiving what a dreadful alteration had taken place in his appearance, replied: "The glass, sire, was supposed to have reflected too much light." "How could that be," said the king, "when it is placed where no light can fall on it?" A little while after, on awaking from a sound and refreshing sleep, he said, "I have been in a strange delirium for some days past!" When informed that his illness had been of more than two months' duration, he remained in an attitude of devotion for several minutes, but made no further remark on the subject.

On coming abroad again for the first time since his recent illness, his majesty was received with loud acclamations by the populace, and was for a year or two highly popular; but the increasing distresses of the country, the success of the French arms on the continent, and the ceaseless efforts of political incendiaries at home, conspired to turn the tide of public feeling in an opposite direction. On the 29th of October, 1795, while his majesty was proceeding to the house of lords, a ball passed through both windows of his carriage. "We all instantly exclaimed," says Lord Onslow, "'This is a shot!'" His majesty showed, and I am persuaded felt, no alarm; much less did he fear. We proceeded to the house of lords, where the king read his speech with peculiar correctness, and even with less hesitation than usual. He joined in the conversation on the subject, while unrobing, with much less agitation than anybody else: and afterwards, on getting into the coach, he said, 'Well, my lords, one person is proposing this, and another is supposing that, forgetting that there is One above us all who disposes



of everything, and on whom alone we depend!' On our return to St James's, the mob threw stones into the coach, several of which hit the king, who took one out of the cuff of his coat, where it had lodged, and gave it to me, saying, 'I make you a present of this, as a mark of the civilities we have met with on our journey to-day.' " One of the horse-guards, observing a ruffian in the act of throwing a large stone at the king, would have cut the man down, had not his majesty put his head out of the window and commanded him on no account to shed blood. The mob were so violent and determined, that Storey's gate having been closed against them, they attempted to break it open with sledge-hammers, and would have succeeded had not the military interposed. The king alighted in safety at the palace; but the state-carriage was nearly demolished in its progress to the royal mews. Shortly afterwards he set out in his private coach towards the queen's house; but having now no guards to protect him, his life was in imminent danger. The mob attacked his vehicle with savage fury, and one miscreant was attempting to force the door, when an Irish gentleman, of great height and strength, took a brace of pistols from his pocket, and kept the mob off the carriage until it reached the palace, where, by main force, he cleared the way for his majesty to alight.

On the 15th of May, 1800, the king had two narrow escapes. In the morning of that day, while attending the field-exercise of a battalion of guards, during one of the volleys, a gentleman who was standing at a very little distance from the king was struck in the fleshy part of the thigh, in front, by a musket-ball. An examination of the cartouch-boxes of the soldiers took place, but no individual could be fixed upon as the perpetrator of the act. In the evening of the same day a more alarming and extraordinary circumstance occurred at Drury-lane theatre. At the moment when the king entered the royal box, a man in the pit, on the right-hand side of the orchestra, suddenly stood up and discharged a horse-pistol at him. Providentially a gentleman who sat near him had time to raise the arm of the assassin so as to direct the contents of the pistol towards the roof of the box. The king's behaviour on this occasion was above all praise. He showed no symptom of fear, but directed the actors to proceed with the performance of the evening, after the assassin had been secured and conveyed away for examination. The perpetrator of this act was a man of the name of Hadfield, a discharged soldier. It clearly appeared that he too was insane. He was indicted for high treason, but the jury were satisfied that he was of unsound mind, and he was committed to Bethlehem hospital. When the king returned to the queen's house, he said, "I hope and pray that the poor creature who has committed the rash assault upon me, may enjoy as sound a repose as I trust that I shall this night!" He adopted no additional precautions for his personal safety, notwithstanding these repeated attempts on his life, observing to those who advised him to do so: "I know that any man in my dominions, who chooses to sacrifice his own life, may easily take away mine; but I hope, if any one attempts such an act, he will do it promptly, without any circumstances of barbarity!" Sheridan soon afterwards complimented him for the extraordinary resolution he had displayed. "Had your majesty abruptly quitted the theatre," said he, "the confusion would have been awful." "I should have despired myself for ever,"

replied the king, "had I but stirred a single inch: a man, on such an occasion, should need no prompting, but immediately feel what is his duty, and do it."

In 1801 Pitt retired from office, on account of the king refusing any concessions to the Catholics, while the minister considered himself pledged to some further measure of relief by the act of union. The king was impressed with the idea that he could not consent to admit his Catholic subjects to a share in the constitution without violating his coronation oath. Pitt was succeeded by Addington, who retained the seals of office till 1804, when Pitt and his friends again came into power. The death of his favourite minister, in 1806, was a severe blow to the king, who was nevertheless ready to dismiss any ministry on the same terms that had previously lost him the services of Pitt. In 1807, when Lord Grenville endeavoured to obtain the king's consent to a measure of emancipation, he declared, "that although he had firmness sufficient to quit his throne, and retire to a cottage, or place his neck on a block, if his people required it, yet he had not resolution to break the oath which he had taken, in the most solemn manner, at his coronation!" Shortly afterwards Lord Grenville received a note from the king, stating, that his majesty would be ready to receive the resignations of his ministers at noon on the following day. The premier and his colleagues, accordingly, gave up their seals of office the next morning; and the Perceval administration succeeded.

On the 25th of October, 1809, when the king entered on the fiftieth year of his reign, a jubilee was celebrated throughout the kingdom, and the venerable monarch was sensibly affected by the universal demonstration of attachment on this occasion. His public life was now drawing towards a close; his sight was nearly gone, and his faculties considerably impaired. In the subsequent eventful transactions of Britain, George III. was a cypher.

On the 20th of December, 1810, three resolutions, framed on the precedents of 1788-9, were proposed by Perceval, as preparatory to the introduction of a bill for supplying the defect in the personal exercise of the royal authority. By this bill the prince of Wales was appointed regent, and empowered to exercise the royal authority in the name of his majesty. He was, for a specified time, restrained from granting peerages, or summoning heirs-apparent, or appointing to titles in abeyance; likewise from granting offices in reversion, or for a longer time than during pleasure, excepting those allowed by law to be granted for life, or during good behaviour, as well as pensions to the chancellor, judges, &c. These restrictions were to terminate on the 1st of February, 1812, provided parliament should have been sitting six weeks, and should be then assembled. The care of his majesty's person and the direction of his household were vested in the queen, who was to be assisted by a council, the members of which were, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the duke of Montrose, the earl of Winchelsea, the earl of Aylesford, Lord Eldon, Lord Ellenborough, and Sir William Grant. If his majesty should be restored to health, the queen and her council were to notify that event by an instrument transmitted to the privy council, who were to assemble and make entry of it; after which the king by his sign-manual might require them to assemble, and at his pleasure direct proclamation to issue, when the powers of the act



were to cease. A keen debate followed, but ministers carried their point by the small majority of 224 to 200. The remainder of this sovereign's history needs not to be here sketched. Reason never again resumed her seat in his mind. He died at Windsor on the 29th of January, 1820, in the 82d year of his age.

Much as there is to admire in the personal character of George III. we can with difficulty admit his claim to praise as a constitutional sovereign. Throughout his public life he manifested a strong disposition to be his own minister, and occasionally placed the kingly prerogatives in perilous opposition to the resolutions of the nation's representatives. His interference with the deliberation of the upper house,—as in the case of Fox's India bill,—was equally ill-judged and dangerous. The separation of America from the mother-country, at the time it took place, was the result of the king's personal feelings and interference with the ministry. The war with France was in part at least attributable to the views and wishes of the sovereign of this country. His obstinate refusal to grant any concessions to his Catholic subjects, kept his cabinet perpetually hanging on the brink of dissolution, and threatened the dismemberment of the kingdom.<sup>4</sup> He has been often praised for firmness, but it was in too many instances the firmness of obstinacy,—a dogged adherence to an opinion once pronounced, or a resolution once formed. Still he had many redeeming qualities, his moral conduct was unimpeachable; he was indeed sincerely and unaffectedly pious, and gave much of his time to the offices of religion in his closet and family.<sup>5</sup> His manners were affable and courteous, his habits simple and unostentatious. No man in his dominions more enjoyed the comforts of domestic life than he did; and no parent could evince a tenderer regard for his children. The last shock which upset his mental powers, or rather confirmed his malady, was given, it is believed, by the death of one of his daughters, the princess Amelia. His intellectual powers

<sup>4</sup> It is due to the memory of George III., while instancing his inflexible opposition to Catholic emancipation, to admit that no one better understood and practised religious toleration than he did. Many of his own servants were dissenters. "The Methodists," said he, "are a very quiet kind of people, and will disturb nobody; and if I learn that any person in my employ disturbs them, he shall instantly be dismissed." Malowny, a Catholic priest, having been convicted of celebrating mass in the county of Surrey, and the judge who tried him having humanely recommended him as a proper object for royal mercy, the king said: "God forbid that difference in religious opinion should sanction persecution, or admit of one man within my realms suffering unjustly. Issue a pardon for Mr Malowny, and see that he be set at liberty."

<sup>5</sup> An eminent bishop having suffered some fashionable assemblies to take place under his roof, the king rebuked him, by letter, in the following terms: "My good Lord Primate, I could not delay giving you the notification of the grief and concern with which my breast was affected, at receiving an authentic information that routs have made their way into your palace. At the same time, I must signify to you my sentiments on this subject, which hold these levities and vain dissipation as utterly inexpedient, if not unlawful, to pass in a residence for many centuries devoted to divine studies, religious retirement, and the extensive exercise of charity and benevolence;—I add,—in a place where so many of your predecessors have led their lives in such sanctity as has thrown lustre on the pure religion they professed and adorned. From the dissatisfaction with which you must perceive I behold these improprieties, not to speak in harsher terms, and still more pious principles, I trust you will suppress them immediately; so that I may not have occasion to show any further marks of my displeasure, or to interpose in a different manner. May God take your grace into his Almighty protection!—I remain, &c." How few crowned heads could—or, at least, would—have bestowed such an admonition on their worldly-minded prelates!

have perhaps been too much underrated. The man who could not only sustain a prolonged conversation with such men as Fox and Johnson, but create a favourable impression on their minds of his mental resources and information, could not be a weak man.

## Charles Townshend.

BORN A. D. 1725.—DIED A. D. 1767.

CHARLES, second son of the third Viscount Townshend, was born on the 29th of August, 1725. He entered parliament as member for Yarmouth in 1747, and continued to represent that place till 1761 when he was elected for Harwich.

In 1756 he was appointed a member of the privy council; and on the accession of George III. became secretary at war in the administration which drove Pitt from office. In 1765 he was appointed chancellor of the exchequer and paymaster-general; and, in 1766, a lord of the treasury. This able but unsteady minister was cut off during the recess of parliament in 1767, by putrid fever, at the very moment that his great abilities were beginning to command the attention of parliament. He is now chiefly known by Burke's sketch of him in his famous speech on American taxation:

"Before this splendid orb"—said the orator, alluding to Chatham—"had entirely set, and while the western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and for his hour became lord of the ascendant. This light, too, is passed and set for ever! I speak of Charles Townshend, officially the re-producer of this fatal scheme,—American taxation; whom I cannot even now remember without some degree of sensibility. In truth, he was the delight and ornament of this house, and the charm of every private society which he honoured with his presence. Perhaps there never arose in this country, nor in any country, a man of more pointed and finished wit, and, where his passions were not concerned, of a more refined, exquisite, and penetrating judgment. If he had not so great a stock, as some have had who flourished formerly, of knowledge long treasured up, he knew better by far than any man I ever was acquainted with, how to bring together, within a short time, all that was necessary to establish, to illustrate, and to decorate that side of the question he supported. He stated his matter skilfully and powerfully; he particularly excelled in a most luminous explanation and display of his subject. His style of argument was neither trite and vulgar, nor subtle and abstruse. He hit the house just between wind and water; and not being troubled with too anxious a zeal for any matter in question, he was never more tedious, or more earnest, than the pre-conceived opinions and present temper of his hearers required, with whom he was always in perfect unison. He conformed exactly to the temper of the house; and he seemed to guide, because he was always sure to follow it. Many of my hearers, who never saw that prodigy, Charles Townshend, cannot know what a ferment he was able to excite in every thing, by the violent ebullition of his mixed virtues and failings; for failings he had undoubtedly. But he had no failings which were not owing to



a noble cause; to an ardent, generous, perhaps an immoderate passion for fame,—a passion which is the instinct of all great souls. He worshipped that goddess wheresoever she appeared; but he paid his particular devotions to her in her favourite habitation,—in her chosen temple, the house of commons. That fear of displeasing those who ought most to be pleased, betrayed him sometimes into the other extreme. He had voted, and in the year 1765, had been an advocate, for the stamp act. He therefore attended at the private meeting in which resolutions leading to its repeal were settled; and he would have spoken for that measure too, if illness had not prevented him. The very next session, as the fashion of this world passeth away, the repeal began to be in as bad odour as the stamp act had been before. To conform to the temper which began to prevail, and to prevail mostly among those most in power, he declared that revenue must be had out of America. Instantly he was tied down to his engagements, and the whole body of courtiers drove him onward. Here this extraordinary man, then chancellor of the exchequer, found himself in great straits: to please universally was the object of his life; but to tax and to please, no more than to love and to be wise, is not given to men. However, he attempted it. He was truly the child of the house. He never thought, did, or said any thing, but with a view to you. He every day adapted himself to your disposition, and adjusted himself before it, as at a looking-glass. He had observed that several persons, infinitely his inferiors in all respects, had formerly rendered themselves considerable in this house by one method alone. The fortune of such men was a temptation too great to be resisted by one to whom a single whiff of incense withheld gave much greater pain than he received delight in the clouds of it which daily rose around him from the prodigal superstition of innumerable admirers. He was a candidate for contradictory honours; and his great aim was to make those agree in admiration of him who never agreed in any thing else."

## Manners, Marquess of Granby.

BORN A. D. 1721.—DIED A. D. 1770.

THIS nobleman was the heir-apparent of John Manners, third duke of Rutland, by Bridget, daughter and heir of Sutton, second and last Lord Lexington. He was educated at Eton, and at Trinity college, Cambridge; and entered parliament, at an early age, for the town of Grantham. In 1745 he raised a regiment of infantry, and accompanied the duke of Cumberland into Scotland. On the 4th of May, 1755, he received a major-general's commission; and in February, 1759, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and sent out to Germany as second in command to Lord George Sackville.

After the battle of Minden, he was highly complimented by Prince Ferdinand at the expense of Lord George; and on the disgrace of the latter officer, as related in our sketch of him, the marquess was appointed to succeed him in his military command. It is well-known that these two noblemen were never cordial friends; but the evidence which the marquess gave on Lord George's trial was highly honourable to

himself, and generous to his rival. "He showed," says Lord Orford, in his memoirs of the reign of George II., "an honourable and compassionate tenderness; so far from exaggerating the minutest circumstance, he palliated or suppressed whatever might load the prisoner, and seemed to study nothing but how to avoid appearing a party against him. So inseparable in his bosom were valour and good nature." In the battles of Warburg and Phillinghausen the marquess reaped fresh laurels. "Towards the end of the war," says an anonymous writer who had served under him, "when the army was so situated that, if a rising ground on the left had been taken possession of by the French, it might have been attended by the worst consequences,—and when the generals destined to lead a corps to occupy it, declared the service impracticable,—Lord Granby arose from a sick-bed in the middle of the night, assumed the command of the corps, marched with a fever upon him in an inclement season, took possession of the post, and secured the army." "My Lord Granby's generosity," adds the same writer, "knows no bounds. Often have I seen his generous hand stretched out to supply the wants of the needy soldier; nor did the meanest follower of the camp go hungry from his door. His house was open equally to British and foreigners; his table was hospitality itself; and his generous, open countenance gave a hearty welcome to all his guests."

In 1760, during his absence with the army, he was appointed a member of the privy council. In 1763 he was constituted master-general of the ordnance; and in 1766, commander-in-chief of the army. He died suddenly of an attack of gout in the stomach, on the 20th of October, 1770.

His lordship's merits appear on the whole to have been overestimated by his contemporaries. His courage was much less questionable than his military talents. Soon after his investment with the command-in-chief, he was selected by Junius for the subject of his terrible invective. "If," said his masked assailant, "it be generosity to accumulate in his own person and family a number of lucrative employments,—to provide, at the public expense, for every creature that bears the name of Manners,—and, neglecting the merit and services of the rest of the army, to heap promotions on his favourites and dependants, the present commander-in-chief is the most generous man alive." And again: "If the discipline of the army be in any degree preserved, what thanks are due to a man whose cares, notoriously confined to filling up vacancies, have degraded the office of commander-in-chief into a broker of commissions?" Of this attack the marquess himself took no notice, but Sir William Draper addressed a letter to the printer of the 'Public Advertiser,' in his lordship's defence, which, however, had the effect of drawing Junius forward to fresh and more violent invective. He insisted that the army had been grossly neglected; and though he acquitted the marquess of the baseness of selling commissions, he again asserted that his military cares had never extended beyond the disposal of vacancies; adding that, in his distribution of them, he had consulted nothing but parliamentary interest, or the gratification of his immediate dependants. "Without disputing Lord Granby's courage," he said in his letter to Sir William Draper, "we are yet to learn in what article of military knowledge, nature has been so very liberal to his mind. If you have served with him, you ought to have pointed out some in-



stances of able disposition and well-concerted enterprise, which might fairly be attributed to his capacity as a general. You say that he has acquired nothing but honour in the field. Is the ordnance nothing? Are the Blues nothing? Is the command of the army, with all the patronage annexed to it, nothing? Where he got these nothings I know not; but you at least ought to have told us where he deserved them."

## Charles Yorke.

BORN A. D. 1723.—DIED A. D. 1770.

THE honourable Charles Yorke, second son of Lord-chancellor Hardwicke, by Mary Cocks, niece of Lord Somers, was born 10th January, 1723. He received his education under Dr Newcomb at Hackney, whence he removed to Cambridge, and was admitted of Bennet college the 13th June, 1739, under the tuition of Mr Francis Aylmer. Here he pursued his studies for some years with unremitting attention, and then entered himself of Lincoln's inn, where he was called to the bar. His application and eloquence soon recommended him to the notice of the profession, and early produced him a considerable share of business. On the alarm of a designed invasion from France in 1743, he composed and published a tract on the law of treason, entitled, 'Some Considerations on the Law of Forfeiture for High Treason; occasioned by a clause in the late Act for making it treason to correspond with the Pretender's sons, or any of their agents,' &c. 8vo. This volume was afterwards republished in 1746 and 1748 with improvements.

He had been, in 1747, appointed, together with his brother John, joint clerk of the crown in Chancery, and soon after he became attorney-general to the princess of Wales. In 1747 he was chosen member for Ryegate,—a borough he continued ever after to represent. On the 3d of July, 1751, he succeeded Mr Joddrell as solicitor to the East India company; and continuing to advance in the profession, on the 6th November, 1756, was appointed solicitor-general, which post he held until the 27th December, 1761, when he was promoted to that of attorney-general.

He had now arrived at that situation, the next step from which is generally to the highest honour and elevation the law affords; but the change of ministry obliged him, 2d November, 1763, to resign his post. At the same time he took his seat outside of the bar; but this measure being attended with some inconvenience to the practitioners, he accepted a patent of precedence to take place of all after the attorney-general. Early in 1770 Lord Camden resigned the great seal; and on the 17th of January, Mr Yorke was prevailed upon reluctantly to become his successor, with the title of Lord Morden, Baron Morden, in the county of Cambridge. He survived this appointment but a few days, dying before the patent for his peerage was completed.

Mr Yorke was twice married. By his first wife, Catharine, daughter of the Rev. Dr William Freeman of Hammells, in the county of Hertford, who died, July 10, 1759, he had one son, who became earl of Hardwicke. Besides some of the Athenian letters printed in his bro-

ther's collection, Mr Yorke proved the truth of Mr Hawkins Browne's observation,—

' They err who think the muses not allied  
To Themis.'———

Three poems of singular taste and delicacy, by Mr Yorke, are to be found in Nichols's 'Collection of Poems,' vol. vi. p. 297.

## John, Duke of Bedford.

BORN A. D. 1710.—DIED A. D. 1771.

THIS nobleman was born on the 30th of September, 1710. In 1744 he was added to the list of privy counsellors, and next year made lord-lieutenant of Bedfordshire. In what was at the time called 'the Broad-bottom ministry,' from its professing to be composed of all parties, the duke of Bedford was first lord of the admiralty; and, in 1748, he was appointed secretary of state on the resignation of the earl of Chesterfield. On the dismissal of Lord Sandwich, the duke resigned, and his place was filled by Lord Holderness. In 1756, on the elevation of Pitt to the premiership, the duke of Bedford was appointed to the chief government of Ireland. In the new ministry of 1763 the office of president of the council, vacant by the death of Lord Grenville, was given to the duke of Bedford; whose influence was so great in the government that this ministry came to be generally distinguished as the duke of Bedford's ministry.

In the session of 1765, the ministers, in the language of Junius, "having endeavoured to exclude the dowager (princess of Wales) out of the regency bill, the earl of Bute determined to dismiss them. Upon this the duke of Bedford demanded an audience of the king,—reproached him in plain terms with duplicity, baseness, falsehood, treachery, and hypocrisy,—repeatedly gave him the lie,—and left him in strong convulsions." At this crisis the king made unsuccessful overtures to Pitt. Horace Walpole writing to Lord Hertford, under date 20th August, 1765, says: "Words cannot paint the confusion into which every thing is thrown. The four ministers,—I mean the duke of Bedford, Grenville, and the two secretaries,—acquainted their master yesterday that they adhere to one another, and shall all resign to-morrow, and perhaps must be recalled on Wednesday." On the 24th he writes: "On Wednesday the ministers dictated their terms; you will not expect much moderation, and, accordingly, there was not a grain."

The duke died on the 15th of January, 1771. He is accused by Junius of having outraged the royal dignity with peremptory conditions, and then condescended to the humility of soliciting an interview with his sovereign; of mixing with jockeys, gamblers, blasphemers, gladiators, and buffoons; of openly avowing, in a court of justice, the sale of a borough, the purchase-money of which, it is added in a note, he was compelled to refund; of being the little tyrant of a little corporation; and of having received private compensation for sacrificing public interests while ambassador to the court of France. "Your friends will ask," continues the anonymous libeller, "Whither shall this unhappy old



man retire? Can he remain in the metropolis, where his life has been so often threatened, and his palace so often attacked? If he return to Wooburn, scorn and mockery await him. He must create a solitude round his estate, if he would avoid the face of reproach and derision. At Plymouth, his destruction would be more than probable; at Exeter, inevitable." "In another kingdom, indeed," Junius ironically adds, alluding to the fact of the duke having been governor-general of Ireland, "the blessings of his administration have been more sensibly felt; his virtues better understood; or, at worst, they will not, for him alone, forget their hospitality. As well might Verres have returned to Sicily!"

## Henry Fox, Lord Holland.

BORN A. D. 1705.—DIED A. D. 1774.

THIS nobleman was the second son of Mr Stephen Fox, by his second wife, Christian Hope, daughter of the Rev. Charles Hope of Naseby in Lincolnshire. He was born in September, 1705. He had the misfortune to lose both his parents while he was yet a youth; and was early allowed to rush into the gaities and frivolities of fashionable life. He became a reckless gamester, and quickly dissipated the greater part of his patrimony. Family occurrences restored him to independence, but the habits of his youth clung to him throughout life.

He left Oxford in 1724, and spent some years on the continent. At Aubigny he became acquainted with the duchess of Portsmouth, the mistress of Charles II., whose descendant he some years afterwards married; and it is said, that from her own lips he then heard what her son has stated in his historical work, that it was her firm persuasion that Charles died of poison. While abroad, Fox travelled for some time with Lord Hervey, one of the most accomplished noblemen of his day, the antagonist of Pope in satire, and of Middleton on Roman history. He was second to Hervey in his duel with Pulteney; but the two friends ultimately quarrelled about some matters not very creditable to either.<sup>1</sup> Another of his noble friends was Lord Sunderland, afterwards duke of Marlborough, whose interest first introduced him to parliament. The intimacy of these two friends was cordial and uninterrupted to the last.

Fox was returned to parliament, in 1735, for Hindon in Wiltshire. He espoused the cause of Sir Robert Walpole; and as his abilities were conspicuous, the minister was courteous and grateful. In 1737, Fox was appointed surveyor to the board of works; in 1743, on the fall of Sir Robert's opponents, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the treasury; and in 1746, soon after the abortive attempt of Lord Grenville to assume the premiership, he was named secretary at war. Two years before this latter elevation, Fox had married Lady Caroline Lennox, eldest daughter of the duke of Richmond. The marriage was a clandestine one, and at first gave great offence to the lady's family; but with the rise of Fox in public life and political influence, his noble father-in-law's prejudices towards him softened and ultimately he was fully recognised by his wife's relatives.

<sup>1</sup> Chesterfield.

Fox was a warm adherent of the duke of Cumberland, and drew upon himself no small share of the unpopularity which attached to that prince. He was accused of arbitrary principles, and branded as one of the most corrupt members of a corrupt political school. Still his talents, his energy, his habits of business, gave him great influence in the house; nor was the king displeased at Fox's adherence to the duke. In the discussions on the regency bill, Pitt and Fox, the two most rising men of the day, and upon one or other of whom it was generally expected the premiership would ultimately devolve, began to manifest considerable discordance of opinion and political views. Two parties were at this time secretly struggling for pre-eminence in the cabinet. One of these consisted of the Pelhams and their adherents; the other was headed by the duke of Cumberland and Bedford. The former party patronised Pitt; the latter, Fox; and then was begun that rivalry betwixt these two great men which was perpetuated in their still greater sons. The Pelhamites were successful in the struggle; but Fox was retained in office under them; and on the death of Mr Pelham, in 1754, was appointed secretary of state by the new premier, the duke of Newcastle. It seems probable that Pitt would have been preferred in this instance to his rival, but for the inveterate antipathy which the king was known to entertain towards him. Fox, however, insisted on being leader in the house of commons, and having a voice in the employment of the secret service money, and the nomination of the treasury members; and on these terms being refused, he declined the new secretaryship. It is believed that the princess of Wales and the chancellor prompted the duke of Newcastle to break with Fox on this occasion; and although the king affected to interfere in the negotiation, and personally requested Fox to retain the office of secretary of state, yet he either did not or would not understand the reasons which Fox offered as the ground of his refusal, and declared that he would never again obtrude his favours on any one. Sir Thomas Robinson, a protégé of the duke, was appointed secretary of state and ministerial leader in the house of commons; and Fox, although he retained his office of secretary at war, became a leader of one of the opposition parties. In the next session the two rivals, Pitt and Fox, finding themselves equally slighted by the premier, united their opposition, after a formal reconciliation. The one singled out Lord Mansfield, the then solicitor-general, as his victim in debate; the other amused the house at the expense of his successor in office, Sir Thomas Robinson.

An opposition so formidably headed could not be long resisted; and the premier made overtures first to Pitt, and latterly to Fox. With the former he failed; but Fox, through the mediation of Lord Waldegrave, was brought to terms, and in November, 1755, appointed secretary of state. Sir Thomas Robinson was disposed of by being made master of the wardrobe. Fox's triumph, however, was but of short duration; the duke secretly hated him. The king, chagrined at the dismissal of Sir Thomas, and still more by the events of the war, and above all the loss of Minorca, conceived a dislike to the new secretary. Fox saw the approaching storm, and foresaw also the instability of the duke's ministry; he resolved to quit the sinking vessel, and suddenly threw up his employments. On the 11th of November, the duke gave in his own resignation, and the duke of Devonshire became premier with Pitt as secre-



tary of state. This new ministry was driven from office in a few months ; but eventually a ministry was arranged embracing both Pitt and Fox : the former as secretary of state and leader of the house of commons,—the latter as paymaster of the forces. While in this highly lucrative office, which he held till 1765, Fox was boldly accused of enormous peculation. In an address from the city of London he was described as “the public defaulter of unaccounted millions.” The charge, though evidently conveyed in terms of gross exaggeration, was not altogether foundationless. He amassed a princely fortune while in office, notwithstanding his well-known habits of luxury and profusion.

In 1763, at the solicitation of Lord Bute, Fox undertook to defend the peace of Fontainebleau in the house of commons. He discharged his task successfully, and received a peerage in reward. On the 6th of May, 1762, his wife was created Baroness Holland, and on the 16th of April, 1763, he was created Baron Holland of Foxley in the county of Wilts. On quitting office he made an excursion to the continent, and did not return to England until the autumn of 1768. The latter years of his life were spent in retirement. He died at Holland house, Kensington, on the 1st of July, 1774. By his marriage with Lady Caroline Lennox he had four sons : Stephen, who succeeded to his title ; Henry, who died in infancy ; Charles James, and Henry Edward.

Lord Holland was a statesman of high talent, and of considerable integrity for the times in which he lived. His first appearances in parliament were unpromising ; but he rapidly improved, and became at last the most formidable rival of one of the greatest masters of oratory. Chesterfield says, and with too much apparent truth, that he had no fixed principles either in religion or morals ; to his family he was indulgent beyond all prudence,—to his friends generous and sociable to excess. His manners were polished and uniformly urbane.

## Clive, Baron Plassey.

BORN A. D. 1725.—DIED A. D. 1774.

ROBERT CLIVE was born at Styche, near Market-Drayton, in Shropshire, on the 29th of September, 1725. His father, Richard Clive, inherited the estate of Styche, the ancient possession of his family, but followed the business of the law. In his early youth, Robert was sent to a private school which was kept by Dr Eaton, at Lostock in Cheshire. The doctor soon observed that, in courage and sagacity, young Clive far surpassed his fellows, and is said to have predicted in the schoolboy the future hero. “If,” said he, “that lad should live to be a man, and an opportunity be given for the exertion of his talents, few names will be greater than his.” From this school, at the age of eleven, he was removed to another at Market-Drayton, whence he was sent to Merchant-tailor’s school, London. He did not long continue at the last-mentioned seminary, his father having intrusted him to the care of Mr Sterling, of Hemel-Hempstead, a village in Hertfordshire, with whom he remained till he obtained the appointment of a writer in the service of the East India company. From a dislike to constraint, and an abhorrence of compulsion, the academical attainments of young

Clive seldom obtained or deserved much applause from his masters, who all agreed in giving him the character of the most unlucky boy they ever had in their schools. However, after his arrival in India, he devoted some of his leisure hours to study, and improved himself in classical literature.

It was in 1743 that Mr Clive was appointed a writer in the service of the East India company. He arrived at Madras in the year 1744, in the 19th year of his age. The same dislike to the drudgery of the desk,—the same impatience of control,—which distinguished him at school, still marked his character, and rendered his appointment as troublesome to his superiors as it was irksome to himself. On one occasion his conduct to the secretary was so inconsistent with what was supposed to be the proper subordination of office, that the governor, to whom it was reported, commanded him to ask the secretary's pardon. The submission was made in terms of extreme contempt; but the secretary received it graciously, and invited him to dinner,—“No, Sir,” replied Clive, “the governor did not command me to dine with you!”

On the surrender of Madras to the French admiral, Monsieur de la Bourdonnais, in September, 1746, the company's servants, both civil and military, became prisoners on parole. But as Monsieur Dupleix, commander-in-chief of the French forces in India, and who was not present at the surrender, refused to ratify the treaty, the English were made prisoners to the town. The English on their part considered their engagement to Bourdonnais as broken by this act, and thought themselves at liberty to make their escape when an opportunity should offer. Among others, Clive, disguised as a Moor, escaped to St David's, about 21 miles to the south of Madras.

Shortly after his arrival at this place, he happened to be engaged in a party at cards with two ensigns, who were detected in a combination to cheat the rest of the company. They had won large sums, which, on their knavery being proved, the losers refused to pay; but the threats of the two gamblers at last intimidated all but Clive, who persisted in his refusal to pay his losses, and accepted the challenge which the boldest of them gave. Clive delivered his fire; but his antagonist, as each had only a single pistol, reserved his, and, quitting his ground, presented the pistol to Clive's head, and bade him ask his life. After some hesitation Clive complied. But on his antagonist telling him he must also recant the expressions he had used to his dishonour, and promise payment of the money, or that otherwise he would fire. “Fire, and be d—d!” exclaimed Clive; “I said you cheated me—I say so still—nor will I ever pay you!” The ensign, finding all remonstrance vain, called him a madman, and threw away his pistol. When Clive was complimented by his friends on his behaviour on this occasion, he made the following remark: “The man has given me my life, and I have no right in future to mention his behaviour at the card-table; although I will never pay him, nor ever keep him company.” In other contests with some of his brother-officers, Clive displayed the same intrepidity and the same rashness.

In 1747, disgusted with his civil employment, and weary of an idle life at St David's, Clive solicited and obtained a commission in the military service. The events of the years 1747 and 1748 gave him few opportunities of exerting the talents he possessed; yet even in these



few he exhibited such proofs of an ardent, inflexible mind, as raised the admiration, and won for him the confidence of the soldiers. After the capture of Madras, the French obtained the ascendancy through the whole Carnatic; but the arrival of Admiral Boscawen with 2000 regular troops, in July, 1748, raised the hopes of the government of St David's, and determined them to retrieve their sinking reputation by an attack on Pondicherry, a neighbouring fort, and the principal settlement. At this siege our young ensign distinguished himself by his gallant behaviour in the defence of the advanced trench. The season for military operations being over, the troops remained inactive at St David's; and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle being afterwards concluded, Lieutenant Clive, to whose active mind the idleness which in time of peace attends a soldier's life was extremely irksome, returned to the civil establishment, and was admitted to the same rank as that which he would have held if he had never quitted the civil employment. His income was now considerably increased by his appointment to the office of commissary of the British troops,—an appointment which the friendship of Major Lawrence procured him. He had not been long settled at Madras, when he was seized with a fever of the nervous kind, which greatly injured his constitution, and of which he felt the effects to the end of his life, when not engaged in active service.

In order to understand the nature of those military operations in which Clive was afterwards engaged in the East Indies, it will be necessary here to take some notice of the state of affairs in that country. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which an end was put to hostilities between the English and French, M. Dupleix, a man of courage and abilities, who commanded the French force in India, began by his intrigues to sow the seeds of dissension among the nabobs, in hopes thereby to increase the influence of France in Hindostan. Nizam Al-muluck, the mogul's viceroy of the Deccan, having the right of nominating a governor of the Carnatic,—more generally known by the name of the Nabob of Arcot,—appointed Anaverdy Khan to that office in the year 1745. The viceroy dying, was succeeded in his subahship, by his second son Nazirzing, whom the mogul confirmed. He was opposed in his pretensions by his own cousin Muzapherzing, who had recourse to the assistance of M. Dupleix, and obtained from him a reinforcement of Europeans and artillery. Thus reinforced, and joined by one Chunda Saib, an active Indian chief, he took the field against his kinsman Nazirzing, who was supported by a body of English troops under Colonel Lawrence. The French, dreading an engagement, retired in the night; and Muzapherzing, seeing himself abandoned by his own troops, appealed to the clemency of his cousin, who spared his life, but detained him as a state-prisoner. In this situation, he formed a conspiracy against his kinsman's life, with Nazirzing's prime minister, and the nabobs of Cadupab and Condaneor, then in his camp; and the conspirators were encouraged in their scheme by Dupleix and Chunda Saib, who had retired to Pondicherry. Thus stimulated, the conspirators murdered Nazirzing in his camp, and proclaimed Muzapherzing viceroy of the Deccan. In the tents of the murdered viceroy they found an immense treasure, of which a great share fell to M. Dupleix, whom the usurper, Muzapherzing, associated in the government with himself. The Frenchman immediately assumed the state and formal-

ties of an eastern prince; and he and his colleague, Muzapherzing, appointed Chunda Saib nabob of Arcot. Anaverdy Khan, the late nabob, had been defeated and slain by Muzapherzing and Chunda Saib, with the assistance of the French auxiliaries, in 1749; his son Mahommed Ali Khan put himself under the protection of the English at Madras, and was confirmed by Nazirzing as his father's successor in the nabobship or government of Arcot. This government, therefore, was disputed between Mahommed Ali Khan, appointed by the legal viceroy Nazirzing, supported by the English company, and Chunda Saib, nominated by the usurper Muzapherzing, and protected by Dupleix, who commanded at Pondicherry. Muzapherzing did not long survive his usurpation. In 1751 the same nabobs who had elevated him to his kinsman's place, thinking themselves ill-rewarded for their services, fell upon him suddenly, routed his troops, put him to death, and next day proclaimed Sallabatzing, brother to Nazirzing, viceroy of the Deccan. On the other hand, the mogul appointed Gauzedy Khan, who was the elder brother of Sallabatzing; and this prince confirmed Mahommed Ali Khan in the government of Arcot. But the affairs of the mogul's court were then in such confusion, that he could not spare an army to support the nomination he had made. Chunda Saib, nabob of Arcot, having been deposed by the mogul, who placed Anaverdy Khan in his room, resolved to recover his government by force, and had recourse to the French general at Pondicherry, who reinforced him with 2000 sepoys, and 420 French troops, on condition that, if he proved successful in his enterprise, he should cede to the French the town of Velur, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, with its dependencies, consisting of forty-five villages. Thus reinforced, he defeated his rival, Anaverdy Khan, who lost his life in the engagement, re-assumed the government of Arcot, and punctually performed the conditions which had been stipulated by his French allies. Mahommed Ali Khan, at the death of his father, had fled to Tiruchirapalli, and solicited the assistance of the English, who favoured him with a reinforcement of money, men, and ammunition, under the conduct of Major Stringer Lawrence, a brave and experienced officer. They now detached Captain Cope to put Tiruchirapalli in the posture of defence. The two armies, being pretty equal in strength, lay encamped in sight of each other a whole month; during which nothing happened but a few skirmishes, which generally terminated to the advantage of the English auxiliaries. Such was the state of the company's affairs when Clive resumed the military character.

Having obtained a captain's commission, he undertook to conduct a detachment into the province of Arcot; and accordingly began his march at the head of 210 Europeans, and 500 sepoys. Such was the resolution, secrecy, and despatch, with which Captain Clive conducted this enterprise, that the enemy knew nothing of his motions until he was in possession of the capital, which he took without opposition. The inhabitants, expecting to be plundered, offered him a large sum to spare their city; but they derived their security from the generosity and discretion of the conqueror. He refused the proffered ransom, and issued a proclamation, intimating that those who were willing to remain in their houses should be protected from insult and injury, and the rest have leave to retire with all their effects, except provisions, for which



he promised to pay the full value. By this wise conduct he so conciliated the affections of the people, that even those who quitted the place supplied him with exact intelligence of the enemy's designs, when he was besieged in the sequel. The fort of Arcot was in a little time invested by Rajah Saib, son of Chunda Saib, at the head of a numerous army; and the operations of the siege were conducted by European engineers. Though their approaches were retarded by the repeated and resolute sallies of Clive, they at length effected two breaches which were supposed to be practicable, and on the 14th of October, 1751, advanced to a general assault. But Clive, having received intimation of their design, had made such preparations for their reception, that they were repulsed in every quarter with great loss, and obliged to raise the siege with the utmost precipitation. Captain Clive was no sooner reinforced by a detachment under Captain Kirkpatrick from Trichinopoly, than he marched in pursuit of the enemy, whom he overtook in the plains of Aranie. Here, on the 3d of December, he attacked them with irresistible impetuosity, and, after an obstinate fight, obtained a complete victory at a very small expence. The forts of Timery, Caujeveram, and Aranie, now surrendered to the terror of his name, rather than to the force of his arms; and he returned to Fort St David's in triumph.

He had enjoyed a very few weeks of repose, when he was again summoned to the field by fresh incursions of the enemy. In the beginning of the year 1752 he marched with a small detachment to Madras, where he was joined by a reinforcement from Bengal, the whole number not exceeding 300 Europeans. He assembled a body of the natives, that he might have at least the appearance of an army, and with these proceeded to Koveripauk, about 15 miles from Arcot, where he found the French and Indians, consisting of 1500 sepoys, 1700 horse, a body of natives, and 150 Europeans, with eight pieces of cannon. Though they were advantageously posted and intrenched, and the day was already far advanced, Clive advanced against them with his usual intrepidity, and gained a complete victory. The province of Arcot being thus cleared of the enemy, Clive with his forces returned to Fort St David's, where he found Major Lawrence just arrived from England, to take upon him the command of the troops in the company's service. After having performed a number of important services, Captain Clive's health being in an enfeebled state, he returned to England, where he was received by the East India company with great distinction. As a testimony of their sense of his military merit, they requested him to accept of a diamond-hilted sword. This, however, he declined, unless the same present should be made to Colonel Lawrence, which was accordingly done.

Soon after Clive's arrival in England, he was solicited, by the directors of the East India company, to accept the appointment of governor of Fort St David's, with a right of succession to the government of Madras; and, as he expressed his willingness to serve them, they procured for him the commission of Lieutenant-colonel in the royal service, together with the command of three companies of the royal artillery, and of some hundreds of the king's troops. With this force he was ordered to join the Mahrattas on the coast of Hindostan, and, in conjunction with them, to attack the French, whose power was at that time ex-

tremely formidable to the English East India company. But finding, on his arrival at Bombay, that an end had been put to hostilities between the English and French in India, he formed a scheme of employing the English forces, in conjunction with the Mahrattas, against Angrias, a very formidable neighbouring pirate, whose frequent depredations were injurious to the English settlements. The plan was crowned with success, under the co-operation of Admirals Watson and Pocock.

After this transaction, Colonel Clive sailed for Fort St David's, where he arrived in April, 1756. His stay here was short; for Calcutta being taken by the nabob of Bengal, he was summoned to Madras, where he was appointed to the command of the troops sent from thence to the relief of the English in Bengal. He embarked on board Admiral Watson's squadron, and, with the assistance of the squadron, made himself master of Bulbudgia, a place of great strength, though very ill defended. On the 1st of January the admiral, with two ships, appeared before Calcutta, and was received by a brisk fire from the batteries. The salute was returned so warmly, that the enemy's guns were soon silenced, and in less than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other side, invested the town, and made his attack with a vigour and intrepidity which overcame every obstacle. A few days after, Hughley, situated higher up the river, was reduced with little difficulty. Incensed at the almost instantaneous loss of all his conquests, and the demolition of the city of Hughley, the surajah or viceroy of Bengal discouraged all advances to an accommodation which was proposed by the admiral and chiefs of the company, and assembled an army of 20,000 horse, and 15,000 foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the disgraces he had lately sustained. He was seen marching by the English camp in his way to Calcutta on the 2d of February, where he encamped about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the admiral for a reinforcement, and 600 men, under the command of Captain Warwick, were accordingly drafted from the different ships, and sent to assist his little army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and began the attack so vigorously, that the surajah retreated, after a feeble resistance, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, five hundred horses, and four elephants. Though this advantage was less decisive than could have been wished, yet it sufficiently intimidated the surajah into concessions, much to the honour and advantage of the company. He promised not to disturb the English in any of their privileges or possessions as granted by the mogul; and engaged that all merchandise belonging to the company should pass and repass in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty; that all the English factories seized the preceding year or since, should be restored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining; that all damages sustained by the English should be repaired, and their losses repaid; that the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they thought proper, without interruption; that they should have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which should pass current in the province; that he would remain in strict friendship and alliance with the English, use his utmost endeavours to heal up



the late divisions, and restore the former good understanding between them.

The admiral and Clive now resolved to attack the French settlements in Bengal. Their chief object was the reduction of Chandernagore, situated higher up the river than Calcutta. Colonel Clive began his march to Chandernagore, at the head of 700 Europeans and 1600 Indians. On his first arrival he took possession of all the outposts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be silenced by the admiral. On the 18th of March, Admirals Watson and Pocock arrived within two miles of the French settlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury men-of-war, and found their passage obstructed by booms laid across the river, and several vessels sunk in the channel. These difficulties being removed, they advanced and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours, while Colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land-side, and playing vigorously from the batteries he had raised. Their united efforts soon obliged the enemy to submission. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to Captain Latham of the Tiger; and in the afternoon Colonel Clive, with the king's troops, took possession.

Success had hitherto attended all the operations of the British commanders. But however specious the nabob's promises were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of several articles of the treaty. The company's goods were still loaded with high duties, and several other infractions of the peace committed, upon such pretences as evidently demonstrated that he sought to come to an open rupture as soon as his projects were ripe for execution. Mr Watts, from time to time, sent intelligence of every transaction in the surajah's cabinet; and although that prince publicly declared he would cause him to be impaled as soon as the English troops should be put in motion within the kingdom of Bengal, he bravely sacrificed his own safety to the interest of the company, and exhorted them to proceed with vigour in their military operations. During these deliberations, an incident occurred that soon determined the council to come to an open rupture. The leading persons in the viceroy's court found themselves oppressed by his haughtiness and insolence. The same spirit of discontent appeared among the principal officers of his army; they were well-acquainted with his perfidy,—saw his preparations for war,—and were sensible that the peace of the country could never be restored, unless either the English were expelled, or the nabob deposed. In consequence, a plan was concerted for divesting him of all his power; and the conspiracy was conducted by Meer Jaffier, his prime minister,—a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province. The project was communicated to Mr Watts, and so improved by the address of that gentleman as to insure success. A treaty was actually concluded between Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, and the English company; and a plan concerted with this nobleman and the other malcontents for their defection from the viceroy.<sup>1</sup> These previous measures being taken, Colonel

<sup>1</sup> A Gentoo merchant, named Omichund, was employed to conduct the correspondence. His recompense had already been stipulated; but when the negotiation was so far advanced, that Watts, the British resident, as well as Meer Jaffier, were completely compromised and in his power, the rapacious traitor insisted on an enormous additional







*The Right Hon.<sup>ble</sup> William Pitt Earl of Chatham.*

*Engraved by J. Freeman*

*Published by Arch<sup>d</sup> Fullarton & Co Glasgow*

Clive took the field with his little army. Admiral Watson undertook the defence of Chandernagore; and Mr Watts, deceiving the surajah's spies, by whom he was surrounded, withdrew himself from Muxadavad, and reached the English camp in safety. Clive crossed the river, and marched to Plassey, where he encamped. On the 23d of June, 1757, at day-break, the surajah advanced to attack him at the head of 15,000 horse, and nearly 30,000 infantry, with about 40 pieces of heavy cannon, conducted and managed by French gunners. They began to cannonade the English camp about six in the morning; but a severe shower falling at noon, they withdrew their artillery, and Colonel Clive seized this opportunity to take possession of a tank and two other posts of consequence, which they in vain endeavoured to retake. He then stormed an angle of their camp, covered with a double breastwork, together with an eminence which they occupied. At the beginning of this attack some of their chiefs were slain, and the men were so dispirited that they soon gave way; but Meer Jaffier, who commanded the left wing, still forbore declaring himself openly. After a short contest, the enemy were put to flight, the nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon, taken, and a most complete victory obtained. The colonel, pursuing his advantage, marched to Muxadavad, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the malcontents. It was before concerted that this nobleman should be invested with the dignity of nabob; accordingly, the colonel proceeded solemnly to depose Surajah Dowlah, and, with the same ceremony, to substitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publicly acknowledged by the people, viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Soon after the late viceroy was taken, and put to death by his successor, who readily complied with all the conditions of his elevation. He conferred on his allies very liberal rewards, and granted the company such extraordinary privileges as fully demonstrated how justly he merited their assistance. By this alliance, and the reduction of Chandernagore, the French were entirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependencies; the trade of the English company was restored, and increased beyond their most sanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired, whose interest obliged him to remain firm to his engagements; a vast sum was paid to the company and the sufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify them for their losses; the soldiers and seamen were gratified with £600,000, as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained which we cannot here enumerate. In a word, in the space of fourteen days, a great revolution was effected, and the government of a vast country, superior to most European kingdoms,

sum being effectually secured to him. He, however, had to deal with a man, who, in such a transaction, felt no scruple at defeating villany by fraud. Clive caused two treaties to be drawn up between Meer Jaffier and the English agents, in one of which the exorbitant demand of Omichund was guaranteed, while, in the other, it was totally omitted. The former only was shown to Omichund, who duly performed the part that was allotted to him in this iniquitous scheme. But the transaction being discountenanced by Admiral Watson, his signature to the fictitious treaty was, it is said, forged. On the success of the plot, the merchant Omichund applied for his expected reward, but was informed that he had nothing to receive, the treaty which he had seen having been framed expressly to cheat him. This information drove him mad, and he continued in a state of idiocy up to the day of his death, which took place about eighteen months afterwards.



transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a general rather by intuition than instruction and experience. How far the conduct of Clive, with respect to his encouragement of Meer Jaffier's treachery, and the subsequent deposition and death of the nabob, was justifiable, we shall not take upon us to determine. It is certain that the immense acquisition of territory, which was made by the English East India company, was chiefly owing to the courage and the conduct of Clive. It has been observed, "that whoever contemplates the forlorn situation of the company, when Clive first arrived at Calcutta in the year 1756, and then considers the degree of opulence and power they possessed when he finally left that place, will be convinced that the history of the world has seldom afforded an instance of so rapid and improbable a change. At the first period they were merely an association of merchants struggling for existence. One of their factories was in ruins; their agents were murdered, and an army of 50,000 men, to which they had nothing to oppose, threatened the immediate destruction of their principal settlement. At the last period, distant from the first but ten years, they were become powerful princes possessed of vast revenues, and ruling over fifteen millions of people."

It appears that Meer Jaffier, after the former nabob had been deposed, made Clive a present of £210,000. He also prevailed on the mogul, who at that time was a prisoner of state in Delhi, but who was still considered as the fountain of honours, to confer on Clive the dignity of Omrah, or noble of the empire, and also bestowed on him for the support of his title, a grant of an ample revenue. This revenue, which amounted to £28,000 per annum, consisted of the quit-rents paid by the company for the lands they held in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. Colonel Clive returned to England in 1760, where his conduct and exploits received the warmest commendations from the East India company; and the following year the king conferred on him the title of Baron in the kingdom of Ireland, by the title of Lord Clive, Baron Plassey, in the county of Clare.

Some time after the return of Clive to England, the English deposed the nabob, Meer Jaffier, and transferred the government to his son-in-law, Cossim Ali Khan. But the new nabob making some opposition to the various kinds of injustice and oppression practised by the servants of the English East India company, they deposed Cossim Ali Khan, and reinstated Meer Jaffier in the nabobship. The misconduct of the company's servants at length occasioned such disorders and confusions, and such hostilities in India, that Lord Clive and four of his friends were commissioned by the East India directors, to go to India to adjust all disputes with the country powers, and to reform the many abuses which prevailed among the company's servants, both in the military and civil departments. Lord Clive and his fellow-commissioners arrived at Calcutta in May, 1765. They made a treaty with the native princes of India, and established some regulations beneficial to the East India company; but the natives of the country still suffered great injustice and oppression from the servants of the company.

Lord Clive returned to England in July, 1767, and was made a knight of the Bath in 1769. It should also be observed, that he represented the borough of Shrewsbury in parliament, from the year 1760

to the time of his decease. On the 21st of February, 1773, a motion was made in the house of commons, and supported by the minister,—“That in the acquisition of his wealth, Lord Clive had abused the powers with which he was intrusted.” With the assistance of Wedderburne, he defended himself, if not satisfactorily, at least with great ability. His defence concluded in the following terms:—“If the resolution proposed shall receive the assent of the house, I shall have nothing left that I can call my own, except my paternal income of £500 a year, which has been in the family for ages past. But upon this I am content to live; and perhaps I shall find more real content of mind and happiness than in the trembling affluence of an unsettled fortune. But to be called, after sixteen years have elapsed, to account for my conduct in this manner,—and after an uninterrupted enjoyment of my property, to be questioned and considered as obtaining it unwarrantably,—is hard indeed, and a treatment of which I should not think the British senate capable. Yet if this should be the case, I have a conscious innocence within me, that tells me my conduct is irreproachable. ‘Frangas, non flectes’—they may take from me what I have; they may, as they think, make me poor; but I will be happy. Before I sit down, I have one request to make to the house; that when they come to decide upon my honour, they will not forget their own.” The house rejected the motion against him, and resolved that “Lord Clive had rendered great and meritorious services to his country.”

Lord Clive was a striking instance of the inefficacy of honours and wealth to confer happiness. After his return to England, though in possession of a splendid fortune and of accumulated honours, he often discovered great uneasiness of mind, and could not endure to be alone. His friends represented this as the result of a depression of spirits occasioned by a nervous fever; but by others it was attributed to causes of a very different kind. He put an end to his own life on the 22d of November, 1774, when he was not quite fifty years of age. Clive was unquestionably a man of great genius: his military skill was displayed to great advantage in all his campaigns, and he had that happy talent of inspiring confidence in those who acted under him, which is of such value to a general. In parliament he seldom spoke; but when he did he was always listened to with respect. His eldest son, Edward, having married the heir-general of the then lately extinct earl of Powis, was, in 1804, elevated to that dignity.

## Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

BORN A. D. 1708.—DIED A. D. 1778.

THIS celebrated statesman was born in November, 1708. His grandfather was that governor of Madras who acquired by means unknown the celebrated diamond which the regent, Orleans, bought for three millions of livres, and which still exists among the crown jewels of France. His father, Robert Pitt of Boconnock in Cornwall, was at one time representative for Old Sarum, and at another for Oakhampton.

William Pitt was educated at Eton and Trinity college, Oxford. His biographer, Mr Thackeray, has preserved some Latin verses which



the young collegian composed, according to academic custom, on the death of George I. They are by no means of first-rate quality, and contain some false quantities. He matriculated in January, 1726; but left the university without taking a degree, having found it necessary to travel for his health before his studies were completed. He made the tour of France and Italy, during which, says Chesterfield, he acquired "a great fund of premature and useful knowledge." On the death of his father, being a younger son, it was necessary that he should choose a profession; he decided for the army, and obtained a cornet's commission in the Blues.

In 1734 his elder brother caused him to be returned for Old Sarum. He attached himself to the prince of Wales's party; and addressed the house for the first time in support of Pulteney's motion for an address to the king on occasion of the prince's marriage to the princess of Saxe-Gotha, in April, 1736. His debut was very successful, and placed him at once amongst the rising men in the house; and he soon became so annoying to Walpole, that he deprived him of the commission which he held in the army. The prince, however, made him his groom of the bed-chamber, and he continued to oppose ministers with increasing vigour and ability. Horatio Walpole happening to throw out a taunting remark in the house on the youth and inexperience of the new ally of the opposition, Pitt rose and overwhelmed his antagonist with his indignant eloquence: "I will not attempt," he said, "to determine whether youth can justly be imputed to any man as a reproach; but I will affirm, that the wretch who, after having seen the consequences of repeated errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of either abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his grey head should secure him from insults. Much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has seceded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with less temptation; who prostitutes himself for money which he cannot enjoy, and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country."

When the unfavourable result of the elections of 1741, compelled Walpole to resign, and the duke of Newcastle attempted to form an administration on a whig basis, the 'boy patriots'—as Walpole used to call them—namely, the Grenvilles, Lyttleton, and Pitt, secretly offered, through Colonel Selwyn, to use their influence to secure the minister from prosecution. Walpole coolly declined the proposal;<sup>1</sup> and an arrangement was ultimately effected in which the 'boys' were overlooked altogether. Pitt was now the fiercest and most implacable of Walpole's enemies; night after night he launched forth invectives against the man with whom he had so lately proposed to treat, and called upon the house to appoint a secret committee for investigating the conduct of the late first lord of the treasury. We have elsewhere related the result of this measure; but we find ourselves unable to offer any apology here for the subject of this article. His conduct was in this instance inconceivably base, and forms a deep stain on his character. Walpole and Pulteney having both been removed from the lower house, Carteret became the next object of attack to Pitt. He assailed him chiefly on the subject of the king's attachment to his Hanoverian dominions, and

<sup>1</sup> Lord John Russell.

the practice of paying Hanoverian troops with English money. Nothing could be more offensive than this to the king, who conceived an antipathy to the young oppositionist which he never wholly shook off.

In 1744 Pitt received a legacy of £10,000, on the death of the old duchess of Marlborough, who declared in her will, that she left him this sum in consideration of "the noble defence he had made for the support of the laws of England, and to prevent the ruin of his country."

On the dismissal of Lord Grenville, and the formation of the 'Broad-bottom' administration, Pitt was conciliated, or at least kept quiet, by the promise of a post as soon as the king's dislike to him could be overcome. The Pelhams knew their man, that he was not to be trifled with; and kept their word. In 1746, Pitt was appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland, and in a few months after, paymaster of the forces. The latter was an exceedingly lucrative situation: for the paymaster seldom had less than £100,000 in his hands, and was allowed to appropriate the interest of what funds he held to his own use. In addition to this, it had been customary for foreign princes in the pay of England to allow the paymaster of the forces a per-centage on their subsidies. Pitt nobly declined to avail himself of these advantages, and would accept of nothing beyond his legal salary. Such conduct was rare in these venal days, and was appreciated as it deserved to be by the nation. Pitt's former inconsistencies were forgotten, and he was regarded as a disinterested patriot, or, at all events, a man above any sordid form of temptation. "The possession of office," it has been affirmed by Chatham's blinded admirers, "worked no change in his public conduct." This is not true, for we now find him silently acquiescing in that very system of continental measures which he was once so loud and fierce in condemning; he ceased to rail about Hanover; and he no longer objected to the treaty with Spain.

The death of Henry Pelham, in 1754, threw the political world again into ferment. The duke of Newcastle, by his base and vacillating conduct, irritated both Fox and Pitt, and drew down upon himself the united opposition of these two leaders, who were joined by Legge, the chancellor of the exchequer, in their revolt. Fox was ultimately won over; but Pitt spurned the minister's advances, and on the meeting of parliament, in 1755, supported the amendment on the address in one of the most powerful speeches ever uttered within the walls of St Stephen's. In the course of his impetuous philippic he compared the coalition of Fox and Newcastle to the junction of the Rhone and the Saone: "At Lyons," he said, "I was taken to see the place where the two rivers meet: the one gentle, feeble, and languid, yet of no depth,—the other a boisterous and impetuous torrent; but different as they are, they meet at last." The amendment was rejected by a large majority; and Pitt, Legge, and Grenville, were immediately dismissed from office.

When the unfortunate events of the war now begun with France had compelled Newcastle to give in his resignation, the king sent for Fox, and authorized him to concoct a new administration in concert with Pitt; but the latter pointedly refused to act with his old rival. The duke of Devonshire proved a more successful negotiator with the haughty commoner, and Pitt became secretary of state, and leader in the house of commons. This administration, however, proved very short-lived. The king could not overcome his antipathy to Pitt; and within five months



Newcastle was again summoned to St James's. Pitt was sufficiently consoled for his disgrace by the numerous manifestations of his popularity which now showered upon him. The common council of London met, and the freedom of the city was voted to him; all the great corporate towns followed the example; so that "for some weeks"—to use Walpole's expression—"it rained gold boxes." A man thus supported might have wreaked his vengeance on any rival; but he satisfied himself with a more moderate and a wiser course. "He had found by experience that he could not stand alone. His eloquence and his popularity had done much,—very much for him. Without rank, without fortune, without borough-interest,—hated by the king, hated by the aristocracy,—he was a person of the first importance in the state. He had been suffered to form a ministry, and to pronounce sentence of exclusion on all his rivals,—on the most powerful nobleman of the whig party,—on the ablest debater in the house of commons. And he now found that he had gone too far. The English constitution was not indeed without a popular element; but other elements generally predominated. The confidence and admiration of the nation might make a statesman formidable at the head of an opposition,—might load him with framed and glazed parchments, and gold boxes,—might possibly, under very peculiar circumstances, such as those of the preceding year, raise him for a time to power; but constituted as parliament then was, the favourite of the people could not depend on a majority in the people's own house. The duke of Newcastle,—however contemptible in morals, manners, and understanding,—was a dangerous enemy. His rank, his wealth, his unrivalled parliamentary interest, would alone have made him important. But this was not all. The whig aristocracy regarded him as their leader. His long possession of power had given him a kind of prescriptive right to possess it still. The house of commons had been elected when he was at the head of affairs; the members for the ministerial boroughs had all been nominated by him; the public offices swarmed with his creatures. Pitt desired power; and he desired it, we really believe, from high and generous motives. He was, in the strict sense of the word, a patriot. He had no general liberality; none of that philanthropy which the great French writers of his time preached to all the nations of Europe. He loved England as an Athenian loved the city of the violet crown,—as a Roman loved the 'maxima rerum Roma.' He saw the country insulted and defeated. He saw the national spirit sinking. Yet he knew what the resources of the empire vigorously employed could effect; and he felt that he was the man to employ them vigorously. 'My lord,' he said to the duke of Devonshire, 'I am sure that I can save this country, and that nobody else can.' Desiring then to be in power, and feeling that his abilities and the public confidence were not alone sufficient to keep him in power against the wishes of the court and the aristocracy, he began to think of a coalition with Newcastle."<sup>2</sup> The duke was equally disposed to a reconciliation, for he felt that Pitt's alliance could alone preserve him in office, and that such a union would be really irresistible. The king, who was desirous that the coalition should be between Fox and Newcastle, was enraged when he heard that the duke had

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh Review, vol. lviii. p. 535.

preferred to treat with Pitt; but he felt himself compelled to yield to the necessity of the case. The seals of the exchequer had now been in the hands of the lord-chief-justice of the king's bench for the last two months; and the affairs of the nation were getting into disorder at a period of more than ordinary emergency. Lord Mansfield was therefore commanded to open negotiations with Newcastle and Pitt; and in the course of a month a new and most powerful administration was organized with Pitt at its head.

The affairs of Britain now assumed a new aspect. Pitt's energy and determination wrought miracles in the government offices. To those who told him that his orders could not be executed within the time specified, he would peremptorily reply, "It must be done," and the mandate was obeyed. He once asked an officer who had been intrusted with the command of an important expedition how many men he should require: "Ten thousand," was the reply. "You shall have twelve," said the minister; "and then it will be your own fault if you do not succeed." The zeal of the minister was everywhere crowned with success. In July, 1758, Louisburg fell; Goree, Guadaloupe, Ticonderago, Niagara, Quebec, successively yielded to British prowess; Boscawen defeated the French fleet off Lagos; Hawke vanquished the Brest fleet under Conflans; Chandernagore yielded to Clive, Pondicherry to Coote; the allied arms triumphed at Minden; and the combined powers of France, Russia, and Austria, failed before the energy of Pitt.

On the death of George II., the fatal influence of Lord Bute over the new monarch soon threw a new aspect over the face of affairs. France had already made overtures of peace; nor was the minister of Britain disinclined to listen to them; but he felt aggrieved by the attempt of Spain to interfere in the negotiation, and having received information from Madrid which excited his suspicions of that government, he proposed an immediate attack upon Spain by intercepting the Plate fleet. The reception which his proposition met with convinced him that he was no longer minister; in fact, the administration had been already considerably modified. Disdaining to be nominally at the head of a cabinet which he could not direct, and responsible for measures which he could not guide, he resigned his offices in October, 1761, and accepted a pension of £3000 a year for the lives of himself, his son, and his wife, who was created baroness of Chatham. He had written to a female relation, some years before, severely reproaching her for the "despicable meanness" of which she had been guilty, in having accepted an annuity out of the public purse; the lady, on the present occasion, it is said, took her revenge, by sending him a copy of his own letter.

On the 25th of November, 1762, the articles of the peace of Paris were laid before the house by Fox, now the leader of the house of commons. Pitt opposed the motion for their approval with great energy and eloquence; but ministers triumphed by a majority of 319 to 65. In 1764, he greatly distinguished himself in the affair of Wilkes, by his opposition to general warrants.

The death of the earl of Egremont was a severe shock to the administration of Mr Grenville, and led to a renewal of negotiations with Pitt. The king sent for him twice, but found him impracticable. In



1766, when Lord Rockingham's administration came to an end, Lord Northington advised to send for Pitt, and to allow him his own conditions. This was acceded to; and Pitt was allowed to form his own cabinet. The several appointments were announced in the Gazette of the 2d of August. Mr Pitt, created Earl of Chatham, took to himself the duke of Newcastle's office of lord-privy-seal. Lord Camden was made chancellor in room of the earl of Northington, who was transferred to the presidency of the council. The earl of Shelburne was appointed one of the secretaries of state, Mr Conway continuing in office as the other. The place of first lord of the treasury was bestowed upon the duke of Grafton; and the honourable Charles Townshend became chancellor of the exchequer and ministerial leader in the house of commons. Sir Charles Saunders succeeded Lord Egmont at the head of the admiralty; and the earl of Hillsborough, Lord Dartmouth, as first lord of trade. Several changes were also made in the subordinate places of the treasury and admiralty boards. Viscount Barrington was continued as secretary at war; and Lord North and Mr George Cooke were associated in the office of paymaster-general, formerly held by Charles Townshend. The solicitor-general, Mr William de Grey, became attorney-general in the room of the honourable Charles Yorke, and the appointment of solicitor-general was given to Mr Edward Willes. The marquess of Granby was placed at the head of the army.

The view taken by the public of these arrangements may be gathered from a letter of Lord Chesterfield's. "The curtain," says his lordship, writing on the 1st of August, "was at last drawn up, the day before yesterday, and discovered the new actors, together with some of the old ones. I do not name them to you, because to-morrow's Gazette will do it full as well as I could. Mr Pitt, who had a *carte blanche* given him, named every one of them; but what would you think he named himself for? lord-privy-seal, and (what will astonish you, as it does every mortal here) Earl of Chatham. The joke here is that he has had a fall upstairs, and has done himself so much hurt that he will never be able to stand upon his legs again. Every body is puzzled how to account for this step; though it would not be the first time that great abilities have been duped by low cunning. But be it what it will, he is now certainly only Earl of Chatham, and no longer Mr Pitt in any respect whatever. Such an event, I believe, was never read nor heard of. To withdraw in the fulness of his power, and in the utmost gratification of his ambition, from the house of commons, which procured him his power, and which could alone insure it to him, and to go into that hospital of incurables, the house of lords, is a measure so unaccountable, that nothing but proof positive could have made me to believe it; but true it is. Lord Shelburne is your secretary of state; Charles Townshend has now the sole management of the house of commons; but how long he will be content to be only Lord Chatham's vicegerent there, is a question which I will not pretend to decide. There is one very bad sign for Lord Chatham in his new dignity, which is, that all his enemies, without exception, rejoice at it; and all his friends are stupified and dumb-founded. If I mistake not much, he will, in the course of a year, enjoy perfect *otium cum dignitate*.' On the 14th of the same month, we find his lordship expressing himself again in the same strain:—"It is certain that Mr Pitt has by his dignity of earl lost

the greatest part of his popularity, especially in the city; and I believe the opposition will be very strong, and perhaps prevail next session in the house of commons; there being now nobody there who can have the authority and ascendant over them that Pitt had."

The earl of Chatham held office until the end of 1768, when, on the appointment of Lord Hillsborough as colonial secretary, he sent the privy seal to the king by the hands of Lord Camden. This measure was indeed forced upon him by the determination which the king evinced to carry matters to an extremity with the Americans. He appeared little in parliament after this, except in support of Wilkes, until 1774, when the crisis of American affairs drew forth his lordship's energies, and seemed to revive all his youthful eloquence. He implored the ministry to pause and alter its policy with respect to America, but he spoke to deaf men; he brought in a bill for quieting the troubles in America,—it was instantly rejected; he moved an address to the king to put a stop to hostilities,—their lordships sneered at his apprehensions as visionary and groundless. Yet when, on the 7th of April, 1778, the duke of Richmond moved an address to the crown in which the necessity of acknowledging the independence of America was asserted, Chatham rose from a sick-bed, hastened to the house, and opposed the motion in a speech of great splendour. "My lords," he said, "I lament that my infirmities have so long prevented my attendance here, at so awful a crisis. I have made an effort almost beyond my strength, to come down to the house on this day, (and, perhaps, it will be the last time I shall ever be able to enter its walls,) to express my indignation at an idea that has gone forth of yielding up America. My lords,—I rejoice that the grave has not yet closed upon me,—that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the house of Brunswick of their fairest inheritance. Where is the man that will dare to advise such a measure? My lords, his majesty succeeded to an empire great in extent, as it was unsullied in reputation:—shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and best possessions? Shall this great kingdom, which has survived, whole and entire, the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest,—that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon? Surely, my lords, this nation is no longer what it was! Shall a people, that, seventeen years ago, was the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell its ancient, inveterate enemy, 'take all we have, only give us peace?' It is impossible! I wage war with no man, or set of men,—I wish for none of their employments,—nor would I co-operate with those who still persist in unretracted error; or who, instead of acting on a firm, decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God's name: if it be absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honour, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well-informed of the resources of this kingdom, but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. But,



my lords, any state is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort ; and, if we must fall, let us fall like men !”

The duke of Richmond having replied to this speech, Lord Chatham attempted to rise again, but fainted, and fell into the arms of those who were near him. The house was instantly cleared, and medical assistance procured. He was conveyed to his seat at Hayes, where he expired on the 11th of May, 1778, in the seventieth year of his age.

In figure, Lord Chatham was dignified and commanding. “There was a grandeur in his personal appearance,” says a writer, who speaks of him when in his decline, “which produced awe and mute attention ; and though bowed by infirmity and age, his mind shone through the ruins of his body, armed his eye with lightning, and clothed his lip with thunder.”—“He was born an orator,” says Wilkes, “and from nature possessed every outward requisite to bespeak respect, and even awe : a manly figure, with the eagle eye of the great Condé, fixed your attention, and almost commanded reverence the moment he appeared ; and the keen lightning of his eye spoke the high respect of his soul before his lips had pronounced a syllable. There was a kind of fascination in his look when he eyed any one askance. Nothing could withstand the force of that contagion. The fluent Murray has faltered, and even Fox shrunk back appalled from an adversary ‘fraught with fire unquenchable,’ if I may borrow an expression of our great Milton. He had not the correctness of language so striking in the great Roman orator, but he had the *verba ardentia*,—the bold, glowing words.”

## Captain Cook.

BORN A. D. 1728.—DIED A. D. 1779.

JAMES COOK, the celebrated navigator, was the son of James Cook, a native of the county of Northumberland. His father’s station was no higher than that of a farm-servant, and he was married to a woman in his own sphere of life. Young Cook was born on the 27th of October, 1728, at Morton in Cleveland, Yorkshire. He received the first rudiments of education from the school-mistress of his native village ; afterwards, on his father’s removal to Great Ayton, he was put to a day-school, at the expense of Mr Skottowe, his father’s employer, where he was instructed in writing and the first rules of arithmetic. About the age of thirteen he was apprenticed to a haberdasher at Snaiths, about ten miles from Whitby ; but upon some disagreement taking place between him and his master, he indulged his own inclination in binding himself an apprentice to Messrs Walker of Whitby, who had several vessels in the coal-trade. After serving a few years in the situation of a common sailor, he was made mate of one of Mr Walker’s ships.

Early in the year 1755, when hostilities broke out between France and England, Cook entered on board the *Eagle*, of sixty guns, to which vessel Sir Hugh Palliser was appointed. He now distinguished himself as an active and useful seaman, and his promotion was forwarded by a letter of recommendation from Mr Osbaldeston, member for Scarborough. On the 15th of May, 1759, he was appointed master of the *Mercury*, which soon after sailed to America, and joined the fleet un-

der Sir Charles Saunders at the siege of Quebec. On this occasion he was recommended by Captain Palliser to the difficult and dangerous service of taking the soundings of the St Lawrence, between the island of Orleans and the north shore, previous to military operations against Quebec. This task he performed in a masterly manner; and soon afterwards was employed to survey the river below Quebec. After this, he was appointed master of the *Northumberland*, stationed at Halifax. At this period of his life it was that he first read Euclid and studied astronomy and some other branches of science. In the year 1762 he was with the *Northumberland* at the recapture of Newfoundland. In the latter end of the same year he returned to England, and married.

Early in 1763, when Admiral (then Captain) Greaves was appointed governor of Newfoundland, Cook went out with him to survey the coasts of that island. In 1765 he was with Sir William Burnaby on the Jamaica station; and that officer having occasion to send despatches to the governor of Yucatan, selected Cook for that mission, which he executed in a highly satisfactory manner. A relation of the voyage and journey which he undertook on this occasion was published in 1769, under the title of 'Remarks on a passage from the river Balise, in the bay of Honduras, to Merida, the capital of the province of Yucatan.' His first astronomical paper was printed in the 57th volume of the *Philosophical transactions*. It is entitled 'An observation of an Eclipse of the Sun at the island of Newfoundland, August 5th, 1766, with the longitude of the place of observation deduced from it.' Cook's observations were made at one of the Burgeo islands near Cape Ray. It obtained for him the character of an able astronomer.

The spirit for geographical discovery, which had gradually declined since the beginning of the 17th century, was now beginning to revive. Two voyages of this kind had been performed in the reign of George II., the one under Captain Middleton, the other by Captains Moore and Smyth, both with a view to discover a north-west passage through Hudson's bay to the East Indies. Two others, under Captains Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, had been undertaken soon after the conclusion of the peace in 1763, by order of George III., and before the return of these navigators, another voyage was resolved upon for astronomical purposes. It having been calculated that a transit of Venus over the sun's disk would happen in 1769, a memorial to his majesty was presented by the Royal society, setting forth the great importance of making proper observations on that phenomenon, and praying that a vessel might be fitted out, at the expense of government, for conveying proper persons to one of the Friendly islands, in order to make the necessary observations. This request being complied with, Dalrymple, an eminent member of the Royal society, was appointed to the command of the expedition. But in the execution of the project, an unexpected difficulty occurred. Mr Dalrymple, sensible of the impossibility of guiding a vessel through unknown and dangerous seas without any proper command over the crew, demanded a brevet commission as captain of the vessel.<sup>1</sup> This commission, however, Sir Edward Hawke absolutely refused to sign, declaring, when pressed upon the subject, that he would

<sup>1</sup> Such as had formerly been granted to Dr Halley, in a voyage of discovery made by him.



rather suffer his right hand to be cut off than intrust any of his majesty's ships to the command of a person who had not been properly bred to the service. In this dilemma, Cook was proposed by Mr Stephens; and his recommendation being seconded by Sir Hugh Palliser, he was immediately appointed to the command of the vessel, with the rank of lieutenant in his majesty's service.

Mr Cook's commission was dated, May 25th, 1768, and a vessel of 370 tons, named the *Endeavour*, was provided for him. While the necessary preparations were making for the voyage, Captain Wallis returned. It having been recommended to this gentleman to fix upon a proper place for making the intended astronomical observations, he had chosen the island, named by him George's island, but since known by the name of Otaheite, for that purpose. This selection was approved of, and directions were accordingly given to Mr Cook, with whom Mr Charles Green was joined in the astronomical part. The expedition was likewise accompanied by Mr Banks, afterwards Sir Joseph Banks, Dr Solander, and several other men of science.

On the 30th of July, 1768, Cook set sail. During the voyage he approved himself an able seaman, and a judicious commander. On erecting their observatory, an accident happened which nearly disconcerted the whole scheme. This was the loss of their quadrant, which had been stolen by some of the natives; but, through the exertions of Mr Banks, it was at last recovered, and the observations proceeded with. After a stay of three months, when preparing to take leave, a disagreeable and trying circumstance occurred,—the desertion of two of the seamen, who, having married young women of the country, determined to take up their residence in it. Cook was now obliged to seize some of the chiefs, and to inform them that they could not obtain their liberty unless the deserters were recovered. This resolute conduct had the desired effect; the deserters were given up, and Cook set sail, along with Tupia, who had formerly been the prime minister to Obera, a princess of the island, and a boy of thirteen years of age, both of whom were desirous of accompanying him to England.

While Cook proceeded to visit some other islands, Tupia occasionally acted as interpreter. On his arrival in New Zealand, Cook found the people extremely hostile and insolent. At their first meeting, one of the natives having threatened to dart his lance into the boat, was shot dead. Another, having carried off a hanger, was fired at with small shot, and upon his still refusing to restore it, was fired at with ball and killed. This, however, produced very little effect on the rest, till several muskets were fired with small shot, which wounded three or four more. Next day the commander, having determined to force some of the natives on board, in order to conciliate their affections by kind treatment, directed his men to follow two canoes which he perceived under weigh before him. One escaped; but the other, not observing the boats in pursuit, was overtaken, on which the savages plied their oars so briskly that the ship's boats were not able to keep up with them. Tupia, whose language the New Zealanders understood, called to them to return, with assurances that no harm would be done them; but they continued their flight. A musket was then fired over their heads with a view to intimidate them, but upon this they prepared to fight, and on the coming up of the boats began the attack with so much vigour, that the

lieutenant's people were obliged to fire upon them with ball, by which four out of seven that were in the boat were killed; the other three jumped into the water, and were taken on board. This part of Cook's conduct was highly inconsistent with that humanity for which he was in general so eminently distinguished. Aware of the censure it merited, he has offered the following apology for the transaction:—"These people certainly did not deserve death for not choosing to confide in my promises, or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger; but the nature of my service required me to obtain a knowledge of their country, which I could no otherwise obtain but by forcing myself into it in an hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and good will of the people. I had already tried the power of presents without effect, and I was now prompted by my desire to avoid farther hostilities, to attempt to get some of them on board,—the only method we had left of convincing them that we intended them no harm, and had it in our power to contribute to their gratification and convenience. Thus far my intentions certainly were not criminal; and though in the contest—which I had not the least reason to expect—our victory might have been complete without so great an expense of life; yet in such situations, when the command to fire has once been given, no man can pretend to restrain its excess, or prescribe its effect."

Having spent six months in circumnavigating and exploring the islands of New Zealand, Cook sailed from thence on the 31st of March, 1770. From New Zealand he proceeded to New Holland, and on the 28th of April came in sight of Botany bay. Here all their endeavours to induce the natives to have any intercourse with them proved ineffectual, though happily there was no blood spilled in any quarrel.

During their navigation round New Holland, the coasts of which are full of dangerous rocks and shoals, our navigators were brought into many perilous situations. But from the time they quitted the coast of New Holland, till they arrived at Batavia, they encountered no other perils than such as are common in sea-voyages. They were obliged, however, to stay for some time at the latter place to repair their damages. Here poor Tupia, with his boy Tayeto, fell sacrifices to the unhealthiness of the climate, as well as the surgeon, three seamen, and a servant. After leaving Batavia, the seeds of disease again broke out amongst them in the most violent and fatal manner, insomuch that in the course of about six weeks, they lost one of Mr Banks' assistants, Mr Sporing, Mr Parkinson, his natural history painter, Mr Green the astronomer, the boatswain, carpenter, and mate, Mr Monkhouse, midshipman, the corporal of the marines, two of the carpenter's crew, and nine seamen. After touching at St Helena, they continued their voyage for England, where they arrived on the 11th of June, 1771. On the 29th of August the same year, his majesty testified his approbation of Mr Cook's conduct by appointing him a captain in the navy. On this occasion Cook wished to have been advanced to the rank of post-captain, which, though not more profitable than the other, is more honourable; but this being inconsistent with the rules of preferment in the navy, the earl of Sandwich, at that time at the head of the admiralty, could not agree to it.

Captain Cook was not allowed to remain long inactive. The idea of



a southern continent had been renewed by the publication of Dalrymple's 'Historical collection of voyages to the Pacific ocean.' To determine the question finally, Captain Cook was again sent out. The object of this voyage was not merely to settle the question just mentioned, but to extend the geography of the globe to its utmost limits. That the expedition might have every advantage, it was determined to employ two ships, on the choice and equipment of which the utmost attention was bestowed. The larger of the two, of 460 tons burden, was named the *Resolution*; the smaller, of 336 tons, had the name of the *Adventure*. The complement of men on board the former, of which Captain Cook was commander, was 112: of the latter, commanded by Mr Tobias Furneaux, 81. Mr Hodges, an excellent landscape painter, was engaged to make drawings and paintings; Mr John Reinhold Forster, with his son, were both engaged to explore and collect the natural history of the countries which they visited; and Mr William Wales and Mr William Bayley were engaged by the board of longitude to make celestial observations. They were furnished with the best instruments of every kind, and among the rest with four time-pieces; three constructed by Arnold, and one by Kendal, on Harrison's principles. Captain Cook's instructions were not only to sail round the globe, but to sail round it in high southern latitudes, and to make such traverses as might finally resolve the question concerning a southern continent.

In pursuance of these instructions, he set sail on the 13th of July, 1772, and on the 29th of the same month he reached the *Madeiras*. On the 6th of December, being in the latitude of  $50^{\circ} 40'$ , he fell in with islands of ice, and continued among them in various latitudes till the 17th of January, 1773, when he set sail for New Zealand, which he reached on the 27th. The reception of our navigators by the New Zealanders was much more friendly than in the former voyage; there were no contests with the natives, nor the smallest apparent remembrance of former hostilities. Having spent a considerable time among the South sea islands, Cook returned to New Zealand, and thence set sail for the southern part of the continent of America. Here he explored a number of islands, and then returned to England, where he arrived in safety on the 30th of July, 1774, having been absent three years and eighteen days. In all that time he had lost only one man, who died of a disease probably begun before he had set out on the voyage. The account of this voyage was written by Captain Cook and young Forster, the naturalist; but the publication was superintended by Dr Douglas. The reception our navigator now met with was suited to his merit. He was immediately raised to the rank of post-captain, and soon after unanimously elected a member of the Royal society, from whom he received the prize of the gold medal for the best experimental paper that had appeared throughout the year.

The third voyage of this celebrated navigator was not undertaken by any express command of his majesty. Captain Cook had already done so much, that it was thought but reasonable he should be allowed to spend the remainder of his life in quiet. Still, however, there were some undetermined points in the science of geography which very much engaged the attention of the public. These were chiefly to discover the connection between Asia and America, and to determine

whether there was not a possibility of shortening the passage to the East Indies by sailing round the northern parts of the continents of Europe and Asia. It was not, as has been hinted, deemed proper to solicit Captain Cook to undergo fresh dangers by undertaking a voyage of this kind; nevertheless, as he was universally looked upon to be the fittest person in the kingdom for the purpose, all eyes were tacitly fixed upon him, and he was consulted on every thing relating to it. Captain Cook, Sir Hugh Palliser, and Mr Stephens, having been invited to the house of Lord Sandwich to dinner, besides the consideration of the proper officer for conducting the expedition, many things were said concerning the design itself, its grandeur and dignity, its consequence to navigation and science, and the completeness it would give to the whole system of discoveries. At last Cook became so much excited by the whole conversation, that he started up, and declared he would conduct it himself. This was what the parties present probably expected; his offer was instantly laid before the king, who appointed him commander of the expedition, on the 10th of February, 1776. The instructions he now received were, that he should attempt the high latitudes between the continents of Asia and America, and if possible return to England along the northern coasts of Asia and Europe. Two vessels were provided as in the former voyage, viz. the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, the command of the former being given to Captain Cook, and of the latter to Captain Charles Clerke. In the former voyage, Captain Cook had brought along with him a native of one of the South sea islands named Omai, who resided in England during the interval between the second and third voyages, and was now happy to have an opportunity of returning to his own country. Every thing being prepared for the voyage, our navigator set sail from the Nore on the 25th of June, 1776; but did not leave Plymouth till the 12th of July. On the 1st of September they crossed the equator; and on the 18th of October anchored in Table bay, Cape of Good Hope. From the Cape, Cook set sail on the 30th of November. Having explored some desolate islands in the southern seas, he next shaped his course for New Zealand. During this part of the voyage, our navigators were involved in so thick a fog, that, according to the authors of Captain Cook's Life, "they sailed 300 leagues in the dark." The first land they reached was New Holland, where they remained till the 30th of January, 1777, when they set sail for New Zealand, and on the 12th of February anchored in Queen Charlotte's sounds. So much time was now spent in sailing up and down the Pacific ocean, that Captain Cook judged it impossible to accomplish any thing this year in the high northern latitudes; and determined to bear away for the Friendly islands, in order to supply himself with those necessaries which he had been unable to procure at any of the islands which he had just discovered. In the run thither several new islands were visited; and in prosecuting these discoveries our navigator once more narrowly escaped being shipwrecked. After a stay of between two and three months, Captain Cook took leave of the Friendly islands, and on the 12th of August, 1777, reached Otaheite, where he restored Omai to his people.

Having left the Society islands, and discovered a new group which, in honour of his patron the earl of Sandwich, Cook named the Sandwich isles, he set out on the 2d of January, 1778, on his voyage north-



ward. In this he was so far successful as to ascertain the vicinity of the continents of Asia and America, which had never been done, or but very imperfectly, before. From these desolate regions he returned to the island of Oonalashka; whence having refitted and taken in provisions, he again sailed southward, and on the 26th of November reached the Sandwich islands. Seven weeks were spent in exploring the coasts of the Owhyhee island; and during all this time they continued to maintain the most friendly intercourse with the people, who, however, appeared to be much more numerous and powerful than those of any island our navigators had yet touched at. Several of the chiefs and principal people attached themselves to Cook, and in general the people appeared to be much more honest and peaceable in their dispositions than any whom they had ever visited. But by the time they had finished their circumnavigation of the island, and cast anchor in a bay called Karakakooa, matters were greatly altered. An universal disposition to theft and plunder was now manifested, and it was evident that the common people were encouraged in this by their chiefs, who shared the booty with them. Still, however, no hostilities were commenced, and the greatest honours were paid to the commander on his going ashore. On the 4th of February, 1779, they left the island. Unluckily they encountered a storm on the 6th and 7th of the same month, during which the Resolution sprang the head of her foremast in such a manner, that they were obliged to return to Karakakooa bay to have it repaired. The former friendly intercourse was now renewed with the natives, and Captain Cook was treated with the usual honours; but on the 13th circumstances occurred which gave a new aspect to affairs. After various scuffles with the natives in the recovery of stolen property, it was found that the large cutter of the Discovery had been carried off in the night time. On this being reported, Captain Cook ordered the launch and small cutter, under the command of the second lieutenant, to lie off the east point of the bay in order to intercept all the canoes that might attempt to get out, and, if necessary, to fire upon them. The third lieutenant of the Resolution was despatched at the same time to the western part of the bay; while the master was sent in pursuit of a large double canoe already under sail, and making the best of her way out of the harbour. He soon came up with her, and by firing a few shots, obliged her to run on shore. This canoe belonged to a chief named Omai, whose person was reckoned equally sacred with that of the king, and to his not having been secured may be attributed the succeeding disaster. Captain Cook now formed the daring resolution of going in person to seize the king himself in his capital. With this view he left the ship about seven o'clock in the morning of Sunday the 14th of February, being attended by the lieutenant of marines, a sergeant, a corporal, and seven private men. The crew of the pinnace, under the command of Mr Roberts, were also armed. As they rowed towards the shore, the captain ordered the launch to leave her station at the opposite point of the bay, in order to assist his own boat. Having landed with the marines at the upper end of the town, the natives flocked round him, and prostrated themselves, as usual, before him. No sign of hostility, nor even of much alarm, yet appeared; the king's sons waited on the commander as soon as he sent for them, and by them he was introduced to the king, who readily con-

sented to go on board. But in a little time the natives began to arm themselves with long spears, clubs, and daggers, and to put on the thick mats which they used as defensive armour. These hostile demonstrations were hastened by an unlucky rumour, that one of the chiefs had been killed by the people of the *Discovery's* boats. On this the women, who had hitherto sat on the beach conversing familiarly and taking their breakfast, rose up and retired, and a confused murmur ran through the crowd. The captain now beginning to think his situation dangerous, ordered the marines to march towards the shore; he accompanied them holding the king's hand, attended by his wife, two sons, and several chiefs. The natives made a lane for them to pass; and as the distance they had to go was only about fifty or sixty yards, and the boats lay at no more than five or six yards distance from land, there was not the least apprehension of the catastrophe that ensued. The king's younger son, Keowa, went on board the pinnace without the least hesitation, and the king was about to follow, when his wife threw her arms about his neck, and, with the assistance of two chiefs, forced him to sit down. The captain might now have safely got aboard, but did not immediately relinquish the design of taking the king along with him. Finding at last, however, that this could not be accomplished without a great deal of bloodshed, he was on the point of giving orders for the people to re-embark, when one of the natives threw a stone at him. This insult was returned by the captain, who had a double barrelled piece in his hand, by a discharge of small-shot from one of the barrels. The king's son, Keowa, was still in the pinnace, but unluckily Mr Roberts set him ashore at his own request soon after the first fire. In the mean time another Indian was observed in the act of brandishing his spear at the commander; who fired in his own defence. Missing his aim, however, he killed one close by his side; upon which the sergeant received orders to fire also, which he did, and killed the offender on the spot. This disconcerted the foremost of the natives, and made them fall back in a body; but they were urged on again by those behind, and discharged a volley of stones among the marines, who immediately returned it by a general discharge of their muskets, which was instantly followed by a fire from the boats. Captain Cook expressed his astonishment at their firing, waved his hand to them to cease, and called to the people in the boats to come nearer to receive the marines. This order was obeyed by Mr Roberts; but the lieutenant who commanded the launch, instead of coming nearer, put off to a greater distance. Meanwhile, the natives, exasperated by the fire of the marines, rushed in upon them, and drove them into the water, leaving Captain Cook alone upon the rock. A fire indeed was kept up by both boats; but the one was so far off, and the other so crowded with the marines, that they could not direct their fire with proper effect. Captain Cook was then observed making for the pinnace, carrying his musket under his arm, and holding his other hand on the back part of his head to guard it from the stones. A native was seen following him, but with marks of fear, as he stopped once or twice, seemingly undetermined to proceed. At last he struck the captain on the back of the head with a club, and then precipitately retreated. Captain Cook staggered forward a few paces, and then fell on his hand and one knee, and dropped his musket. Before he could recover himself, another



native stabbed him with a dagger in the neck. He then fell into a pool of water knee-deep, where others crowded upon him; but still he struggled violently with them, got up his head, and looked towards the pin-nace as if soliciting assistance. The boat was not above five or six yards' distance; but such was the confused and crowded state of the crew, that no assistance could be given him. At last a savage struck him with a club, which probably put an end to his life, as he was never seen to struggle more. The natives hauled the lifeless body up on the rocks, and used it in the most barbarous manner, snatching the daggers out of one another's hands, in order to enjoy the pleasure of mangling it.

After all, we are informed, that, in the opinion of Captain Philips who commanded the marines, it is very doubtful whether any effectual aid could have been given Captain Cook, even if no mistake had been committed on the part of the lieutenant of the launch. The author of all the mischief was Pareah, the chief already mentioned, who had employed people to steal the boat in the night-time. The king was entirely innocent both of the theft and of the murder of Captain Cook. It was found impossible to recover all the mangled remains of Captain Cook's body. By dint of threats and negotiations, however, some of the parts were procured. These being put in a coffin, and the service read over them, were committed to the deep, with the usual military honours, on the 21st of February, 1779.

Captain Cook was a man of plain address and appearance. His head was small, and he wore his hair, which was brown, tied behind. His face was full of expression;—his nose exceedingly well-shaped;—his eyes, which were small and of a brown cast, were quick and piercing, and his eye-brows prominent. His countenance altogether had an air of austerity.

## Sir William Blackstone.

BORN A. D. 1723.—DIED A. D. 1780.

THIS illustrious English lawyer was the fourth son of Charles Blackstone, a silkman in London. He was born on the 10th of July, 1723, after the death of his father. His uncle, Mr Thomas Bigg, an eminent surgeon, took charge of his education, and at the age of seven he was admitted on the foundation of the Charter house. At the age of fifteen he was admitted a commoner of Pembroke college, Oxford. His progress at school had been very satisfactory; at college he continued to distinguish himself by the assiduity and regularity with which he pursued his studies. Having selected the law as his profession, he entered the Middle temple on the 20th of November, 1741. It cost the young collegian no small effort to tear himself from the society of his beloved muses—for such a sacrifice he deemed necessary to final success in the path of life which he had chosen for himself. The feelings with which he made the exchange are admirably expressed in some verses from his pen entitled 'The Lawyer's Farewell to his Muse,' published in the fourth volume of Dodsley's collection. In November, 1743, he was elected into the society of All Souls' college. On the 12th of June,

1745, he commenced bachelor of civil law, and on the 28th of November, 1746, he was called to the bar.

Mr Blackstone remained unnoticed for several years, and of course acquired little practice. But having been elected bursar at Oxford, soon after he had taken his degree, and finding the muniments of the college in a very confused state, he employed a portion of his leisure in reducing them into order. He also superintended the arrangement of the Codrington library about this time. On the 26th of April, 1750, he commenced doctor of civil law. In this year appeared his 'Essay on Collateral consanguinity,' which had been suggested by the regulation of his college, according to which all who could prove themselves of kin to the founder had a preferable right of election into the society. In the summer of 1753 he resolved to retire from the practice of a profession the profits of which failed to cover his expenses, and to support himself by his fellowship and private lecturing. He had already been recommended to the chair of civil law at Oxford by Mr Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, but on being introduced to the duke of Newcastle, and questioned by his grace whether, in case of any political agitation in the university, his majesty's government might rely upon his exertions, "Your grace may be assured that I will discharge my duty in giving law-lectures to the best of my poor ability," was the reply. "And your duty in the other branch too?" added his grace. Mr Blackstone merely bowed in answer, and a few days after Dr Jenner was appointed to the vacant chair.<sup>1</sup> In the ensuing Michaelmas term he commenced reading his 'Lectures on the Laws of England' to a very crowded class. Of these lectures he published an 'Analysis' in 1756. In that year Mr Viner, the laborious compiler of an extensive abridgment of the English law, died, and bequeathed the whole profits of his compilation to the university, for the purpose of promoting the study of the common law. Mr Viner's benefaction led to the foundation of a professorship of English law, to which Mr Blackstone was immediately appointed with a salary of £200. His introductory lecture, afterwards prefixed to the first volume of the 'Commentaries,' has been greatly and most deservedly admired. In 1759 he resumed practice in London, visiting Oxford at stated times only for the delivery of his lectures. In the same year he edited a magnificent edition of Magna Charta and the Forest charter. Both these works issued from the Clarendon press, of which he had been the principal reformer. In 1761 he was elected representative for Hindon in Wiltshire; and on the 6th of May following had a patent of precedence granted to him to rank as king's counsel, having a few months before declined the office of chief-justice of the court of common pleas in Ireland. Mr Blackstone now vacated his fellowship by marriage, and was soon after appointed principal of New Inn hall. In 1763 he received the appointment of solicitor-general to the queen. Many imperfect and incorrect copies of his lectures had by this time been circulated in manuscript amongst the profession, and a pirated edition of them was understood to be passing through the press. Mr Blackstone therefore found himself under the necessity of taking the work of publication into his own hands, and, in November, 1765, the first volume of his 'Commentaries on the Laws

<sup>1</sup> Holliday's Life of Mansfield, p. 89.



of England' was published. The other three volumes of this great work appeared in the course of the four succeeding years. Mr Blackstone's performance almost instantly superseded the initiatory professional works, such as 'Finch's Law' and 'Wood's Institutes;' but detractors and censors were not wanting to assail it, and thoroughly sift its claims to public approbation. Amongst the latter class was one whose opinions on such a point were not to be treated with disrespect. In 1776 Mr Jeremy Bentham published a 'Comment on the Commentaries,' in which he especially, and certainly not without reason, censures 'the antipathy to reformation' which he everywhere discovered in Mr Blackstone's work. But Mr Roscoe has justly remarked "that Mr Blackstone did not profess, in the language of Mr Bentham, to be a censor, but merely an expositor of the law."<sup>2</sup> His object was, in fact, to show what the law of England is, not what it ought to be. And Mr Bentham has himself pronounced the following high eulogium upon the excellent method and exquisite style of Mr Blackstone's work:—"Correct, elegant, unembarrassed, ornamented, the style is such as could scarce fail to recommend a work still more vicious in point of matter to the multitude of readers. He it is, in short, who, first of all institutional writers, has taught jurisprudence to speak the language of the scholar and the gentleman; put a polish upon that rugged science; cleansed her from the dust and cobwebs of the office; and if he has not enriched her with that precision which is drawn only from the sterling treasury of the sciences, has decked her out, however, to advantage, from the toilet of classic erudition; enlivened her with metaphors and allusions; and sent her abroad in some measure to instruct, and in still greater measure to entertain, the most miscellaneous and even the most fastidious societies. The merit to which, as much perhaps as to any, the work stands indebted for its reputation, is the enchanting harmony of its numbers; a kind of merit that of itself is sufficient to give a certain degree of celebrity to a work devoid of every other: so much is man governed by the ear." On the style of the Commentaries a high panegyric has been pronounced by Mr Fox. In a letter addressed to Mr Trotter, he says, "You, of course, read Blackstone over and over again; and if so, pray tell me whether you agree with me in thinking his style of English the very best among our modern writers; always easy and intelligible, far more correct than Hume, and less studied and made up than Robertson." Of the political tendencies of the Commentaries, however, Mr Fox expressed a very different opinion. In the debate on the admission of Lord Ellenborough into the cabinet, the authority of Mr Justice Blackstone having been relied on, Mr Fox said, "His purity of style I particularly admire. He was distinguished as much for simplicity and strength as any writer in the English language. He was perfectly free from all Gallicisms and ridiculous affectations, for which so many of our modern authors and orators are so remarkable. Upon this ground, therefore, I esteem Judge Blackstone; but as a constitutional writer he is by no means an object of my esteem; and for this amongst other reasons, that he asserts the latter years of the reign of Charles the Second, (I mean those which followed the enactment of the habeas corpus act,) to have been the most constitutional period to

\* Roscoe's Lives of Eminent Lawyers, in *Lardner's Cyclopædia*, p. 249.

be found in our history, not excepting any period that followed. Now it would be inconsistent with all the principles which I ever held, to regard such a writer as a constitutional authority, much less to look up to him as an oracle."

In 1766 Mr Blackstone resigned his professorship, and the place of principal of New Inn hall. In 1768 he was returned for Westbury in Wiltshire, and took a part in the debates relative to the election of Mr Wilkes. On the resignation of Mr Dunning, in 1770, the vacant solicitor-generalship was offered to Sir William, who declined it in consequence of the wish he now felt to retire from political life. The same year, however, he was made one of the judges in the court of common pleas. Mr Roscoe thinks that the legal acquirements of the author of the 'Commentaries' rather declined than advanced upon the promotion of its author to the bench. About Christmas, 1779, symptoms of water in the chest appeared in him, and the disease rapidly gaining upon him, he expired on the 14th of February, 1780. In political sentiments Sir William Blackstone was a moderate tory, and his appearance was not prepossessing, but his private character is represented by his biographer, Mr Clitherow, as having been unexceptionable. He maintained upon the bench an appearance of dignity and gravity which was often misconstrued for austerity; but in private life, and in the company of friends, he was always cheerful and often facetious.

## Edward, Lord Hawke.

BORN A. D. 1705.—DIED A. D. 1781.

THIS celebrated admiral was the only son of Edward Hawke, barrister at law, and Elizabeth, his wife, relict of Colonel Ruthven. He entered the navy at a very early age; and it is recorded of him that his father having held out to him the hope that he might in time become a captain, the boy exclaimed, "If I did not think I should rise to be an admiral, I would never go!"

After a regular progression through the several subordinate situations, he was, in 1734, appointed commander of the Wolfe sloop of war, and was thence promoted, in the same year, to the Flamborough frigate. In 1739 he was ordered to the West Indies. Soon after this he was appointed to the Berwick, a third-rate, one of the ships ordered to the Mediterranean for the purpose of reinforcing Admiral Mathews. The encounter off Toulon was the first occasion in which he had an opportunity of distinguishing himself in any particular manner. He bore a conspicuous share in that memorable encounter; and if every officer in the fleet had exerted himself as spiritedly as Hawke, there is reason to believe the combined fleets of France and Spain would either have been captured or annihilated. The greatest injury inflicted on the enemy was effected by himself: the Poder, a Spanish ship of the line, the only one taken or destroyed in the encounter, having been captured by the Berwick, unaided by any other ship. Several officers boarded the prize, but the captain of the vanquished vessel, pointing to the Berwick, which Hawke commanded, declared his submission to that vessel only, and his contempt for all the others belonging to the English squadron.



Hawke, it seems, disregarding discipline, had broken from the line of battle, and engaged the *Poder*—which had previously beaten off two of the British fleet—with such irresistible fury that she was compelled to strike her colours. The French fleet afterwards tacked upon and retook her, but found her so disabled that they deserted her. For this act of heroism Hawke was brought to a court-martial, and sentenced to be dismissed from the service. He was, however, immediately restored by the king, who ever after designated him as his own admiral.

In 1747 he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the white, and immediately afterwards appointed to command a strong squadron ordered to sea in the hope of intercepting a numerous fleet of merchant-ships, collected at the isle of Aix, and intended to be convoyed to America by a formidable force under the command of M. de L'Etendiere. Hawke hoisted his flag on board the *Devonshire*, of sixty-six guns, and sailed from Plymouth, on the 9th of August, with thirteen men-of-war, and nine third-rates, under his orders. A dull and unimportant cruize of long continuance, off the coast of Brittany, was at length repaid by a sight of the French squadron, on the 14th of October, soon after daylight. The force of the enemy was discovered to consist of eleven or twelve ships of war. Admiral Hawke immediately gave the signal to form the line a-head. One or two ships of war, together with several large frigates, were ordered by the French commodore to make all possible sail with the charge committed to his protection; the remainder, consisting of eight sail, he drew into line, for the purpose of favouring the escape of his friends. The action commenced about half-past eleven, between the leading ships of the English and the rear of the enemy, and the action soon became general. The admiral compelled the first ship he encountered to strike; but, leaving her to be taken possession of by the frigates astern, he proceeded to assist the *Eagle* and *Edinburgh*. The fight was well-maintained by the enemy, whose large ships—to use Hawke's phrase—"took a great deal of drubbing." At seven in the evening, the *Terrible*, of seventy-four guns, the last of six ships of the line which surrendered on this occasion, having struck, and *Le Tonnant* and *L'Intrepide* having effected their escape, Hawke deemed it prudent to make the signal to bring to, in order to collect his ships and their several prizes. The merchantmen for the time escaped; but several of them afterwards fell into the hands of Commodore Pococke.

Soon after his return the admiral was made a knight-companion of the Bath; and, in December following, he was returned to parliament for Portsmouth. In January, 1748, he sailed, with nine ships of the line, on a cruize in the bay of Biscay, during which the *Magnanime*, of seventy-four guns, was captured by two of his squadron. In the following May he became vice-admiral of the blue, and an elder brother of the Trinity-house. In 1749 he commanded the convoy sent to North America with settlers for Nova Scotia; and, in the words of Collins, "he performed this duty with all that integrity and care that could be expected from a person of his honour and veracity." The same author adds, "that having, after the commencement of peace, acted as president of several naval courts-martial, he always took the greatest care to distribute justice without any regard to rank or connections: the innocent were sure to meet with his protection, and the guilty to feel the rod of punishment." In the month of July, 1749, he

presided on the trial of Lieutenant Couchman and others, for piratically running away with his majesty's ship the *Chesterfield*; and very soon afterwards on the trial of an officer of rank, for disobedience of orders. In the month of December, 1749, he sat in the court-martial held at Deptford for the trial of Rear-admiral Knowles; and in the month of February following, on the trials of Captains Holmes and Powlett. In 1750 he was appointed to the Portsmouth command. On the 15th of August he entertained, on board the *Monarch*, his flag-ship, then lying at Spithead, their royal highnesses the prince and princess of Wales.

After the disastrous affair at Minorca, Hawke was sent to supersede Admiral Byng. He acted with great spirit during this cruise in the Mediterranean, especially in compelling the Austrian government to release Fortunatus Wright, the captain of an English privateer, who had been thrown into prison by the authorities at Leghorn, for an alleged violation of the neutrality of that port.

In 1757, Sir Edward, now vice-admiral of the white, was selected to command an expedition equipped for the attack of Rochefort. His force consisted of no less than sixteen ships of the line, two bomb-ketches, two fire-ships, two busses, one store-ship, and fifty-five transports, exclusive of the *Jason*, of forty guns, employed as a transport, and the *Chesterfield*, as a repeating frigate. The land-forces consisted of ten regiments of infantry, two of marines, a squadron of light-horse, and a proportionate train of artillery. Formidable as was the force of this armament, the delays and hesitation of the general and other land officers, rendered the whole project abortive. No blame, however, was ever attached to Sir Edward, whose advice was rejected by Sir John Mordaunt, the commander of the land forces. Having returned to Portsmouth with the transports and troops, he again repaired to his station off the coast of France, for the purpose of blocking up the several ports and preventing any smaller armaments from putting to sea. He was almost uninterruptedly occupied in this line of service, without meeting with any memorable incident, till the 3d of April, 1757, when he got sight of a squadron and convoy belonging to the enemy, off the isle of Aix. It was intended for North America, and consisted of seven ships of the line, as many frigates, and forty merchant vessels or transports. At the approach of the English fleet, the enemy immediately slipped their cables and fled towards shore; and by throwing the guns, stores, ammunition, provisions, and even their ballast, overboard from the men-of-war, together with part of the cargoes from the merchant vessels, they succeeded in dragging their ships up the Charente, and through the mud, into the harbour of Rochefort.

In 1758, he held a command in the fleet under Lord Anson; but, while in the bay of Biscay, he was attacked by a violent fever which compelled him to return to Portsmouth and quit active service. In the following year, he commanded the blockading squadron off Brest, which, being driven into Torbay by a tempest, *M. de Conflans*, with the French fleet, as soon as the storm had abated, put to sea. Hawke soon followed, and, on the morning of the 20th November, descried the enemy off Belleisle. On this occasion he told his officers that he did not intend to trouble himself by forming lines; for that "he would attack them in his old way, and make downright work with them." A most spirited, though irregular contest, necessarily occasioned by the



inclemency of the weather, and the rocky coast on which the action took place, immediately commenced. The British van attacked the rear of the French about half-past two o'clock in the afternoon : each of the foremost ships as they advanced poured a broadside into the sternmost of the enemy, and then bore down on their van. Hawke, in the *Royal George*, without returning the fire of several other ships, passed on towards the *Soleil Royal*, which bore Admiral Conflans' flag, and was nearly surrounded by breakers. When apprized by his pilot of the danger of advancing, he is said to have coolly replied, "You have done your duty in pointing out the danger ; you are now to comply with my order, and lay me alongside the *Soleil*." The captain of the *Thesée*, a French ship of seventy guns, as the *Royal George* approached the *Soleil Royal*, gallantly interposed his own vessel to save that of his commander. The *Thesée*, consequently, received a broadside, intended for the French admiral's ship, and so terrific was its effect, that as soon as the smoke had cleared away, the tops of her masts alone were visible, and in another moment the sea rolled over her colours. The fight raged till night. In the morning the *Soleil Royal* finding herself in the midst of the English fleet, ran on shore, and was afterwards burnt. The same fate attended the *Heros*, of seventy-four guns. The *Thesée*, *Superbe*, and *Juste*, were sunk ; and the *Formidable*, of eighty guns, bearing the rear-admiral's flag, was captured. Sir Edward, in his official despatches, assigned the following modest excuse for the loss of his antagonists not having been much greater than it proved : "In attacking a flying enemy, it was impossible in a short winter's day that all our ships should be able to get into action ; or all those of the enemy brought to it. The commanders and companies of such as did come up with the rear of the French, on the 20th, behaved with the greatest intrepidity, and gave the strongest proof of a true British spirit. In the same manner I am satisfied those would have acquitted themselves, whose bad going ships, or the distance they were at in the morning, prevented from getting up. Our loss by the enemy is not considerable ; for in the ships which are now with me, I find only one lieutenant and thirty-nine seamen-and marines killed, and about two hundred and two wounded. When I consider the season of the year, the hard gales on the day of action, a flying enemy, the shortness of the day, and the coast we were on, I can boldly affirm, that all that could possibly be done has been done. As to the loss we have sustained, let it be placed to the account of the necessity I was under of running all risks, to break this strong force of the enemy. Had we had but two hours more daylight, the whole had been totally destroyed or taken ; for we were almost up with the van, when night overtook us."

Sir Edward did not return to Plymouth till the 17th of January in the ensuing year ; the whole of the intermediate time being employed in cruising off the coast of Brittany. He was received in England with the greatest enthusiasm. A pension of £2000 a-year was immediately bestowed on him, with a reversion to his sons, and the survivor of them, by his majesty ; and on the 28th of January following, being the first day of his attendance in the house of commons as member for the town of Portsmouth, he received the thanks of the house from the speaker.

In the month of August, 1760, he resumed the command of the fleet







*Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.*

*Engraved by J. Freeman.  
from the original painting by Van Dyck.*

stationed in Quiberon bay. On the 4th of January, 1762, the appointment of rear-admiral of England was bestowed upon him; and, on the resignation of Mr Osborne, on the 5th of November, 1765, he was made vice-admiral of Great Britain. On the 2d of the ensuing month, he was appointed first commissioner for executing the office of lord-high-admiral,—a station which he continued to fill with the highest honour till the 10th of January, 1771, when he voluntarily resigned it. He was created by letters patent, bearing date, May 20th, 1776, a peer of Great Britain, by the style and title of Baron Hawke of Tawton, county of York. He died, universally respected and lamented, on the 14th of October, 1781, at Sunbury, in Middlesex; and was buried at Swaithling, near Botley, in the county of Hants.

His lordship married Catharine, daughter of Walter Brooke of Burton-hall, in the county of York; and by that lady had issue, three sons and one daughter. He was succeeded in his title by Martin Bladen, his eldest son.

## Wentworth, Marquess of Rockingham.

BORN A. D. 1730.—DIED A. D. 1782.

CHARLES WATSON WENTWORTH, only son of Thomas Watson Wentworth, created Marquess of Rockingham in 1746, by Mary, daughter of the earl of Winchelsea, was born on the 13th of May, 1730. The estates of the earls of Strafford of the first creation, with their surname of Wentworth, had passed to his paternal grandfather, who had already a splendid patrimony by the death of William the second earl. The subject of this notice succeeded therefore to an immense estate upon the death of his father in 1750. On coming of age, in 1751, he took his seat in the house of peers; on the 9th of July in that year, he was constituted lord-lieutenant of the county of York; and in 1760, he was made a knight of the garter.

In 1763, disgusted with the proceedings of Lord Bute, then the reigning favourite at court, he resigned the situation of a lord of the bed-chamber, which he had for some time before held, and also his lord-lieutenancy of Yorkshire. Two years had scarcely elapsed, however, when the whole system of government having undergone a change, he was appointed, on the 10th of July, 1765, first lord of the treasury. The death of the duke of Cumberland, and the proceedings in America, excited by Grenville's stamp act, placed Rockingham and his colleagues in a trying situation. For a time they hesitated as to the repeal of the obnoxious act. At last they resolved it should be repealed, but that a declaratory act asserting the supreme authority of the mother country should be passed at the same time. Burke probably suggested this measure; it at least had his strenuous advocacy. It was also known to have the approval of Franklin, who was then in England, and in communication with the ministry. This line of policy was a dubious one; it was calculated to unite against ministers the two extreme parties,—one of whom contended for the expediency and right of taxing America, and the other strenuously denied both. The following extracts from letters written by secretary Conway to his brother Lord



Hertford, who had been appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland by the new cabinet, exhibit the prospect of ministers at this period.

Writing from London, under date, 7th November, 1765, Mr Conway says: "Your opposition of nine is a pretty little opposition. I should be glad to compound with our opposers for six times that number, and on this head have an unpleasant article to tell you, which is, that Barré has refused; I have this day received his very civil, but direct excuse. He is pleased to say he knows very little of the present administration but myself, and has no knowledge of the plans of government, &c. That is the fashionable language of the great, and almost of the little too; every body is minister, every body plans and lays systems of government. Happy times, which abound in so many great and wise men! What I observe in general is, that every body knows how to govern, but those that should. I know you'll think our affairs quite desperate, after the chasm the poor Duke (Cumberland) has made, and this capital refusal. Yet we don't at all think so—nor does his majesty; but rather flatter ourselves the strength on the whole is good and promising. Ch. T. (Townshend) is very much disposed and very sanguine; my lord-chancellor declares himself roundly and strongly, and laughs at all despondency. It is not foreign from our thoughts, privately to sound Mr P. (Pitt); to do it publicly would hurt the cause in this moment; though some time hence it might do us service to have it known it was done. Don't be surprised, *entre nous*, if you hear that I am out again, I mean out of what I am in. You know how I hate this life, and it raises my spirits much to think I see an hole to creep out at. C. T. (Charles Townshend) with all his cordiality, fixes conditions to his good will. Confidence and the cabinet were the word a little while ago; now he wishes to be useful, and the way in which he can be so most, is as leader of the house. I closed at once, with the addition, that he should then be secretary of state too—this only to Lord R. (Rockingham) and the D. of G. (Duke of Grafton, the other secretary of state) to whom I think aloud; but to-day I have privately heard, that he has said in a letter that things were changed since he refused; he did it then on his brother's account, &c., which gives me hopes of doing what I much wish, laying aside my grandeur and my trouble, and the slavery of being tied to a desk, and taking his comfortable employment now, till I can wind about again into the situation I wish in the army. That's my plan; it suits all my views and ambition, though it will be despised and condemned by many: if I felt that much, it's clear I should not choose it. This for ourselves: that I dislike my station all the world may know." On the 14th November he writes: "You say I must have been in Ireland to know how much business you have. I was in Ireland, and to be sure not in an idle station,<sup>1</sup> yet for my sins it is now in England I learn what business really is, and learn to be so sick of it, I envy every captain I see." In a subsequent part of his letter he says: "I have little news of a domestic kind. I believe I told you Barré refuses; that you'll dislike, and yet I think we much rather gain than lose ground on the whole, notwithstanding even our late unhappy loss" (the death of the duke

<sup>1</sup> He had been Irish secretary in 1755, when the marquess of Hartington was lord-lieutenant.

of Cumberland.) On the 27th of December, during the adjournment, he writes: "As to our affairs here, I can tell you nothing new, at least with any certainty. Mr Pitt has declared, in general terms, strongly in favour of our measures, yet he keeps at Bath, and at a distance every way. Beckford, Cooke, Prowse, and other independent men, are strongly with us; if any thing goes wrong, it will be by a rottenness within. A certain party keep aloof, and the world says are certainly forming a *bande à parte*: I mean Lord B.'s (Bute's) friends—the two Townshends particularly; and if they have a mind, the American affairs will give them an opportunity to be troublesome. Lord Shelburne and Barré seem particularly fixed nowhere. Lord Temple and Lord Lyttleton will, I think, both oppose. The lord-chancellor and the Yorkes are, in appearance, very firm. Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden doubtful. This is a little sketch of our political anatomy. What opinion does it give you?"

When parliament re-assembled on the 14th of January, 1766, no amendment was moved to the address in the lords; but an interesting debate took place in the commons. Pitt approved of the address on the ground that it decided nothing, and left every member at perfect liberty to take such a part concerning America as he might afterwards see fit. Turning to Grenville, near to whom he stood, he said that, as to the late ministry, every capital measure they had taken had been entirely wrong. Then looking over to the bench where Conway sat with the lords of the treasury, he proceeded: "As to the present gentlemen, to those at least whom I have in my eye, I have no objection; I have never been made a sacrifice by any of them. Their characters are fair; and I am always glad when men of fair character engage in his majesty's service. Some of them have done me the honour to ask my poor opinion before they would engage. These will do me the justice to own I advised them to engage; but, notwithstanding, I love to be explicit; I cannot give them my confidence; pardon me, gentlemen, (bowing to the ministry,) confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom; youth is the season of credulity. By comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an overruling influence." He then stated his opinions as to American affairs: "It is my opinion," he said, "that this kingdom has no right to levy a tax upon the colonies. At the same time I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legislation, the three estates of the realm are alike concerned; but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to tax is only necessary to close with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the commons alone." When Pitt sat down, Conway rose and emphatically denied the existence of the overruling influence (that, namely, of Lord Bute) at which Pitt had hinted. "I see nothing of it," he said; "I feel nothing of it; I disclaim it for myself, and as far as my discernment can reach, for all the rest of his majesty's ministers." The address was voted without a division, in the terms proposed by ministers.

On the 10th of February, five resolutions were moved by ministers,  
v. 3 A



asserting the full sovereignty of the mother country, and reprobating the resistance which had been offered to the stamp act. Nothing was said as to the repeal of that act.

On the 13th of February, Conway writes: "As to politics I can scarce say what it is in my power to tell you. Our divisions in the two houses respectively you have heard: their consequences are not easily ascertained. His majesty had told Lord Rockingham and the duke of Grafton that he was for the repeal; but he on Tuesday told Lord Strange that he was not so now—that he wished his opinion to be known, and his lordship might declare it. This ran through the house of commons and the town, and has had an odd effect. Our ministerial lives were not thought worth three days' purchase. His majesty has been pleased to explain himself to us; that he always was for the repeal, when contrasted with enforcing the whole act, but not as compared with modification. We told his majesty this distinction was unfortunately not explained to us; and that in consequence we had, as he had allowed Lord Rockingham particularly to do, declared his majesty to be for the repeal; and that on all accounts we were engaged and obliged to push that measure. It was very mortifying to us, and very unhappy, that it now appeared to be against his majesty's sentiments, which put us into an odd predicament, being under a necessity of carrying on a great public measure against his majesty's declared sentiments, and with great numbers of his servants acting against us. He was not displeased he said with our freedom—thought we acted like honest men—had no design of parting us—always foresaw the difficulties which might attend this business—but, that once over, he hoped all things would go smoothly again. You see that this might branch out into very long details, had I time for them; but this is the substance. 'Tis a whimsical situation, and what will be the event I don't know. I think the bill of repeal will probably pass, because our disposition for it is too strong in the house of commons for any thing now to conquer; and the lords, I think, with submission, dare not resist it."

On the 21st of February a committee of the whole house determined that a bill should be brought in for the repeal of the stamp act. On bringing up the report an amendment upon the resolution was rejected by a majority of 240 to 133. Mr Conway, writing to his brother on the 27th, says: "Our act of repeal is read the second time to-day, together with that of right—if they'll permit us; but the determined opposition hitherto given, and promised as we proceed in any stage of this bill, makes it impossible to determine the progress we shall make." In a subsequent letter, dated the 5th of March, he writes: "I don't wonder you are puzzled with our politics: they never were more a riddle. However, on Tuesday the repeal bill passed our house by a majority of 250 to 122, though under the same disadvantages as to the parties engaged against it. Nothing could more strongly mark this than a ridiculous incident which happened that night in the house; for Mr B. Gascoigne—for what reasons he perhaps may know—read a letter in the house which he said was writ to a person at Liverpool. In it was an account of one of our former debates and divisions, which, it said, was carried by a great majority, notwithstanding there were joined in the opposition to it all Lord Bute's friends, the duke of Bedford's, Mr Grenville's, and the tories; and the letter ended by saying that Mr

Pitt must soon be at the head of affairs. You may imagine the effect so strange a circumstance must produce,—the gross impropriety of reading a private letter,—the direct denomination of persons,—and the awkwardness to the parties concerned. However, the novelty of the thing, the curiosity, and the satisfaction of the majority in the house, and the conscious shame in others, were so prevalent, that the absurdity of the fact was lost and forgot: the more, as Mr Pitt, with infinite cleverness, seized the opportunity,—talked of the history of the times,—the supposed conjunction of parties, at least the attempts towards it,—and the conferences that ‘a bird sung’ had been held, alluding to the well-known conversations between the duke of Bedford and Grenville, and my lord Bute, in which he (Pitt) said, ‘if the bird sung true,’ that nobleman, in refusing to enter into any combinations, had done himself honour, and showed himself a friend to his king, and to the true interest of his country, &c. I suppose you know that Lord Bute and his friends have published, that in these conferences the duke of Bedford and George Grenville actually recanted all their former abuse and behaviour, and proposed friendship and alliance; and that his lordship, with great dignity, said, ‘It was pleasing to any man to have justice done him, and that he had no objection to their friendship which they offered; but that, if they meant to go farther, and to propose any kind of political connection, or any factious engagement, he was resolved to have no part in it, &c.’ You may imagine, then, how these explanations embarrassed the Grenville and Bedford party. Mr Grenville showed it to the greatest degree,—spoke in great anger, and called upon Mr Pitt for farther explanation, but gave none himself; and Mr Pitt, who replied in the same strain of temper and humour he had spoke in before, only said coolly, he saw no reason the gentleman had to be angry; and that, having told all he had heard of the story, he did not see how any farther explanation was wanting. The bill was carried up yesterday: the repeal by me, and the bill of right by our chairman, Mr Rose Fuller. To-morrow the lords will take the latter into consideration; the other, I think, probably not till Monday, and I have no doubt of its being carried there. For the rest, our affairs are still critical in the ministerial light. I think, however, I see daylight for some solid settlement; I wish I could say it was clearer. Mr Pitt is not averse to coming in, but sees great difficulties, he says, almost to impracticability.” The repeal bill encountered great opposition in the house of lords, but eventually passed. The dukes of Newcastle and Grafton, and the chancellor, who shortly before had seemed adverse to the measure, with Lords Camden and Shelburne, supported the bill. On the other hand, it was opposed by Viscount Townshend, Lord Mansfield, the duke of Bedford, Lord Lyttleton, and Earl Temple. When the house divided, the numbers were found to be: contents, 105; not contents, 71. The minority recorded on the journals their hostility to the measure in a long protest, which was signed by thirty-three peers. Among the reasons assigned by the noble lords for their dissent were the following: “Because it appears to us, that a most essential branch of that authority, the power of taxation, cannot be equitably or impartially exercised, if it does not extend itself to all the members of the state, in proportion to their respective abilities, but suffers a part to be exempt from a due share of those burdens which the public exigencies



require to be imposed upon the whole: a partiality, directly repugnant to the trust reposed by the people in every legislature, and destructive of that confidence on which all government is founded. Because the ability of our North American colonies to bear, without inconvenience, the proportion laid on them by the stamp act, appears unquestionable. Its estimated produce of sixty thousand pounds per annum, if divided amongst twelve hundred thousand people, being little more than one-half the subjects of the crown in North America, would be only one shilling per head a-year. Because not only the right, but the expediency and necessity, of the supreme legislature's exerting its authority to lay a general tax on the colonies, whenever the wants of the public make it fitting and reasonable that all the provinces should contribute in a proper proportion to the defence of the whole, appear undeniable. Such a general tax could not be regularly imposed by their own separate provincial assemblies. Because the reasons assigned in the public resolutions of the provincial assemblies, in the North American colonies, for their disobeying the stamp act, viz. 'That they are not represented in the parliament of Great Britain,' extends to all other laws of what nature soever, which that parliament has enacted, or shall enact; and may, by the same reasoning, be extended to all persons in this island, who do not actually vote for members of parliament: nor can we help apprehending, that the opinion of some countenance being given to such notions by the legislature itself, in consenting to this bill for the repeal of the stamp act, may greatly promote the contagion of a most dangerous doctrine, destructive to all government, which has spread itself over all our North American colonies, that the obedience of the subject is not due to the laws and legislature of the realm, farther than he, in his private judgment, shall think it conformable to the ideas he has formed of a free constitution. Because we think it no effectual guard against this danger, that the parliament has declared in a bill, that such notions are ill founded; as men will look always more to deeds than words, and may therefore incline to believe that the insurrections in the colonies, excited by those notions, having attained the very point at which they aimed, without any previous submission on their part, the legislature has, in fact, submitted to them, and has only more grievously injured its own dignity and authority by verbally asserting that right which it substantially yields up to their opposition; and this at a time when the strength of our colonies, as well as their desire of a total independence on the legislature and government of their mother country, may be greatly augmented; and when the circumstances and dispositions of the other powers of Europe may render the contest far more dangerous and formidable to this kingdom."

The formidable dangers and embarrassments by which Lord Rockingham and his colleagues were surrounded on all sides, have been forcibly sketched by Mr Burke in his great speech in 1774: "The noble lord who then conducted affairs, and his worthy colleagues, whilst they trembled at the prospect of such distresses as you have since brought upon yourselves, were not afraid steadily to look in the face that glaring and dazzling influence at which the eyes of eagles have blenched. He looked in the face of one of the ablest—and, let me say, not the most scrupulous—oppositions, that perhaps ever was in this house; and withstood it, unaided by even one of the usual supports of

administration. He did this when he repealed the stamp act. He looked in the face of a person he had long respected and regarded, and whose aid was then particularly wanting: I mean Lord Chatham. He did this when he passed the declaratory act."—"I confess, when I look back to that time, I consider him as placed in one of the most trying situations in which, perhaps, any man ever stood. In the house of peers there were very few of the ministry, out of the noble lord's own particular connexion—except Lord Egmont, who acted, as far as I could discern, an honourable and manly part—that did not look to some other future arrangement, which warped his politics. There were in both houses new and menacing appearances, that might very naturally drive any other than a most resolute minister from his measure or from his station. The household-troops openly revolted. The allies of the ministry—those, I mean, who supported some of their measures, but refused responsibility for any—endeavoured to undermine their credit, and to take ground that must be fatal to the success of the very cause which they would be thought to countenance. The question of the repeal was brought on by ministry, in the committee of this house, in the very instant when it was known that more than one court-negotiation was carrying on with the heads of the opposition. Every thing, upon every side, was full of traps and mines. Earth below shook; heaven above menaced; all the elements of ministerial safety were dissolved. It was in the midst of this chaos of plots and counterplots,—it was in the midst of this complicated warfare against public opposition and private treachery, that the firmness of that noble person was put to the proof. He never stirred from his ground—no, not an inch; he remained fixed and determined in principle, in measures, and in conduct; he practised no managements; he secured no retreat; he sought no apology."

It appears that so early as the end of February an attempt to open a negotiation with Pitt had been made by Lord Rockingham himself. On the 29th of April, Mr Conway writes: "We are in a most embarrassed situation here, and all business either moves slowly, or stands still. While I was ill Mr Pitt took a fit of rest, because he was not applied to nor treated with; he came down one day, picked a German quarrel, and fell upon the ministry pretty roughly; since that, he has continued much in the same strain, though still professing not to act hostilely, and speaking with particular regard of the duke of Grafton and myself. He has not, however, done any thing directly hostile, except on the militia affair; but Lord Shelburne's brother voted against Mr Dowdeswell on the tax, last day. Barré was now absent; but Beckford, Cooke, &c., voted for it. I went with the duke of Grafton, last night, to Mr Pitt, as I have been absent all this time, and not yet at the house, to see if there was a possible means yet of doing anything with him, and to express my opinion and inclinations, and my vexation for what had happened during my illness, when he thought himself slighted and neglected. He was exceedingly civil, and I think, too, as much disposed to come in; but then the insuperable bar of his going immediately to the king remains; he makes it a *sine qua non*; and his majesty is strongly resolved against it. So there, I think, it ends. The duke of Grafton on this has taken his absolute resolution to resign; and it seems doubtful for the rest whether we shall or can go on. Lord Bute's



people have still been shy, and none of them have given any support; which if it does not alter, it is ridiculous to continue; it must immediately be resolved."

On the 1st of August, 1766, the administration of Lord Rockingham was declared to be at an end. A summary of its services, shortly after drawn up by Mr Burke, and published under the title of 'A Short Account of a Short Administration,' thus concludes: "The removal of that administration from power is not to them premature, since they were in office long enough to accomplish many plans of public utility, and by their perseverance and resolution rendered the way smooth and easy to their successors; having left their king and their country in a much better situation than they found them. By the temper they manifest, they seem to have no other wish than that their successors may do the public as real and as faithful service as they have done."

During North's administration the marquess of Rockingham was regarded as the head of the opposition in the house of lords; but he did not take any violent part in the struggles of party.

In March, 1782, when the efforts of Fox had finally succeeded in overturning Lord North's administration, the marquess of Rockingham again took office as premier. Much was anticipated from his political integrity and liberal sentiments; but the hopes of the nation were disappointed by his sudden death on the 1st of July, which broke up the administration.

### Sir Hyde Parker.

BORN A. D. 1711.—DIED A. D. 1782.

THIS gallant officer entered the navy about the year 1744. In 1748 he was appointed to the *Lively* frigate, whence he was promoted to the *Squirrel*. In 1760 he was sent, in the *Norfolk*, to the East Indies. In 1762 he had the good fortune, while cruising in the *Argo*, to capture the *Santissima Trinidad*, a Spanish frigate, with a cargo worth nearly £600,000. In 1778 he was made rear, and subsequently vice-admiral of the blue. While in charge of a convoy, on the 5th of August, 1779, he fell in with a Dutch squadron off the Dogger bank. "I was happy to find," he observes, in his despatches, "that I had the wind of them; as the great number of their large frigates might otherwise have endangered my convoy. Having separated the men-of-war from the merchant-ships, and made a signal to the last to keep their wind, I bore away with a general signal to chase. The enemy formed their line, consisting of eight two-decked ships, on the starboard tack:—ours, including the *Dolphin*, consisting of seven. Not a gun was fired on either side, until within the distance of half musket-shot. The *Fortitude* then being abreast of the Dutch admiral, the action began, and continued, with an unceasing fire, for three hours and forty minutes. By this time our ships were unmanageable. I made an effort to form the line, in order to renew the action, but found it impracticable. The *Bienfaisant* had lost her main-top-mast, and the *Buffalo* her fore-yard; the rest of the ships were not less shattered in their masts, rigging, and sails. The enemy appeared to be in as bad a condition. Both squadrons lay to,

a considerable time, near to each other, when the Dutch, with their convoy, bore away for the Texel. We were not in a condition to follow them." "It was well known," remarks Charnock, in his observations on this action, "that several British line-of-battle, or at least of two decks, were then lying at the Nore, in the Downs, at Harwich, and other places contiguous to the scene of encounter, which, it is said, might have joined the admiral previous to the action; thereby insuring the destruction, or capture, of the whole Dutch force, if administration had acted with proper energy, and given timely orders for the different commanders to have effected such a junction. This circumstance, violently insisted upon by one party, and as peremptorily denied by the other, created no small degree of controversy. Certain it is, the admiral considered himself neglected and ill-treated."

In 1782, by the decease of his brother, the Rev. Sir Peter Parker, he became a baronet. The same year he sailed in the *Juno* for the East India station, of which he had been appointed to the chief command; but the vessel perished or blew up at sea, as no tidings were ever received of her, or any of the crew, after leaving the Cape.

## Dunning, Lord Ashburton.

BORN A. D. 1731.—DIED A. D. 1783.

JOHN DUNNING was born at Ashburton in Devonshire, on the 18th of October, 1731. Being destined by his father (an attorney) for the profession of the law, he received a liberal education. It was the original intention of his father to settle him in his own neighbourhood, where they could assist each other in their different departments; but young Dunning felt the force of his abilities before that event took place, and wrote to his father, if he would allow him but one hundred pounds per year for some time, he was in hopes of pushing his fortune with much more success in London than the country. The father at first was much averse to this experiment; he at last consented, and the event justified the grounds of his son's application. He was three years at the bar before he received one hundred guineas; but the fourth year he received nearly one thousand pounds.

Among his earliest friends were Mr Kenyon, afterwards Lord Kenyon, and the celebrated Horne Tooke. His argument against general warrants in the case of Wilkes, first brought him into general notice, and he was soon after elected recorder of Bristol. In 1768 he was appointed solicitor-general, and through the influence of Lord Shelburne, returned as member of parliament for Calne. In the debate of the 9th January, 1770, on the address of thanks, Mr Dunning spoke and voted with the minority; and he supported "the address, remonstrance, and petition" of the city of London to the king on the conduct of ministers, in a speech which is reported to have been one of the finest pieces of argument and eloquence ever heard in the house.<sup>1</sup> For having thus, while solicitor-general to his majesty, defended in parliament, on the soundest principles of law and of the constitution, the right of the sub-

<sup>1</sup> Roscoe.



ject to petition and remonstrate, the city presented to him the freedom of their corporation in a gold box. He supported Grenville's bill for regulating the proceedings of the house in cases of controverted elections; and in the debate on Sergeant Glynn's motion argued against Lord Mansfield's doctrine as to libels. In the debate which took place on the 25th of March, 1771, upon the motion for committing the lord-mayor and Alderman Oliver to the Tower for their conduct towards the sergeant-at-arms of the house, Mr Dunning argued keenly against the motion, and took an opportunity of referring to the imperfect state of the representation. In all the debates on American affairs, Mr Dunning was the strenuous opposer of coercive measures on the part of the mother country; and in the debate of the 2d of February, 1775, he maintained that the agitation in America was not to be characterised as a rebellion, but was "created by the wisdom of those who are anxious to establish despotism, and whose views are manifestly directed to reduce America to the most abject state of servility, as a prelude to the realizing the same wicked system in the mother country." In speaking of the conduct of government towards America, which he condemned throughout, he observed, "We are now come to that fatal dilemma,—Resist, and we will cut your throats; submit, and we will tax you:—such is the reward of obedience." In 1778 Mr Dunning supported Sir George Saville's Roman Catholic relief bill. In 1780 he moved in a committee of the house, in a speech which may be regarded as the greatest of his parliamentary efforts, "that it is the opinion of this committee that it is necessary to declare that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." In the session of 1780–81, the legality of the various associations and societies which had been formed for political purposes, was questioned in parliament, and was maintained with much vigour and eloquence by Mr Dunning. On the accession of the Rockingham administration, Lord Shelburne solicited and obtained a peerage for his friend Mr Dunning, who took his seat accordingly in the upper house with the title of LORD ASHBURTON. In 1780 his lordship married Elizabeth, daughter of John Baring, Esq. of Larkbear; but his health was already in a declining state; and in the month of August, 1783, he departed this life.

Sir Nathaniel Wraxall thus sketches the personal appearance of Lord Ashburton:—"Never perhaps did nature inclose a more illuminated mind in a body of meaner and more abject appearance. It is difficult to do justice to the peculiar species of ugliness which characterised his person and figure, though he did not labour under any absolute deformity of shape or limb; a degree of infirmity, and almost of debility or decay in his organs, augmented the effect of his other bodily misfortunes; even his voice was so husky and choked with phlegm, that it refused utterance to the sentiments which were dictated by his superior intelligence." Of his style of speaking, Sir William Jones says that "it consisted of all the turns, oppositions, and figures, which the old rhetoricians taught, and which Cicero frequently practised. Many at the bar and on the bench thought this a vitiated style; but though dissatisfied as critics, yet, to the confusion of all criticism, they were transported as hearers. That faculty, however, in which no mortal ever surpassed him, and which all found irresistible, was his wit."

Wraxall has given a different opinion on this point, asserting that "Dunning neither delighted nor entertained his hearers; but he subdued them by his powers of argumentative ratiocination which have rarely been exceeded."

Though when in the meridian of his fame, this celebrated lawyer was as little chargeable with the *mauvaise honte* as most of his profession, yet he originally laboured under that degree of diffidence which is often attendant on great abilities. Soon after being called to the bar, he had to speak in an important case before the house of commons. It being his first appearance before so formidable an auditory, he prepared himself with considerable care. But in the hour of trial his presence of mind failed him. He opened in a low tremulous voice, and scarcely had finished his first sentence when, looking to the brief which he held in his hand to refresh his memory, apprehension spread such a mist before his eyes, that he conceived it to be not his brief, but a sheet of white paper which he had caught up in the hurry of leaving his chambers; hoping he might be deceived, he turned it over and over, rubbed his eyes, and looked again; but all in vain! he still saw nothing, but the roll of white paper, and under this impression was obliged to retire from the bar half dead with fear and apprehension. To many a young man this would be a final defeat, and considered as a good excuse both by himself and friends to look to some other profession; but Dunning well knew the state of the case;—that it was not ignorance, but the dread of not appearing answerable to his own wishes, which custom and experience would soon remedy; he therefore progressively returned to the charge, and ultimately crowded as much fame and honourable advancement into the compass of a life not long, as the most ambitious mind could reasonably expect. In the full flush of his fame he sometimes fell into the contrary extreme of diffidence; and while cross-examining a witness, would indulge in remarks much below his learning, taste, and station. But he did not always escape unhurt in these sallies. One of the poets of that day rallied him on this unmanly practice. He got another rub from his friend Counsellor Lee—better known by the name of honest Jack Lee—on this account. He was telling Lee that he had that morning purchased some manors in Devonshire. "I wish," said the other, "you could bring them (manners) to Westminster-hall." His acquaintance with Lee began early. Lee was a good, sound, constitutional lawyer; had a manner of hitting his point well, and speaking with a bluntness that appeared very much the natural effect of self-conviction. Dunning—in the language of Lord Mansfield—rather 'noted his understanding' by this intimacy, and Lee derived consequence and practice from it.

## George, Viscount Sackville.

BORN A. D. 1716.—DIED A. D. 1785.

THIS nobleman, of somewhat unfortunate reputation in his day, was the third son of Lionel, first duke of Dorset, by Elizabeth, daughter of General Colyear. He was born on the 26th of January, 1716, and named after his godfather, George I. The early part of his education



was received at Westminster school; on the appointment of his father to the viceroyalty of Ireland, he was sent to the university of Dublin, where he acquired some literary honours.

In 1737 he entered the army, and in 1740 was appointed lieutenant-colonel of General Philip Bragge's regiment of foot, the 28th. He was present at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, and signalized himself in both engagements. He accompanied the duke of Cumberland in his Scottish campaign, and afterwards served abroad with his royal highness in the campaigns of 1747 and 1748. On the 1st of November, 1749, he was promoted to the colonelcy of the twelfth regiment of dragoons; and, in the following January, obtained the command of the king's horse-carbineers in Ireland, of which kingdom he was appointed secretary in 1751. He became a major-general in 1755; colonel of the second regiment of dragoon-guards, and lieutenant-general of the ordnance in 1757, and soon afterwards lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, and one of the members of the privy-council. For some time he commanded a division of the army encamped near Chatham. While there, on being solicited to permit Whitfield to address the soldiers, he replied: "Tell the gentleman from me, that he may preach any thing he pleases to them, that is not against the articles of war."

In the beginning of June, 1758, another expedition against the court of France was determined on, and the command intrusted to the duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville. The armament landed at St Maloe's, and did some damage to the enemy. On the death of the duke in Germany next year, Lord George succeeded him in the command of the British forces, and was placed at the head of the cavalry in the battle of Minden. During the action, the enemy having been thrown into disorder by the allied infantry, Prince Ferdinand, the commander-in-chief, sent orders for Lord George to advance; but either his instructions were not sufficiently precise, or Lord George misunderstood them; and the critical moment was allowed to pass away without the cavalry coming in for their share in the action. In the general orders issued by the commander-in-chief, the following day, Lord George was deeply censured by implication in the following passage:—"His serene highness further orders it to be declared to lieutenant-general, the marquess of Granby, that he is persuaded, that if he had had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his presence would have greatly contributed to have made the decision of that day more complete and more brilliant. In short, his serene highness orders, that those of his suite whose behaviour he most admired be named, as the duke of Richmond, Colonel Fitzroy, Captain Ligonier, Colonel Watson, Captain Wilson, aid-de-camp to Major-general Waldegrave, Adjutants General Erstoff, Bulow, Durendole, the Count Tobe and Malerti; his highness having much reason to be satisfied with their conduct. And his serene highness desires and orders the generals of the army, that upon all occasions when orders are brought to them by his aids-de-camp, that they may be obeyed punctually and without delay."

Lord George immediately returned to England; but within three days after his arrival, was ignominiously dismissed from all his employments. His request, however, to be tried by a court-martial was

granted. The court assembled on the 29th of February, 1760; and on the 3d of April following, pronounced the following sentence:—“The court, upon due consideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion, that Lord George Sackville is guilty of having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, whom he was by his commission and instructions directed to obey, as commander-in-chief, according to the rules of war: and it is the farther opinion of this court, that the said Lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever. This sentence was confirmed by the king, who, moreover, signified his pleasure that it should be given out in public orders, not only in Britain but in America, and every quarter of the globe where any English troops happened to be, ‘that officers being convinced that neither high birth, nor great employments, could shelter offences of such a nature; and that, seeing they were subject to censures much worse than death, to a man who had a sense of honour, they might avoid the fatal consequences arising from disobedience of orders.’ To complete the disgrace, his majesty in council called for the council-book, and ordered the name of Lord George Sackville to be struck out of the list of privy-counsellors.”

It is generally allowed now, that Lord George met with a hard measure of justice at the hands of his brother-officers on this occasion. One of the first acts of George III., after his accession to the crown, was to recall Lord George to court.<sup>1</sup> In 1761 he was returned to parliament for Hythe in Kent. In 1770, on his succeeding to the greater part of Lady Elizabeth Germaine’s property, he took the name of Germaine in accordance with the terms of his aunt’s devise. In 1775 he was appointed secretary of state for the colonies; and in this capacity he strenuously supported the American war, and rendered himself highly unpopular. On the dissolution of the ministration of which he was a minister, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Viscount Sackville. The marquess of Carmarthen opposed his reception into the house, and moved that it was derogatory to the honour of the house, that any person, labouring under the heavy censure of a court-martial, should be recommended by the crown as a proper person to sit in that house. The motion was evaded by the question of adjournment; but Lord George Germaine having actually taken his seat in the house under the title of Lord Viscount Sackville, the marquess of Carmarthen renewed his attack, and urged, “that the house of peers being a court of honour, it behoved them to preserve that honour uncontaminated, and to mark in the most forcible manner their disapprobation of the introduction of a person into that assembly who was stigmatized in the orderly books of every regiment in the service.” Lord Abingdon, who seconded the motion, styled the admission of Lord George Germaine to a peerage an insufferable indignity to that house, and an outrageous insult to the public. What, said his lordship, has that person done to merit honours superior to his fellow-citizens? His only claim to promotion was, that he had undone his country by executing the plan of that accursed invisible, though efficient cabinet, from whom as he received his orders, so he had obtained his reward. Lord Sackville,

<sup>1</sup> See North Britain, No. 45.



in his own vindication, denied the justice of the sentence passed upon him, and affirmed "that he considered his restoration to the council-board at a very early period of the present reign, as amounting to a virtual repeal of that iniquitous verdict." The duke of Richmond strongly defended the motion, and said "that he himself was present at the battle of Minden, and was summoned on the trial of Lord George Germaine; and had his deposition been called for, he could have proved that the time lost when the noble viscount delayed to advance, under pretence of receiving contradictory orders, was not less than one hour and a half; that the cavalry were a mile and a quarter only from the scene of action; and it was certainly in his lordship's power, therefore, to have rendered the victory, important as it was, far more brilliant and decisive; and he had little reason to complain of the severity of the sentence passed upon him." Lord Southampton also, who, as aid-de-camp to Prince Ferdinand on that memorable day, delivered the message of his serene highness to his lordship, vindicated the equity of the sentence. On the division, nevertheless, it was rejected by a majority of ninety-three to twenty-eight voices; but to the inexpressible chagrin of Lord Sackville, a protest was entered on the journals of the house, declaring his promotion to be "an insult on the memory of the late sovereign, and highly derogatory to the dignity of that house."

Sackville was by no means a man of high ability, and appears to have owed his influence with George III. chiefly to the zeal with which he supported that most impolitic of measures, the contest with the American colonies. The charge of cowardice has, we think, never been made good against him; indeed the evidence inclines rather to the other side, and it would be more easy to establish an accusation of rashness against him; but he does not appear to have possessed much military talent. He has been named amongst the supposed authors of Junius; but there is little in his known style of composition which favours this supposition. The productions of Junius were beautifully polished; but Sackville's style, according to his apologist, Wraxall, who describes him as passing little time either at his desk or in his closet, was negligent and unstudied. "I should be proud," said he, on one occasion, to a friend, "to be capable of writing as Junius has done; but there are many passages in his letters I should be very sorry to have written."

The following sketches of his lordship's political character appeared in 1777:—"This noble lord's political character lies within a narrow compass, having heard very little of him in 'this line,' (to borrow a favourite expression of his friend Howe,) but that he enjoyed a place of no responsibility under the successive administrations of the marquess of Rockingham, Lord Chatham, and the duke of Grafton. About three years since—though unconnected with any particular set of men, and seemingly in opposition to the court—he suddenly emerged out of his political obscurity, and took a very warm, conspicuous, and decided part in parliament, relative to the inquiry into the state and condition of the affairs of the East India company. He was a buttress to the minister on that trying occasion, and helped him to surmount the difficulties thrown in his way with a plausibility and address well suited to his situation, and perfectly correspondent—as the events which have since happened have fully proved—to his future views of ambition and

active life. It was a very favourable, nay, lucky circumstance for the noble lord<sup>2</sup> who took the lead in that business, and who, in the progress of it, found himself powerfully opposed in the cabinet, that he was supported in parliament by three persons supposed to be warm in opposition, namely, the noble lord who is the subject of the present observations, Sir William Meredith, and Mr Cornwall. It gave a complexion to the measure, which nothing but time and a change of situation could develope or make intelligible.

“ The era soon approached which was to lay the immediate foundation for bringing his lordship into a much more elevated and consequential point of view than he had hitherto appeared. Towards the close of the session now adverted to, the minister, as a counterbalance to the ravages he had committed on the East India company, gave them leave, by a bill expressly passed for that purpose, to export their teas to North America. This consequently drew the old dispute, subsisting since 1768, relative to the duty laid on that commodity, into question. What happened on that occasion is too recent in every person's memory to require a recapitulation. The tea, in whatever port it arrived, was either sent back unopened, or was destroyed. The people of Boston led the way; and as the most violent and outrageous, incurred the resentment of the court and administration. Unwilling, however, to push matters to extremity, or fearful, more probably, to raise a storm in which they might be shipwrecked, the session of 1774 commenced, and was held for some weeks without any particular notice being taken of the state of affairs in America. A spirit of temporizing and procrastination, such as had for the four preceding years prevailed, seemed still to pervade the king's servants. A gentleman,<sup>3</sup> however, strong in opposition, broke this ministerial repose. He roused the ministers from those deceitful, unwholesome slumbers, in which they had so long remained, so much to their own disgrace, and the dishonour of the nation. He gave notice that on a particular day he would move for a committee of the whole house to inquire into the American affairs. On that day the minister's mouth was opened; he found himself pressed, and made an act of duty what merely proceeded from necessity. It was not till the 9th of March, 1774, that Lord North moved for a committee; nor was it till that day, that, for the first time, Lord George Germaine openly declared his sentiments upon the supremacy of the British legislature over all and every of the dominions and dependencies of the British crown. The first fruit of the resolutions come to in the committee, and which were expressly declarative of that right in the most unlimited and unconditional terms, was the Boston port bill. His lordship supported and defended this bill throughout; but as he only looked upon it to be a mere law of punishment, no further effectual than as it might be supposed to operate on the inhabitants, he suggested a bill of protection to those who were to be employed in carrying the provisions of the act into execution. This was the rise of the bill for the trial of persons charged with offences in North America, in any other province, or for bringing them over to England. The law had a double view. It was designed to protect the military, when called out to the aid of the civil power, from the

<sup>2</sup> Lord North.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Jennings.



prejudiced verdict of a provincial jury, as well as to bring offenders in that country to justice, either in some other colony or in Great Britain. The outline of this bill was recommended by his lordship. It was adopted with gratitude, and pursued with steadiness by the minister, till it received the royal assent. This, and the other which followed it—that for altering the charter of Massachusetts bay—were both of his lordship's hand, at least the former; and it is now only in the womb of time to decide, whether they were the wisest or the most pernicious that ever received the sanction of a British parliament.

“ This nobleman's political character presents little more worthy of public notice, till his entrance into office last winter, except his voting with the minister upon a declared principle that the British parliament have a clear, decisive, constitutional right to bind the American colonies in all cases whatsoever; and in pursuance of that right, to accept of no concessional compromise,—to accede to no conciliatory proposition, short of unconditional submission. As his lordship has acted openly, so he has adhered to his declarations with all possible steadiness. He has given a tone of vigour in deliberation, and alacrity in execution, unknown in the cabinet or in office before his appointment; and be the event of the present momentous struggle what it may, truth authorizes us to acknowledge, that as far as people at a distance may with confidence pronounce, he is one of the few who can be selected from any party, that has made his official conduct exactly correspond with his parliamentary declarations, hitherto at least, without any mixture of tergiversation or alloy.

“ His lordship's abilities as a speaker are universally confessed. If he be not so diffusive or well-informed as Mr Burke, nor so subtle, persuasive, or confident as Mr Thurlow, he has very singular advantages over either of them. He always confines himself to the subject of debate. He never fails to keep some point on which the weight of it turns steadily in view. He approaches with a moderate but steady step; and is generally sure to carry home conviction to the understandings as well as to the hearts of his hearers. His manner is peculiar; his style is nervous and manly; his language elegance itself; and his observations pointed, sententious, and convincing. He never affects to say shining or witty things, nor lays the least foundation for regret in his auditors, but when he sits down. On the other hand, there is a certain failure in his voice and labour in his delivery that is not very pleasing; his cadences are uniform, and far from being harmonious. His lordship does not much abound in that kind of matter which may be supposed even to lie directly in his way; he deals mostly in propositions controverted by his antagonists, and argues from them as principles already proved or assented to. His speeches are rather confirmative than persuasive; better calculated to keep his friends with him, than to bring proselytes over to his opinions. In short, his lordship is deficient in illustration, variety, and detail; or, if within his reach, neglects to use them; by which means the judicious and correct arrangement of his matter is hardly sufficient to compensate for his seeming obscurity and sterility of invention.”

## Jonas Hanway.

BORN A. D. 1712.—DIED A. D. 1786.

JONAS HANWAY was born at Portsmouth, on the 12th of August, 1712. His father, Mr Thomas Hanway, was for some years store-keeper in the dockyard at Portsmouth. He was deprived of his life by an accident, and left his widow with four children. Young Jonas was put to school by his mother in London, where he learned writing and accounts, and made some proficiency in Latin. At the age of seventeen he went over to Lisbon, where he arrived in June, 1729, and was bound apprentice to a merchant in that city.

His early life was marked with that discreet attention to business, and love of neatness and regularity, which distinguished his future character. On the expiration of his apprenticeship, he entered into business at Lisbon as a merchant or factor; but did not remain there long before he returned to London. In February, 1748, he accepted a partnership in the house of Mr Dingley, a merchant at Petersburg; and embarking on the river Thames in the April following, he arrived at Petersburg the 10th of June. There he first became acquainted with the Caspian trade, then in its infancy, and formed an ardent desire to see Persia, a country so renowned for extraordinary events in ancient and modern times. This he was enabled to do in consequence of his being appointed agent to the British factory at Petersburg, by whom he was sent to Persia, with the view of opening a trade through Russia into Persia. The limits of this memoir will not permit us to give an account of his adventures in Persia, of which a copious relation is given in his travels, published by himself. From Persia he returned to Russia, and passed through Germany and Holland, and arrived in England in October, 1750, after an absence of nearly eight years. The rest of his life, with the exception of two short intervals, was passed in England, as a private gentleman, employing his time, and the very moderate fortune of which he was possessed, in a continued course of benevolent actions, pursued with extraordinary and unremitting assiduity.

In 1753, he published, in four volumes 4to, ‘An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea, with a Journal of Travels from England through Russia into Persia, and back through Russia, Germany, and Holland. To which are added, the Revolutions of Persia during the present century, with the particular history of the great Usurper, Nadir Kouli.’ This work was extremely well-received by the public, and passed through four editions.

Mr Hanway was the original proposer of the Marine society, and by the most judicious and unceasing attention to its interest, and the management of its finances, deserved the title of its guardian. In 1757, he published a ‘Journey from Portsmouth to Kingston,’ in which he animadverted on what he considered the pernicious custom of tea-drinking amongst the lower classes of the people. This publication involved him in a short controversy with Dr Johnson. In 1758, he became governor of the Foundling hospital, and was very active and



useful in the formation of that institution. He was also extremely solicitous to promote schemes for the preservation of infant parish poor; and it was by his exertions, and at his expense, that the act 7<sup>o</sup> Geo. III. c. 39. was procured. In 1762, he published 'Eight Letters to the duke of Newcastle' on the custom of giving vails to servants. By his efforts, and that of others, this practice was at length generally discontinued.

Mr Hanway was a great promoter of the Magdalen hospital; he also set on foot the Maritime school; and engaged in various other benevolent designs. Indeed, the many useful and public-spirited plans in which he engaged for the welfare of his fellow-creatures, had now rendered his character most respectably popular. His disinterestedness, and the sincerity of his intentions, were conspicuous to all. His name appeared to every proposal for the benefit of mankind, and brought with it more than his own benefaction, for people were assured by the appearance of his name, that their bounty would be at least faithfully and carefully expended.

Five citizens of London waited on Lord Bute, the then minister, in a body, and in their own names, and the names of their fellow-citizens, requested that some notice might be taken of him. In obedience to this request, on the 17th of July, 1762, he was appointed, by patent, one of the commissioners for victualling the navy. With the increase of income, which this appointment produced, he thought he might extend his acquaintance, and took a house in Red Lion square, the principal rooms of which he furnished, and decorated with paintings and emblematical devices in a style peculiar to himself. "I found," he was used to say, when speaking of these ornaments, "that my countrymen and women were not *au fait* in the art of conversation, and that instead of recurring to their cards, when the discourse began to flag, the minutes between the time of assembling, and the placing the card-tables, are spent in an irksome suspense; for conversation has no charms when the mind is not engaged in it. To relieve this vacuum in social intercourse, and prevent cards from engrossing the whole of my visitors' minds, I have presented them with objects the most attractive that I could imagine, and such as cannot easily be examined without exciting amusing and instructive discourse—and when that fails, there are the cards."

Mr Hanway continued till towards the close of his life to employ his time in official business, and in supporting and promoting the charitable institutions which he had founded or interested himself in; but in the summer of 1786, his health declined so visibly, that he thought it necessary to take relaxation. He had long felt the approach of a disorder in the bladder which terminated in strangury, which, on the 5th of September, 1786, put a period to a life spent almost entirely in the service of his fellow-creatures.

It was truly said of this good man, that nothing in his life became him better than his dying. During the progress of a tedious, and sometimes painful illness, he never once expressed the least impatience; but saw the approach of his dissolution without regret. When he grew so weak as to be confined to his bed, he requested his physicians to speak frankly and without reserve of his disorder; and when convinced he could not recover, he sent and paid all his tradesmen, took

leave of his most intimate friends, dictated some letters to absent acquaintances, had the sacrament administered to him, and discoursed with the most cheerful composure of his affairs.

The following character of this excellent man has been given by his biographer, Mr Pugh, who resided in his house many years, and had the best means of obtaining information respecting him: "Mr Hanway in his person was of the middle size, of a thin spare habit, but well-shaped; his limbs were fashioned with the nicest symmetry. In the latter years of his life he stooped very much, and when he walked, found it conduce to his ease to let his head incline to one side. When he went first to Russia at the age of thirty, his face was full and comely, and his person altogether such as obtained for him the appellation of the 'handsome Englishman.' His features were small, but without the insignificance which commonly attends small features. His countenance was interesting, sensible, and calculated to inspire reverence. His blue eyes never had been brilliant; but they expressed the utmost humanity and benevolence; and when he spoke, the animation of his countenance and the tone of his voice were such as seemed to carry conviction with them to the mind of a stranger. His mind was the most active that it is possible to conceive, always on the wing, and never appearing to be weary. To sit still and endeavour to give rest to the thought was a luxury to which he was a perfect stranger: he dreaded nothing so much as inactivity, and that modern disorder which the French—who feel it not so much as ourselves—distinguish by the name of *ennui*. In his natural disposition he was cheerful but serene. He enjoyed his own joke, and applauded the wit of another; but never descended from a certain dignity which he thought indispensably necessary. His experience furnished him with some anecdote or adventure, suitable to every turn the discourse could take, and he was always willing to communicate it. If the mirth degenerated into boisterous laughter, he took his leave: 'My companions,' he would say, 'were too merry to be happy, or to let me be happy, so I left them.' He spoke better in public than was to be expected of one who wrote so much, and pointed to his subject."

### Lord Viscount Keppel.

BORN A. D. 1725.—DIED A. D. 1786.

THIS nobleman was the second son of William, second earl of Albemarle, and the Lady Anne Lenox, daughter of Charles Lenox, first duke of Richmond. He was born on the 2d of April, 1725, and was sent at a very early age to sea, under Commodore Anson, when that officer was ordered to the South seas. Mr Keppel was, on the capture of the *Esmeralda* galleon, promoted to the rank of lieutenant; and almost immediately after his return to England, in the month of September, 1744, was made commander of a sloop of war. In the month of December following he was advanced to be captain of the *Sapphire* frigate. He retained this command two years; and, being constantly employed as a cruiser, his diligence and activity were rewarded with a considerable number of important prizes. In 1746 he became captain



of the Maidstone, of fifty guns, in which vessel he had the misfortune to be wrecked off the coast of France, in consequence of running too near the shore in pursuit of a French privateer. He was next appointed to the *Anson*, of sixty-four guns; and, after having been employed for some time in the channel, was despatched, in 1749, to the Mediterranean, where, about the end of the year 1751, he entered into a treaty of peace with the states of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis. At an audience which he had obtained of the dey of Algiers, for the purpose of demanding the restoration of some vessels which had been taken by the pirates, his deportment was so spirited, that the dey exclaimed, "I wonder at the English king's insolence, in sending me such a foolish, beardless boy!" "Had my master," replied Keppel, "supposed wisdom to be measured by the length of the beard, he would have sent you a he-goat." This answer so enraged the dey, that he ordered his mutes to attend with the bow-string. Keppel, however, displayed no symptom of alarm, but coolly observed—pointing through a window to the English ships riding at anchor in the bay, as he spoke—"If it be your pleasure to put me to death, there are Englishmen enough in that fleet to make me a glorious funeral pile!" The dey, it is added, felt the truth of this remark, and consented to grant the restitution which Keppel had demanded. In 1754 he hoisted his broad pendant on board the *Centurion*, as commanding officer of the ships of war sent to North America for the purpose of protecting a fleet of transports, having on board General Braddock with a considerable body of regular troops. That unfortunate general was loud in his praises of Mr Keppel's conduct, and most gratefully acknowledged the assistance he received from him on all occasions when his aid was necessary.

After the defeat of Braddock the commodore returned to Europe, and was appointed to the *Swiftsure*, from which ship he removed into the *Torbay*. In the ship last-mentioned he continued five years, always actively employed, but without having any opportunity of particularly distinguishing himself, till the year 1758, when he was appointed commander-in-chief of the expedition sent against the French settlement at Goree on the coast of Africa. On his return from this service, in the ensuing spring, he struck his broad pendant, and continued to serve for some time in the fleet commanded by Sir Edward Hawke. In the month of February he was appointed colonel of the Plymouth division of marines. On the 22d of October, 1762, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue squadron. In the month of October, 1770, he was appointed to command a squadron ordered to be fitted out with the utmost expedition, in consequence of an apprehended rupture with Spain. The dispute was, however, amicably adjusted, and the armament ordered to be dismantled without having ever put to sea.

At the commencement of the year 1778, it being foreseen that a rupture with France was become inevitable, Mr Keppel was promoted to be admiral of the blue squadron, and was appointed commander-in-chief of the fleet intended, in the actual event of a war, for home or channel service. Having hoisted his flag, in the month of March, on board the *Prince George*, of ninety guns, from which he afterwards removed it on board the *Victory*, he sailed from St Helen's on the 8th of June, at the head of a fleet consisting of twenty-one ships of two and

three decks, three frigates, and as many smaller vessels. On the 10th of July they discovered the fleet of the enemy. Several days were spent, according to the practice of French naval tactics at that time, in manœuvring; but at length the whole of their fleet was brought to a general action on the 27th of July. This encounter, when compared with others bearing the same denomination, namely, that of a general action between two powerful fleets, certainly deserved no more dignified appellation than that of an indecisive skirmish. Mr Keppel returned to port, for the purpose of refitting those ships of the fleet which had received any material damage, and sailed from Plymouth on the 23d of August to join the divisions of Sir Robert Harland and Sir Hugh Palliser, which had put to sea on the preceding day. Nothing, however, sufficiently material to merit notice took place during the remainder of the naval campaign, which was finally closed by the return of Mr Keppel on the 28th of October. The dissatisfaction occasioned by the indecisive action in the month of July, though smothered for a considerable time, now began to manifest itself. The friends of Keppel cast the whole blame of the miscarriage on Sir Hugh Palliser, and it could not be expected that the latter, with his party, would endure the obloquy patiently. Invective begot recrimination, and the houses of parliament rang with the clamours of the different parties. Sir Hugh Palliser at length preferred a specific charge against Mr Keppel at the admiralty board, and demanded a court-martial, which, notwithstanding moderate men unanimously conceived it improper and impolitic, should be instituted after so long an interval, and a memorial, signed by several of those who had been, and were then considered among the leading and most distinguished characters in the British navy, was presented to his majesty, beseeching him to stop all further proceedings, was, nevertheless, commanded to be prosecuted in the regular manner. An order was accordingly issued to Sir Thomas Pye, admiral of the white, to hold a court-martial for the trial of Mr Keppel, on the 7th of January: it consequently met on that day on board the *Britannia*. Palliser charged Keppel with having neglected to arrange his ships in order of battle, so that a general engagement could not have been brought on; with having neglected to tack and double upon the French, with the van and centre divisions of the English fleet, after these had passed the enemy's rear; thus leaving the vice-admiral of the blue exposed to be cut off; with having given an opportunity to the enemy to rally unmolested, and stand after the British fleet,—thus giving the French admiral a pretence to claim the victory; and, lastly, with having, on the morning of the 28th of July, instead of pursuing the enemy, led the British fleet in an opposite direction. After going through the necessary forms of swearing in the members, it adjourned to the governor's house: a particular act of parliament having, for the accommodation of Mr Keppel, who was extremely indisposed, been passed for the purpose of authorizing a measure till then unprecedented. It is not within our limits to give even an abridged detail of the trial, which continued, through several short intervening adjournments, till the 11th of February: suffice it that we briefly state Mr Keppel was acquitted. The admiral, however, ceased to be employed,—a circumstance rather naturally to be expected than wondered at, considering not only the extraordinary political schism which his case and conduct had created, but



also the very severe animadversions made by his friends on the behaviour of ministers towards him.

The overthrow of the ministry in March, 1782, served to introduce Mr Keppel to his country once more in a public character. He was constituted first commissioner of the admiralty, and sworn in one of the members of the privy council,—an advancement attended immediately afterwards by professional promotion, and his exaltation to the rank of Viscount Keppel, of Elvedon, in the county of Suffolk. His station of first commissioner of the admiralty he quitted for a few weeks, on the 28th of January, 1783, but resumed it again on the 8th of April ensuing; the celebrated coalition then taking place between a select number of his lordship's party, and several of the leading persons of the former ex-ministry, who had, in the preceding year, been ranked among the most violent of his enemies. He retained his high station only till the 30th of December following, when a political convulsion, equal in extent to that which first introduced him into it, caused him finally to quit this public character of first minister of marine. He survived but a very few years, dying on the 2d of October, 1786, having been long afflicted with the gout and other grievous bodily infirmities, in the sixty-third year of his age.

### **Sir William Draper.**

BORN A. D. 1721.—DIED A. D. 1787.

THIS officer, who has been dragged into such unfortunate notoriety by the remorseless invective of Junius, was a native of Bristol, and educated in that city. He took the degree of B. A. at Cambridge, in 1744. In 1749 he entered the army, and spent some years in the East Indies. On his return to England, with the rank of colonel, he was appointed governor of Yarmouth. In 1761 he laid a plan before government for wresting the Philippine islands from Spain. Ministers approved of the scheme, and Draper, with the rank of brigadier-general, was intrusted with its execution, in which charge he perfectly succeeded. Manilla was carried by assault, and the captors agreed to accept bills on Madrid for 4,000,000 of dollars, in lieu of plunder. The court of Madrid, however, refused to honour the Manilla drafts, and Draper, then a member of the house of commons, brought the case before the house. His silence, however, was obtained by a red ribbon and the colonelcy of the 16th regiment of foot.

Meanwhile the marquess of Granby had been attacked by Junius; and Draper, in attempting to shield his lordship, drew down upon himself the invective of the intrepid assailant of all political abuses. Draper had first been loud in his remonstrances on the subject of the Manilla ransom: "By what accident did it happen," inquires Junius, "that in the midst of all this bustle, and all these clamours for justice to your injured troops, the name of the Manilla ransom was buried in a profound, and, since that time, an uninterrupted silence? Did the ministers suggest any motive to you strong enough to tempt a man of honour to desert and betray the cause of his fellow-soldiers? Was it that blushing ribbon which is now the perpetual ornament of your person?"

Or, was it that regiment which you afterwards—a thing unprecedented among soldiers—sold to Colonel Gisborne? Or, was it that government the full pay of which you are contented to hold with the half-pay of an Irish colonel?"

In reply to these questions, Draper said that he had very recently memorialized Lord Shelburne anew on the subject of the Manilla ransom, but that he found ministers disposed to overlook the conduct of the Spanish government in their anxiety to establish a peace. As to the red ribbon and colonelcy, he said: "His majesty was pleased to give me my government for my services at Madras. I had my first regiment in 1757. Upon my return from Manilla, his majesty, by Lord Egremont, informed me that I should have the first vacant red ribbon, as a reward for my services in an enterprise which I had planned and executed. The duke of Bedford and Mr Grenville confirmed those assurances many months before the Spaniards had protested the ransom-bills. To accommodate Lord Clive, then going upon a most important service to Bengal, I waived my claim to the vacancy which then happened. As there was no other until the duke of Grafton and Lord Rockingham were joint-ministers, I was then honoured with the order; and it is, surely, no small honour to me that in such a succession of ministers, they were all pleased to think that I had deserved it: in my favour they were all united. Upon the reduction of the 79th regiment, which had served so gloriously in the East Indies, his majesty, unsolicited by me, gave me the 16th of foot as an equivalent. My motives for retiring afterwards are foreign to the purpose; let it suffice that his majesty was pleased to approve of them. They are such as no man can think indecent, who knows the shocks that repeated vicissitudes of heat and cold, of dangerous and sickly climates, will give to the best constitution, in a pretty long course of service. I resigned my regiment to Colonel Gisborne, a very good officer, for his half-pay, £200 Irish annuities; so that, according to Junius, I have been bribed to say nothing more of the Manilla ransom, and to sacrifice those brave men, by the strange avarice of accepting £380 per annum, and giving up £800!"

Some more correspondence followed with his veiled antagonist, in which he came off, on the whole, with less dishonour than might at first have been anticipated. In 1779 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Minorca; and on the surrender of that place, in 1782, he exhibited a series of charges against his superior in command, General Murray. He failed in establishing several of them, and was ordered to make an apology.

He died at Bath in 1787.

### **John Shebbeare.**

BORN A. D. 1709.—DIED A. D. 1788.

THIS once celebrated political writer was born at Bideford in Devonshire, in the year 1709. His father, an attorney and corn-factor, had four children, of whom the subject of this notice was the eldest. John was educated at a school in Bristol, where he gave indications of that



peculiar genius which he was afterwards to display on a wider theatre; his memory was highly tenacious, his wit ready, but his temper sour, ungrateful, and malicious to an extraordinary degree. In his fifteenth year he was apprenticed to a surgeon, and, after finishing his professional education, he appears to have practised for some little time, probably without success, in his native town. In 1736 he entered into partnership with a chemist in Bristol; but this scheme also seems to have failed. In the year 1752 he was in Paris, where he represents himself to have obtained his medical diploma.

Until this time he appears to have lived in obscurity; but at an age when vigorous exertion usually subsides, he seems to have resolved to place himself in a conspicuous situation whatever hazard might attend it, and commenced a public writer with a degree of celerity, coarseness, and virulence, which it would be difficult to find a parallel for even in our own intemperate times. In the year 1754 he began his career with 'The Marriage Act,' a political novel, in which he treated the legislature with such freedom that it occasioned his being taken into custody, whence, however, he was soon released. The productions of his pen most celebrated were a series of 'Letters to the People of England,' which were written in a style vigorous and energetic, though slovenly and careless, well-calculated to make an impression on common readers; and were accordingly read with avidity and circulated with diligence. They had a considerable effect<sup>1</sup> on the minds of the people, and galled the ministry, who seem to have been at first too eager to punish the author. On the publication of the third letter, warrants, dated 4th and 8th of March, 1756, were issued by Lord Holderness to take up both Scott, the publisher, and the author. This prosecution however seems to have been dropped, and the culprit proceeded for some time unmolested, "having declared," says one of his answerers, "that he would write himself into a post or into the pillory, in the last of which he at length succeeded." On the 12th of January, 1758, a general warrant was signed by Lord Holderness, to apprehend the author, printer, and publishers of a wicked, audacious, and treasonable libel, entitled 'A Sixth Letter to the People of England, on the progress of national ruin; in which is shown that the present grandeur of France and calamities of this nation are owing to the influence of Hanover on the councils of England.'<sup>2</sup> At this juncture government seems to have been effectually roused; for having received information that a seventh letter was printing, by virtue of another warrant, dated January 23d, all the copies were seized and entirely suppressed. In Easter term an

<sup>1</sup> "I may aver with the strictest veracity, that the Letters which were written to the People of England, contributed not a little towards creating the popularity, and thereby to the elevation of Lord Chatham to the seat of prime minister." Again, "It is Lord Chatham only of whom I have reason to complain; who having profited by my writings, and having publicly declared, that he avowed the truth of all that they contained; in return for my endeavours to serve him, after he was mounted above the throne, and possessed of absolute power, not only permitted me to be punished for writing words less offensive than he had repeatedly spoken in the house of commons, but even ill-treated Sir John Philips who applied to him in my favour."—Answer to Queries, pp. 36, 37.

<sup>2</sup> The motto to this pamphlet was from Revelation, chap. vi. 8. "And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him." A white horse is part of the Hanover arms.

information was filed against him by Mr Pratt, then attorney-general, in which it is worthy of remark that the crown-officer, in his application to the court, in express terms admitted the jury's right to determine both the law and the fact in matters of libel. "What I urge," says the advocate, "to the court, is only to show there is reasonable ground for considering this publication as a libel, and for putting it in a way of trial, and therefore it is I pray to have the rule made absolute; for I admit, and your lordship well knows, that the jury in matter of libel are judges of the law as well as the fact, and have an undoubted right to consider whether, upon the whole, the pamphlet in question be, or be not, a false, malicious, and scandalous libel." On the 17th of June, the information was tried, when our author was found guilty; and on the 28th November, he received sentence, by which he was fined five pounds, and ordered to stand in the pillory, at Charing cross, to be confined three years, and give security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in £500 and two others in £250 each. On the day appointed, that part of the sentence which doomed him to the pillory was put in execution, amidst a prodigious concourse of people assembled on the occasion. The under-sheriff, at that time, happened to be a person who had sometimes been assisted by the doctor in writing the 'Monitor,' a paper of the same tendency with the writings of the culprit. The conduct of this officer became the subject of animadversion in the court of king's bench. It was proved, "that the defendant only stood upon the platform of the pillory, unconfined and at his ease, attended by a servant in livery (which servant and livery were hired for the occasion only) holding an umbrella over his head all the time; but his head, hands, neck, and arms, were not at all confined, or put into the holes of the pillory; only that he sometimes put his hands upon the holes of the pillory in order to rest himself."<sup>3</sup> For this neglect of duty the under-sheriff was fined £50, and suffered two months' imprisonment.

Some time before he was tried for the obnoxious publication already mentioned, the duchess of Queensbury, as heir of Lord Clarendon, obtained an injunction in the court of chancery to stop the publication of the continuation of that nobleman's history, a copy of which had got into the hands of Francis Gwyn, Esq. between whom and the doctor there had been an agreement to publish it and divide the profits. The care and expenses attending the ushering this work into the world were to be wholly Dr Shebbeare's, who performed his part of the agreement, and caused it to be handsomely printed in quarto, with a tory preface containing frequent allusions to recent events and living characters.

While he was confined in the king's bench, he solicited subscriptions for the first volume of a 'History of England,' from the Revolution to the then present time. But, at the persuasion of his friends, he was induced to alter his design, and receipts were issued for a first volume of the 'History of England, and of the Constitution thereof from its

<sup>3</sup> See Burrow's Reports, p. 792. Dr Shebbeare, a very short time before his death, mentioned that the servant in livery was an Irish chairman employed for the occasion. Teague received a guinea for his hire. The next day, however, he called upon the doctor, and appearing dissatisfied with his reward, said he hoped his honour would give him something more; "for only consider, Sir," added he, in order to put his requisition in the strongest light possible, "only consider the disgrace of the thing." The doctor sent the man away contented.



origin.' That volume he wrote, and had transcribed. "But as it was impracticable," to use his own words, "whilst I was in confinement, to procure that variety of books, or to apply to manuscript authorities for all that was requisite to the completing this first volume, I found on being released from my imprisonment, and on application to the former only, that the volume which I had written, was incorrect, insufficient, and erroneous, in too many particulars to admit of its being published without injustice to my subscribers and reprehensions on myself. Into this displeasing situation I had been misled by relying on the authorities of modern historians, who pretend to cite the authors from whence their materials are taken, many of whom appear never to have seen them, but implicitly to have copied one another, and all of them manifestly defective; not only in the authorities they should have sought, but in their omissions and misrepresentations of those whom they had consulted: more especially respecting those parts of the old German codes on which our constitution is erected, and without which it cannot be properly explained or understood. Such being the real situation of things, I perceived that more time than I could expect to live would be necessarily required for so extensive a work as the whole history I had proposed; and that a single volume, or even a few volumes of an history incomplete, would by no means answer either the intention of my subscribers, or my own: I determined, therefore, to change my plan, and to include in one volume that which might require no others to complete this new design." This plan he at times employed himself in filling up. On being rudely attacked for not performing his promise with his subscribers, he, in 1774, thus writes: "From the inevitable obligations, not only of supporting my own family, but those also whom as son and brother it was my duty to sustain for forty years,—and which, respecting the claims of the latter, still continues,—it will be easily discerned that many an avocation must have proceeded from these circumstances, as well as from a sense of gratitude to his majesty, in defence of whose government I have thought it my duty occasionally to exert my best abilities." He adds, however, that he did not intend to die until what he had proposed was finished,—a promise which the event showed he was unable to perform.

He was detained in prison during the whole time of the sentence, and with some degree of rigour; for when his life was in danger, from an ill state of health, and he applied to the court of king's bench for permission to be carried into the rules a few hours in a day, though Lord Mansfield acceded to the petition, yet the prayer of it was denied and defeated by Judge Foster. At the expiration of the time of his sentence, a new reign had commenced, and shortly afterwards, during the administration of Grenville, a pension was granted him by the crown. From this period we find Dr Shebbeare a uniform defender of the measures of government. Dr Smollett introduced him, under the name of Ferret, in the novel of Sir Launcelot Greaves, and Hogarth made him one of the group in his third election print. The author of the 'Heroic Epistle' published a poem addressed to him under the title of an Epistle, of which the following lines may be taken as a specimen:

Wretch! that from Slander's filth art ever gleaning  
Spite without spirit, malice without meaning;

'The same abusive, base, abandon'd thing,  
 When pilloried, or pension'd by a king;  
 Old as thou art, methinks 'twere sage advice  
 That North should call thee off from hunting Price.  
 Some younger blood-hound of his bawling pack  
 Might sorer gall his presbyterian back.  
 Thy toothless jaws should free thee from the fight;  
 Thou canst but mumble when thou mean'st to bite.  
 Say, then, to give a requiem to thy toils,  
 What if my muse array'd her in thy spoils?  
 And took the field for thee, through pure good-nature;  
 Courts praised by thee, are cursed beyond her satire.

Scarcely a periodical now appeared in which there was not some abuse of him, which he seems to have had the good sense generally to neglect. In the year 1774, however, he departed from his general practice, and defended himself from some attacks at that time made upon him.

Early in life he appears to have written a comedy, which in 1766 he made an effort to get represented at Covent-Garden. In 1768 he wrote the review of books in the 'Political Register' for three months; he was also often engaged to write for particular persons, with whom he usually quarrelled when he came to be paid. His pen seems to have been constantly employed, and he wrote with great rapidity. Though pensioned by government, he can scarce be said to have renounced his opinions; for in the pamphlet last mentioned, his abuse of the Revolution is as gross as that for which he suffered the pillory. His violence often defeated his own purpose; those who agreed in party with him revolted from the virulence with which he treated his adversaries. It is said that his disposition was better than his writings indicate; and indeed the manner in which he speaks of his connections exhibits traits of a liberal and benevolent mind. His death, which happened in August, 1788, seems to have been sudden.

The following is a list of Shebbeare's principal works, in addition to those already mentioned: 'A new Analysis of the Bristol Water, together with the Cause of the Diabetes and Hectic; and their Cure, as it results from those Waters, experimentally considered. By John Shebbeare, Chymist.' 8vo. 1740. 'The Practice of Physic. Founded on Principles in Physiology and Pathology, hitherto unapplied in physical Enquiries.' 2 vols. 8vo. 1755. 'Letters on the English Nation, by Battista Angeloni, a Jesuit, who resided many years in London. Translated from the original Italian.' 2 vols. 8vo. 1755. 'Lydia, or Filial Piety. A Novel.' 4 vols. 12mo. 1755. Since reprinted in 2 vols. 12mo. 1769. 'Reasons humbly offered to prove, that the Letters at the end of the French Memorial of Justification is a French forgery, and falsely ascribed to his R—l H—ss.' 8vo. 1756. 'An Answer to a pamphlet, called "The Conduct of the Ministry impartially examined."' In which it is proved that neither imbecility nor ignorance in the M——r have been the causes of the present unhappy situation of this nation.' 8vo. 1756. 'An Answer to a Letter to a late Noble Commander of the British Forces. In which the Candour is proved to be affected, the Facts untrue, the Arguments delusive, and the Design iniquitous.' 8vo. 1759. 'Colonel Fitzroy's Letter considered. In a letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of ——.' 8vo.



1759. These two pamphlets are ascribed to Dr Shebbeare, on the authority of the writer whom they answer, supposed to be Owen Ruffhead, Esq., who says in the Postscript to 'Further Animadversions on the Conduct of a late Noble Commander, &c.' 8vo. 1759. "I have had the mortification to be informed, that I have stooped to reply to that very ready and abusive writer, who now lies under confinement for the most daring and scandalous of all libels; and who was an apologist for the late unhappy admiral (Byng), to whose ruin perhaps he contributed not a little, by irritating the public against the unfortunate delinquent by his lame vindications and scurrilous invectives." 'A Seventh Letter to the People of England. A Defence of the Prerogative Royal, as it was exerted in his Majesty's Proclamation for the prohibiting the Exportation of Corn; in which it is proved that this Authority ever has been, is, and must be, essential to the Constitution, and inseparable from the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.' 8vo. 1767. 'An Answer to the printed Speech of Edmund Burke, Esq. spoken in the House of Commons, April 19, 1774. In which his knowledge in polity, legislature, human-kind, history, commerce, and finance, is candidly examined; his arguments are fairly refuted; the conduct of Administration is fully defended; and his oratoric talents are clearly exposed to view.' 8vo. 1775. 'An Essay on the Origin, Progress, and Establishment of National Society; in which the principles of Government, the definitions of physical, moral, civil, and religious Liberty contained in Dr Price's Observations, &c. are fairly examined, and fully refuted; together with a justification of the Legislature in reducing America to obedience by force. To which is added, an Appendix on the Excellent and Admirable, in Mr Burke's second printed Speech of the 22d of March, 1775.' 8vo. 1776.—He wrote frequently in the 'Public Advertiser,' and was the author of several numbers of the 'Monitor,' one or two papers of the 'Contest,' several essays in a daily paper called 'The Citizen,' besides many other fugitive pieces.

## Fletcher Norton, Lord Grantley.

BORN A. D. 1716.—DIED A. D. 1789.

FLETCHER, the son of Thomas Norton of Grantley, in Yorkshire, was born on the 23d of January, 1716. He studied law, and acquired considerable reputation at the bar. In 1761 he was appointed solicitor-general, and also received the honour of knighthood. In 1763 he became attorney-general, but was removed from office in 1765. In 1769 he was constituted chief-justice in Eyre, south of the Trent.

On the death of Sir John Cust, speaker of the house of commons, in January, 1770, soon after the appointment of Lord North, the premier proposed Sir Fletcher Norton as the new speaker. Lord Cavendish proposed the honourable Thomas Townshend. Burke and other members of the opposition supported Townshend; but, on a division, Sir Fletcher carried his election by a majority of 237 to 121. He retained possession of the chair ten years.

On the 7th of May, 1777, when the sum of £618,000 was voted for the discharge of his majesty's debts a second time, Sir Fletcher Nor-

ton, on presenting the bill for the royal assent, addressed himself to the throne in the following memorable language :—" Your majesty's faithful commons have granted a great sum to discharge the debt of the civil list ; and considering whatever enables your majesty to support with grandeur, honour, and dignity, the crown of Great Britain, in its true lustre, will reflect honour on the nation, they have given most liberally, even in these times of great danger and difficulty, taxed almost beyond our ability to bear: and they have now granted to your majesty an income far exceeding your majesty's highest wants, hoping that what they have given cheerfully, your majesty will spend wisely." The king, it has been said, did not feel offended at the bold truths and strong language in which he was addressed. A gentleman who was present says, " I narrowly watched the royal eye when this speech was delivered ; and declare with pleasure, I did not perceive one symptom of displeasure deranging the mild serenity and dignified softness of the Brunswick countenance." This is twaddle. The king was mortified, and deeply mortified at the well-merited rebuke he had received at the hands of the speaker, and the ministry endeavoured to gratify their royal master by moving a vote of censure against Sir Fletcher. They signally failed, however ; for a motion was carried in opposition to the ministry to the effect that the speaker, in his address to the king, " did express with just and proper energy the zeal of this house for the support of the honour and dignity of the crown, in circumstances of great public charge." The thanks of the house were also given to him.

On the assembling of the next parliament, Lord George Germaine proposed that Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Esq. should take the chair. He supported his motion by alleging that the fatigues of the preceding sessions must have impaired the constitution of the late speaker, and that the house was bound, in consideration of his long, faithful services, to relieve him from the toils of office. Mr Dunning opposed the motion. He said that the late speaker was in the house, and to all appearance as fit for his duties as ever. He had expected, when the failing health of Sir Fletcher was mentioned as a reason for the motion before the house, that it would have been stated that Sir Fletcher had himself applied for leave to resign on this ground. It appeared a singular thing to him, he said, to confess, as the proposer and seconder had done, that the late speaker was the properest of all persons to fill the chair, and to move, in the same breath, that another be placed in it. An animated debate followed. Mr Thomas Townshend followed in the same strain with Dunning, and observed that the true though unavowed reason of the opposition to Sir Fletcher was his having made a speech on a memorable occasion which did him the highest honour,—a speech which proved his impartiality as speaker, his zeal for his country, and his feeling for the national distresses. Sir Fletcher himself in his speech declared that his mind was made up not to go into the chair on any consideration ; but that he saw through the shallow pretence of concern for his health, and should be an idiot indeed if he imagined that his state of health was the real cause of their moving for a new speaker, without saying a word to him upon the subject previously. He called upon ministers to tell him why he was to be thus disgracefully dismissed. If he had done what was wrong, let his crime be told and exposed.



Mr Fox also spoke with great asperity against ministers; but Mr Cornwall carried his election by a majority of 203 to 134.

On the accession of the marquess of Rockingham to power, his private friend, Sir Fletcher Norton, was gratified with a peerage, by the title of Baron Grantley. He died on the 1st of January, 1789.

As a lawyer, Lord Grantley was universally admitted to be eminent; and it was remarked by Johnson, "Much may be done, if a man puts his whole mind to a particular subject. By doing so, Norton has made himself the great lawyer which he is allowed to be." The following gossiping story is related of him by Lord Orford:—"His mother lived in a mighty shabby house at Preston, which Sir Fletcher began to think not quite suitable to the dignity of one who has the honour of being his parent; he cheapened a better, in which were two pictures valued at £60; the attorney insisted on having them as fixtures for nothing; the landlord refused, the bargain was broken off, and the dowager madam remains in her original hut."

## General Gage.

BORN A. D. 1721.—DIED A. D. 1788

THIS officer was the second son of Viscount Gage. He entered the army in early life, and in April, 1774, was appointed governor of Massachusetts in the room of Mr Hutchinson, who, finding himself unable to curb the disaffected spirits in that province, applied for leave to return home.

The day after that on which Gage entered on the duties of his governorship, a meeting was called in Boston, and a general congress determined on. The first measures of the governor were mild and conciliatory; but the delegates to the congress, which met at Philadelphia, set his authority at defiance. They met on the day appointed; deliberated with closed doors; and drew up and published a declaration of rights. General Gage now recalled the writs which he had issued for convening the general court of representatives in October, but they met in direct contempt of his authority; voted themselves into a provincial congress, with Hancock at their head; appointed a committee to present a remonstrance to the governor couched in a very daring strain; and, on his refusing to recognise them as a lawful assembly, proceeded to exercise all the functions not only of the legislative but also of the executive power. At one of their subsequent meetings, a plan was drawn up for the immediate defence of the province; magazines of ammunition and stores were provided for 12,000 militia; and an enrolment was made of minute-men,—so called from their engaging to turn out with their arms at a minute's warning. General Gage foresaw the inevitable issue of such proceedings; but still confined himself to the mildest measures that were consistent with prudence and caution. He admonished the people not to be deceived by the provincial congress, nor led by their influence to incur the penalties of sedition and rebellion; he also proceeded to fortify the narrow isthmus called Boston Neck, which connects that town with the continent, by means of which the inhabitants became in some sort hostages for the behaviour

of the rest of their countrymen; he secured such magazines as were within his reach, and spiked the cannon of some batteries so as to prevent their being serviceable to an enemy.<sup>1</sup>

The colonists, nothing daunted by the governor's remonstrances, proceeded to put themselves in the best possible posture of defence. Provisions were collected and stored in different places, particularly at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston. General Gage determined to destroy the stores which he knew were collected for the support of a provincial army. Wishing to accomplish this without bloodshed, he took every precaution to effect it by surprise, and without alarming the country. At eleven o'clock at night on the 18th of April, 800 grenadiers and light infantry, marched for Concord, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Smith. About two in the morning, 130 of the Lexington militia had assembled to oppose them; between four and five o'clock in the morning the British troops made their appearance. Major Pitcairn, who led the advanced corps, rode up to them, and called out, "Disperse, you rebels! throw down your arms and disperse!" But they still continued in a body, on which he advanced nearer, discharged his pistol, and ordered his soldiers to fire. This was done, and with this act commenced the American war. Three or four of the militia were killed on the green; a few more were shot after they had begun to disperse. The royal detachment then proceeded on to Concord, and executed their commission. In their return to Lexington they were exceedingly annoyed by the provincials who pressed on their rear, and pouring in on all sides, fired from behind stone-walls, and similar coverts, which supplied the place of lines and redoubts. At Lexington the regulars were joined by a detachment of 900 men, under Lord Piercy, which had been sent by Gage to support Colonel Smith. This reinforcement, having two pieces of cannon, kept the provincials at a greater distance, but they continued a constant though irregular and scattered fire, which did great execution. A little after sunset the regulars reached Bunker's hill, having marched that day between thirty and forty miles. On the next day they crossed Charleston ferry, and returned to Boston. The provincial congress of Massachusetts, which was in session at the time of the Lexington skirmish, despatched an account of it to Great Britain, accompanied with many depositions, to prove that the British troops were the aggressors. They also drew up an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, in which, after complaining of their sufferings, they say, "These have not yet detached us from our royal sovereign; we profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects; and though hardly dealt with, as we have been, are still ready, with our lives and fortunes, to defend his person, crown, and dignity; nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his evil ministry, we will not tamely submit. Appealing to Heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free."

Intelligence that the British troops had marched out of Boston into the country on some hostile purpose, having been forwarded by expresses from one committee to another, great bodies of the militia, not only from Massachusetts but the adjacent colonies, marched to oppose them. Hitherto the Americans had had no regular army. From prin-

<sup>1</sup> Miller's History



ciples of policy they cautiously avoided that measure, lest they might subject themselves to the charge of being the aggressors. All their military transactions were carried on under the old established militia-laws. For the defence of the colonies, the inhabitants had been enrolled in companies, and taught the use of arms. The laws for this purpose had never been more closely observed than for some months previous to the Lexington affair. Immediately after this encounter the forts and magazines throughout the country were for the most part taken possession of by parties of the provincial militia. Public money was also seized for common services. The provincial congress of Massachusetts voted that "an army of 30,000 men be immediately raised; that 13,600 be of their own province; and that a letter and delegate be sent to the several colonies of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode island." In consequence of this vote, the business of recruiting was begun, and in a short time a provincial army was paraded in the vicinity of Boston, which, though far below what had been voted by the provincial congress, was much superior in numbers to the royal army. The command of this force was given to General Ward.

About the latter end of May reinforcements from Great Britain arrived at Boston. Three British generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, whose behaviour in the preceding war had gained them great reputation, also arrived on the 25th of May. General Gage, thus reinforced, prepared for acting with more decision; but before he proceeded to extremities he issued a proclamation offering pardon in the king's name to all who should forthwith lay down their arms and return to their peaceable duties, excepting only Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any thing short of condign punishment. By this proclamation it was also declared, "that as the courts of judicature were shut, martial law should take place, till a due course of justice should be re-established." A considerable height at the entrance of the peninsula of Charleston, was so situated as to make the possession of it a matter of great consequence to either of the contending parties. Orders were therefore issued on the 16th of June, by the provincial commanders, that a detachment of 1000 men should intrench upon this height. By some mistake, Breed's hill, high and large like the other, but situated near Boston, was marked out for the intrenchments instead of Bunker's hill. The provincials proceeded to Breed's hill, and worked with so much diligence, that between midnight and the dawn of the morning they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. As this eminence overlooked Boston, General Gage thought it necessary to drive the provincials from it. About noon, therefore, of the 7th of June, he detached Major-general Howe, and Brigadier-general Pigot, with a large force, which carried the redoubt after sustaining great loss.

On the 15th of June, George Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of the colonies. When General Washington joined the American army, he found the British intrenched on Bunker's hill, having also three floating batteries in Mystic river, and a twenty gun ship below the ferry, between Boston and Charleston. They had also a battery on Copse's hill, and were strongly fortified on the Neck. The Americans were intrenched at Winter hill, Prospect hill, and Roxbury, communicating

with one another by small posts, over a distance of ten miles. The army put under the command of General Washington, amounted to about 14,500 men. These had been so judiciously stationed round Boston as to confine the British to the town, and to exclude them from the forage and provisions which the adjacent country afforded. This force was thrown into three grand divisions. Ward commanded the right wing at Roxbury; Lee the left at Prospect hill; and the centre was commanded by Washington. Towards the close of the year, on the 10th of October, General Gage sailed for England, and the command of the British troops devolved on General Howe.<sup>2</sup>

General Gage did not again return to America, or assume any military command. His death took place on the 2d of April, 1788.

## Lord Heathfield.

BORN A. D. 1718.—DIED A. D. 1790.

THIS intrepid commander was the eighth and youngest son of Sir Gilbert Elliott. He was born in the parish of Hobkirk, county of Roxburgh. After having finished his literary studies at Leyden, he proceeded to the Ecole Royal of La Fère in Picardy, where he studied the military art and those branches of science connected with the profession of arms.

He was still a very young man when he returned to Britain, and received a commission in the 23d regiment of foot. He soon after obtained the adjutancy of the second troop of horse-grenadiers; and in 1756 was appointed colonel of that corps, and aid-de-camp to George II. In 1761 he raised a regiment of cavalry for the king's service, which was called Elliott's light-horse, at the head of which he highly distinguished himself in Germany. He was now raised to the rank of lieutenant-general.

In 1776, General Elliott obtained the important command in which he was so soon to signalize himself and render his name for ever memorable in the military annals of his country. While acting commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, he was appointed governor of Gibraltar, and commanded to proceed forthwith to that fortress. The close investment of this place immediately followed the Spanish declaration of war. About the middle of August, 1779, the enemy's troops began to break ground before the place, and the garrison soon suffered dreadfully for want of provisions. Admiral Rodney relieved them once, and occasional supplies were received from the coast of Barbary. But the vigilance of the besiegers at last cut them off from all aid by sea.

Finding that the garrison still held out against their blockade, the Spaniards next endeavoured to reduce the place by bombardment. On the 23d of May, 1781, a cannonade was commenced on the part of the besiegers, which lasted day and night, without intermission, for three weeks; after which it slackened a little, but was kept up for above twelve months, with very partial interruptions only. "The fatigues of

<sup>2</sup> Miller's History.



the garrison were extreme; but the loss of men was less than might have been expected. For the first ten weeks of this unexampled bombardment, the whole number of killed and wounded was only about three hundred. The damage done to the works was trifling. The houses in the town, about five hundred in number, were mostly destroyed. Such of the inhabitants as were not buried in the ruins of their houses, or torn to pieces by the shells, fled to the remote parts of the rock; but destruction followed them to places which had always been deemed secure. No scene could be more deplorable. Mothers and children clasped in each other's arms, were so completely torn to pieces, that it seemed more like an annihilation, than a dispersion of their shattered fragments. Ladies of the greatest sensibility and most delicate constitutions deemed themselves happy to be admitted to a few hours of repose in the casement amidst the noise of a crowded soldiery, and the groans of the wounded. At the first onset General Elliott retorted on the besiegers a shower of fire; but foreseeing the difficulty of procuring supplies, he soon retrenched, and received with comparative unconcern, the fury and violence of his adversaries. By the latter end of November, the besiegers had brought their works to that state of perfection which they intended. The care and ingenuity employed upon them were extraordinary. The best engineers of France and Spain had united their abilities, and both kingdoms were filled with sanguine expectations of speedy success. In this conjuncture, when all Europe was in suspense concerning the fate of the garrison, and when, from the prodigious efforts made for its reduction, many believed that it could not hold out much longer, a sally was projected and executed, which in about two hours destroyed those works, which had required so much time, skill, and labour to accomplish. A body of two thousand chosen men, under the command of Brigadier-general Ross, marched out about two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-seventh November, 1781, and at the same instant made a general attack on the whole exterior front of the lines of the besiegers. The Spaniards gave way on every side, and abandoned their works. The pioneers and artillery-men spread their fire with such rapidity, that in a little time every thing combustible was in flames. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, platforms, and carriages destroyed. The magazines blew up one after another. The loss of the detachment, which accomplished all this destruction, was inconsiderable. This unexpected event disconcerted the besiegers; but they soon recovered from their alarm, and with a perseverance almost peculiar to their nation, determined to go on with the siege."<sup>1</sup>

The court of Spain maddened by this defeat, resolved to put forth its utmost strength and resources in a new attack on this important stronghold. The duke de Crillon, who had recently effected the reduction of Minorca, was now "appointed to conduct the siege of Gibraltar, and it was resolved to employ the whole strength of the Spanish monarchy in seconding his operations. No means were neglected, nor expense spared, that promised to forward the views of the besiegers. From the failure of all plans hitherto adopted for effecting the reduction of Gibraltar, it was resolved to adopt new ones. Among the various projects for this purpose, one which had been formed by the chevalier

<sup>1</sup> Miller's History of the Reign of George III.

d'Arcon was deemed the most worthy of trial. This was to construct such floating batteries as could neither be sunk nor fired. With this view, their bottoms were made of the thickest timber, and their sides of wood and cork long soaked in water, with a large layer of wet sand between.

"To prevent the effects of red hot balls, a number of pipes were contrived to carry water through every part of them, and pumps were provided to keep these constantly supplied with water. The people on board were to be sheltered from the fall of bombs by a cover of rope netting, which was made sloping, and overlaid with wet hides.

"These floating batteries, ten in number, were made out of the hulls of large vessels, cut down for the purpose, and carried from twenty-eight to ten guns each, and were seconded by eighty large boats mounted with guns of heavy metal, and also by a multitude of frigates, ships of force, and some hundreds of small craft.

"General Elliott, the intrepid defender of Gibraltar, was not ignorant that inventions of a peculiar kind were prepared against him, but knew nothing of their construction. He nevertheless provided for every circumstance of danger that could be foreseen or imagined. The thirteenth of September was fixed upon by the besiegers for making a grand attack, when the new invented machines, with all the united powers of gunpowder and artillery in the highest state of improvement, were to be called into action. The combined fleets of France and Spain in the bay of Gibraltar amounted to forty-eight sail of the line. Their batteries were covered with one hundred and fifty-four pieces of heavy brass cannon. The numbers employed by land and sea against the fortress were estimated at one hundred thousand men. With this force, and by the fire of three hundred cannon, mortars, and howitzers, from the adjacent isthmus, it was intended to attack every part of the British works at one and the same instant. The surrounding hills were covered with people assembled to behold the spectacle. The cannonade and bombardment were tremendous. The showers of shot and shells from the land batteries and the ships of the besiegers, and from the various works of the garrison, exhibited a most dreadful scene. Four hundred pieces of the heaviest artillery were playing at the same moment. The whole peninsula seemed to be overwhelmed in the torrents of fire which were incessantly poured upon it. The Spanish floating batteries for some time answered the expectations of their framers. The heaviest shells often rebounded from their tops, while thirty-two pound shot made no visible impression upon their hulls. For some hours the attack and defence were so equally supported, as scarcely to admit of any appearance of superiority on either side. The construction of the battering ships were so well-calculated for withstanding the combined force of fire and artillery, that they seemed for some time to bid defiance to the powers of the heaviest ordnance. In the afternoon the effects of hot shot became visible. At first there was only an appearance of smoke, but in the course of the night, after the fire of the garrison had continued about fifteen hours, two of the floating batteries were in flames, and several more were visibly beginning to kindle. The endeavours of the besiegers were now exclusively directed to bring off the men from the burning vessels; but in this they were interrupted. Captain Curtis, who lay ready with twelve gun boats, advanced and fired upon them



with such order and expedition, as to throw them into confusion before they had finished their business. They fled with their boats, and abandoned to their fate great numbers of their people. The opening of daylight disclosed a most dreadful spectacle. Many were seen in the midst of the flames crying out for help, while others were floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to equal danger from the opposite element. The generous humanity of the victors equalled their valour, and was the more honourable, as the exertions of it exposed them to no less danger than those of active hostility. In endeavouring to save the lives of his enemies, Captain Curtis nearly lost his own. While for the most benevolent purpose he was alongside of the floating batteries, one of them blew up, and some heavy pieces of timber fell into his boat and pierced through its bottom. By similar perilous exertions, near four hundred men were saved from inevitable destruction. The exercise of humanity to an enemy under such circumstances of immediate action and impending danger, conferred more true honour than could be acquired by the most splendid series of victories. It in some measure obscured the impression made to the disadvantage of human nature, by the madness of mankind in destroying each other by wasteful wars. The floating batteries were all consumed. The violence of their explosion was such, as to burst open doors and windows at a great distance. Soon after the destruction of the floating batteries, Lord Howe, with thirty-five ships of the line, brought to the brave garrison an ample supply of every thing wanted, either for their support or their defence."<sup>2</sup>

General Elliott now received the thanks of both houses of parliament, for his eminent services, together with a pension of £1,500 per annum, and the insignia of the Bath. He retained his command until 1787, when he was raised to the peerage, by the title of Baron Heathfield and Gibraltar. On the 6th of July, 1790, while preparing to set out from Aix-la-Chapelle, for the scene of his former exploits, he was attacked by a paralytic stroke, which proved fatal. His remains were brought to England, and interred at Heathfield, in Sussex. A monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey, at the public expense; and the corporation of London decorated the walls of the common-council chamber, with a fine picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds, of the siege of Gibraltar, in which the figure of its heroic defender occupies the most conspicuous place. By his wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Francis Drake of Devonshire, Lord Heathfield had one son, on whose death, in 1813, the title became extinct.

## Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke.

BORN A. D. 1720.—DIED A. D. 1790.

THIS accomplished nobleman was the eldest son of Philip, earl of Hardwicke, lord-high-chancellor, and was born 20th December, 1720. At the school of Dr Newcombe, at Hackney, he received the first rudiments of his education; and from that seminary, on 26th May, 1737, was removed to Bennet college, Cambridge, under the tuition of the

<sup>2</sup> Miller's History of the Reign of George III.

Rev. Dr Salter. In the year following he was appointed one of the tellers of the exchequer, in the room of Sir Charles Turner, Bart. deceased. In 1740 he left college, and soon after married Lady Jemima Campbell, only daughter of John, Viscount Glenorchy, by Lady Amabel Grey, eldest daughter of Henry, Duke of Kent, who succeeded, on her father's decease, to the title of Marchioness Grey and Baroness Lucas of Crudwell. By this marriage he became possessed of a large part of the duke's estate.

He early engaged as a legislator. In 1741 he was chosen member for Ryegate, in Surrey; and, in 1747, one of the representatives for the county of Cambridge, as he was also in 1754 and 1761. At the installation of the duke of Newcastle, as chancellor of the university of Cambridge, in 1749, he had the degree of LL. D. conferred upon him. In 1764 he succeeded his father in his title and estate; and, after a fierce contention for the office of lord-high-steward of the university, he obtained that honour against Lord Sandwich. The infirm state of his lordship's health, combined with his attachment to literary pursuits, prevented him from taking any very active part in the politics of the day. He had the honour, however, of a seat in the cabinet during the existence of that short-lived administration, of which Lord Rockingham was the head, but without any salary or official situation, which, though repeatedly offered to him, he never would accept. He died on the 16th of May, 1790.

His lordship throughout life was devoted to literary pursuits, and was the author or editor of several works, besides the assistance which he rendered on various occasions to authors who have acknowledged their obligations to him. Whilst a member of the university of Cambridge, he engaged with several friends in a work similar to the celebrated 'Travels of Anacharsis in Greece.' It was entitled 'Athenian Letters; or the Epistolary Correspondence of an Agent of the King of Persia residing at Athens during the Peloponnesian War,' and consisted of letters supposed to have been written by contemporaries of Socrates, Pericles, and Plato. A few copies were printed in 1741 by Bottenham, and in 1782 a hundred copies were reprinted; but still the work remained unknown to the public at large. At length a correct and authentic edition was published in 1798, in two volumes 4to. The friends who assisted in this publication were, the Hon. Charles Yorke, afterwards lord-high-chancellor, Dr Rooke, master of Christ's college, Cambridge, Dr Green, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, Daniel Wray, Esq. the Rev. Mr Heaton of Bennet college, Dr Heberden, Henry Coventry, Esq. the Rev. Mr Laney, Mrs Catherine Talbot, Dr Birch, and Dr Salter.

Though a good classical scholar, yet the object to which Lord Hardwicke, from his early youth, particularly directed his attention, was modern history. He printed a small private impression of the correspondence of Sir Dudley Carlton, ambassador to the States-general during the reign of James I., and prefixed to it an historical preface, containing an account of the many important negotiations that were carried on during that interesting period. A second impression of fifty copies only was printed in 1775. The last publication of Lord Hardwicke was entitled, 'Miscellaneous State Papers from 1501 to 1726,' in two volumes, 4to. containing a number of select papers, such "as mark



most strongly the characters of celebrated princes and their ministers, and illustrate some memorable era, or remarkable series of events." This is a valuable collection, well worthy the attention of the historian.

## Colonel Barre.

BORN A. D. 1726.—DIED A. D. 1792.

ISAAC BARRE was born in Ireland about the year 1726. He entered the army at an early age, and was present at the death of Wolfe, before Quebec. He was introduced into parliament by the earl of Shelburne; and distinguished himself by his opposition to the American war. He died in 1792; for many years before his death he was afflicted with entire blindness.

A contemporary says of him: "He has held up the highest tone of opposition, and has frequently made the minister uneasy on his seat; filling at the same time the whole treasury-bench with terror and dismay. Colonel Barré's oratory is manly, nervous, and convincing, and such as may be supposed to have actuated the breast, and have fallen from the mouth of a Grecian or Roman general, when the legislator, archon, or consul, were able to carry into execution those plans and operations of war which they proposed or supported in the senate or their popular assemblies. He is generally well-informed, particularly in the way of his profession, and never fails to deliver his sentiments in open, bold terms, seemingly without any predilection for his friends or his opponents, from the former of whom he frequently differs. His matter is not various, but generally selected and well-chosen. He never speaks on any subject of which he is not well-informed; and usually deals in truths too clear to be controverted, and too severe to be palliated or defended. The minister of war,<sup>1</sup> as well as the minister of the finances,<sup>2</sup> frequently feels the weight of those truths, and the energy of expression with which they are accompanied and enforced; and that in a manner too pungent and mortifying to be ever forgotten, or perhaps forgiven. He is well-acquainted with the whole detail of the military establishment, with the arrangements dependent on it, and with the proper ordering of the troops, whether directed to operations of war, or in times of domestic tranquillity. In short, as he is one of the most pointed forcible speakers in the house—though perhaps far from being the greatest orator, if we were to hazard a conjecture on mere appearance—we are inclined to think that administration would esteem him the most valuable acquisition they could at present obtain; and that he is the individual in the house of commons, on the side of opposition—Messrs Burke, Dunning, or Fox, not excepted—in the present state of things, whose defection would deserve most to be regretted. On the other hand, Colonel Barre, though a man of letters, does not possess the extensive fund of knowledge for which some of his partizans are so eminently distinguished. The early part of his days was passed in camps, and learning the rudiments of his profession, not in courts or senates. His oratory has few of those graces which recommend even

<sup>1</sup> Lord Barrington.

<sup>2</sup> Lord North.

trifles. He seldom directs his elocution so as to gain the avenues to the heart; and when he makes the attempt he always misses his way; he never studied the graces—or if he did, he made as unsuccessful a progress as Phil. Stanhope. He speaks like a soldier, thinks like a politician, and delivers his sentiments like a man. On the whole, he may and ought to profit from the sneers of his antagonists. They call him the Story-teller, and with great justice; for whether it be the salvation of a great empire, or a skirmish with a few wild Indians, the colonel is never at a loss for a story in point, in which he himself had the fortune to be one of the *dramatis personæ*. We will close this rude sketch, by affirming, that we have heard him interlard some of his most pointed speeches on the most important occasions, with anecdotes that would disgrace a school-boy at the Christmas recess; or a garrulous old woman, when she takes it into her head to be most narrative, uninteresting, and loquacious."

### Sir John Eardley Wilmot.

BORN A. D. 1709.—DIED A. D. 1792.

THIS eminent lawyer was born at Derby on the 16th of August, 1709. He was the second son of Robert Wilmot of Osmaston. He received his elementary education at the free school of his native place, from which he was removed to Westminster school, and subsequently to Trinity-hall, Cambridge. His professional views at first inclined to the church, but, in compliance with his father's wish, he finally adopted the law, and was called to the bar in 1732.

In the year 1753 he was offered the rank of king's counsel, and subsequently of king's sergeant, but declined both, in consequence of a resolution which he had early formed to withdraw himself as much as possible from public life. Ultimately he withdrew from the metropolis, and settled in his native county as a provincial counsel; but soon after his taking this step, he was raised to the king's bench in room of Sir Martin Wright. He took his seat in Hilary term, 1755, and, according to custom, was knighted. In 1766 he was prevailed upon, though not without difficulty, to accept of the chief justiceship of the court of common pleas. To his son, a youth of seventeen, he is said to have thus expressed himself on his new appointment. "I will tell you a secret worth knowing and remembering; the elevation I have met with in life, particularly this last instance of it, has not been owing to any superior merit or abilities, but to my humility, to my not having set up myself above others, and to an uniform endeavour to pass through life void of offence towards God and man." His conduct in the court of common pleas was marked by candour and urbanity mingled with firmness, and united to the most unimpeachable impartiality. The uprightness with which he administered justice between the crown and the subject is sufficiently manifested by his decision against the legality of general warrants in the memorable case of *Wilkes v. Lord Halifax* and others. "There is no doubt," said his lordship, "but that the warrant whereby the plaintiff was imprisoned, and his papers seized, was illegal; it has undergone the consideration of the court of king's bench,



and has very properly been deemed so by every judge who has seen it; and there is no pretence or foundation for the defendant in this cause to make any stand against this action by way of justification, in the way he has done, because it clearly and manifestly is an illegal warrant, contrary to the common law of the land. And if warrants of this kind had been found to be legal, I am sure, as one of the plaintiff's counsel observed, it is extremely proper for the legislature of this kingdom to interpose and provide a remedy, because all the private papers of a man as well as his liberty would be in the power of the secretary of state, or any of his servants. The law makes no difference between great and petty officers. Thank God, they are all amenable to justice, and the law will reach them if they step over the boundaries which the law has prescribed."

In 1770, on the resignation of Lord Camden, and the death of Mr Yorke, Sir Eardley Wilmot was offered the great seal by the duke of Grafton. But he at once and firmly declined the honour; and, although offered it again in the course of the same year by Lord North, persisted in his resolution. Indeed, besides his strong aversion to public life, which he had never yet overcome, his health was at this time so bad, that instead of accepting a more laborious office, he felt necessitated soon after to resign his seat in the common pleas. When released from the toils of office, he devoted himself chiefly to the society of his own family, but occasionally attended appeals before the privy-council. He died on the 5th of February, 1792.

## Montague, Earl of Sandwich.

BORN A. D. 1718.—DIED A. D. 1792.

JOHN GEORGE MONTAGUE, earl of Sandwich, was born in the month of November, 1718. He was educated at Eton and Trinity-college, Cambridge.

From the time of his taking his seat in the house of lords, until 1744, he was in opposition to ministry. On the formation of the Broad-bottom ministry he came in as one of the junior lords of the admiralty. In the duke of Bedford's ministry he held the office of secretary of state. In 1767, on the return of the duke's party to office, he was appointed postmaster-general. "Here," says the writer of 'Characters,' published in 1777, "he remained like his predecessor,<sup>1</sup> in a kind of ministerial probation, till a vacancy in the cabinet should happen; and there he might have remained ever since if the scruples and fears of a certain noble viscount<sup>2</sup> had not given his lordship's friends an opportunity of calling him into cabinet. On his last-mentioned noble friend's resignation of the seals, towards the close of the year 1770, he was appointed secretary of state for the northern department, in the room of Lord Rochford, who succeeded Lord Weymouth in the southern. He did not remain long in this situation; for an honest tar,<sup>3</sup> who then presided at the admiralty board, finding himself rendered a cypher through the overbearing mandates of a junto, and the treachery of his

<sup>1</sup> Lord Hillsborough.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Weymouth.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Edward, afterwards Lord Hawke.

brethren in the mock or ostensible cabinet, on one hand; and perceiving, on the other, that he had been grossly deceived and imposed on by his surveyor,<sup>4</sup> resigned in a fit of chagrin and disgust, which made way for our hero, who was appointed first commissioner of the admiralty very early in the spring, 1771. The conduct and language held in both houses of parliament on this occasion, was to the last degree curious and entertaining: it proved beyond question what ministers were capable of saying,—what the king's friends were capable of enacting,—what the high priest and his immediate associates and assistants were capable of commanding,—and what the spiritless, deluded, degenerate people of this country were capable of enduring, without even a groan.

“As we would wish to clear the ground as we proceed, and not report naked occurrences without pointing to the causes, when those causes become obvious, we beg leave to remind our readers, that our lord had done away all his former transgressions, and knit himself closer to the junto than ever, by the very distinguished part he took in the house of lords during the spring session, 1770, in relation to the Middlesex election, particularly by that celebrated speech made in his closet, printed and disseminated by previous agreement, and said to be spoken on the 2d of February, on Lord Rockingham's motion, ‘that the house of commons, in the exercise of its judicature in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of parliament, which is part thereof.’ He was then at the post-office, in a state somewhat resembling a deserving naval veteran of rank and meritorious service appointed governor of Greenwich, happy in retirement, yet ready to come forward when an opportunity of serving his country in a more elevated and efficient situation should call him forth.

“From his taking his seat at the board, at which he at present presides, till the commencement of the present troubles in America, we know very little of his lordship, in either his official, cabinet, or parliamentary capacity, worth recording, more than what might be included within this compendious description, that he supported administration,—that is, in plain English, he did not commit an act of political suicide on his own precious person. It is true, the house of commons were divided into two parties, respecting his conduct and abilities. His adversaries contended that there was never known in this country so high or burthensome a naval peace-establishment, that half-a-million, and other great and extraordinary grants, had been made on his lordship's entrance into office; that besides these naval grants made at that time, the articles of extraordinaries, wear and tear, repairs, buildings and rebuildings, exceeded any thing ever known within the same period; that, added to this, a heavy navy-debt was still incurring; that the navy, with all this monstrous and unprecedented expense, was far from being in the respectable condition it was represented; and at all events, if what his lordship's blazoners and defenders said was strictly just, then the house of commons was deceived by administration; for how was it possible, if what ministers asserted respecting the flourishing state of the navy on the threatened rupture with Spain were true, that the nation should be put to the annual extraordinary expense of at least a

<sup>4</sup> Sir Thomas Slade, surveyor of the Navy.



million in buildings, rebuildings, and purchase of timber, and all kinds of stores? His friends, particularly the minister—who nevertheless complained loudly of the expense—said, that the navy, it is true, when his lordship came into office, was in a ruinous state; yet ministers had not misled or misinformed the house, for the ships built of green timber in the height of the late war rotted imperceptibly, and were obliged to be broken up for other uses, or sold; that the noble lord who now presides at the board, perceiving the necessity of putting our navy on a respectable footing, had laid in vast stocks of seasoned timber not subject to decay, and a proportionable quantity of all kinds of naval stores, the consequence of which would be, that late in 1774, or early in 1775, we should have in our different docks as guardships, and at sea, above eighty men of war of the line fit for actual service, and upwards of twenty of them manned and ready for sea at a few hours' notice. Which of those accounts may be nearer the truth—for we have hardly a doubt that they are both exaggerated—we will not pretend to determine.

“His lordship has been all along one of the warmest advocates for the unmodified claim of supremacy of this country over America, on the alternative of absolute conquest, as against an alien enemy on our side, and unconditional submission on theirs. His arguments are built entirely on the same foundation with those of Lord Mansfield. The right of taxation, he contends, is in the British legislature; and though we were willing to relax or concede, America is not; therefore we must assert that right, or for ever relinquish it. On the point of expediency, his lordship is, if possible, more express and explicit. He has engaged not only for the pacific and friendly dispositions of the courts of Versailles and Madrid, as often as any fears for the event of their conduct have been suggested, but he has done more; he has engaged and pledged himself repeatedly to parliament and the public, for the cowardly dispositions of every British subject of American birth, from Hudson's bay to St Augustine. He has compared them—we have heard his lordship with our own ears—to the cowardly Asiatics defeated by a certain deceased noble lord,<sup>6</sup> whom he distinguished by the well-known appellation of the ‘Heaven-born General;’ and added emphatically, in answer to something urged by his opponents in debate, respecting their numbers, that the more numerous they were the better; it would give him pleasure to hear that the rebels consisted of a hundred thousand instead of ten: for in that event, as in Asia, and wherever else a regular disciplined force were to contend with a mob—particularly a mob composed of cowards, braggards, and poltroons—success would be more certain, and would be bought on cheaper and easier terms,—one victory would answer every purpose of a dozen, and the flame of rebellion would be sooner extinguished, and with less trouble and bloodshed.

“His lordship is undoubtedly a man of talents, and well-acquainted with business; but whether he is equal to the very important post he now occupies, is more than we dare venture to decide on. He is certainly, from his ignorance of naval affairs, extremely liable to be imposed on; and of course he may be led into error, in proportion—

<sup>6</sup> Lord Clive.

strange as it may appear—to the goodness of his heart, and the soundness of his understanding. His lordship's talents, in other respects, are confessed. He is certainly a great statesman. If report be not a liar, he convinced the late Lord Chesterfield, that he could outdo him even in his own way; and showed the lords Bute and Holland, and the celebrated George Grenville, of plodding memory, that honesty and quick parts were an overmatch for mere cunning and a knowledge of Cocker's arithmetic. Be that as it may, Lord Sandwich is now a noun-substantive; or if there be a question who supports him, and has for some years, it can only be solved at Buckingham-house.

“As a parliamentary speaker, Lord Sandwich certainly stands very low on the list; and it is only on account of his political value in other respects, that we have brought him forward thus early. His discourses are awkward, loose, and detached. He generally stands with his hands in his pockets, or as if in the very act of driving a flock of geese, or forcing them into the end of a narrow lane. His speeches are stories, or short replies to what is offered on the other side, consisting chiefly of contradictions. In the midst of his gravest arguments, he lets fall some expression which throws the house in a roar, and seems little solicitous whether it be at the expense of himself or his antagonists.”

This sketch, though overstrained in some points, is not very far wide of the truth. The earl of Sandwich was a man of negative rather than positive qualities. His patronage of Captain Cook, however, deserves all praise. He died on the 30th of April, 1792.

## George, Lord Rodney.

BORN A. D. 1717.—DIED A. D. 1792.

THIS distinguished naval officer was the second son of Henry Rodney of Walton-on-Thames, and was born in December, 1717. He entered the navy while a boy, and in the spring of 1742 was appointed by Admiral Mathews, then commanding in the Mediterranean, one of his lieutenants. In the same year he was promoted to be captain of the Plymouth, of sixty guns, from which he passed successively to the Sheerness, the Ludlow Castle, and the Eagle. In the latter vessel he contributed eminently to Sir Edward Hawke's success off Cape Finisterre, in October, 1747. In 1749 he was appointed governor of Newfoundland. During his absence in this capacity he was returned to parliament for the borough of Saltash, and, at the next general election, for Oakhampton.

After a series of minor services in various commands, he was appointed rear-admiral of the blue in 1759. Soon after this he sailed on an expedition against Havre de Grace, where he succeeded in effectually destroying the whole of the flat-bottomed boats and warlike stores which had been collected in that harbour with the view of invading England. In 1761 he was returned for Penryn, but sailed soon after for Martinico. On his return he was promoted to be vice-admiral of the blue, and, on the 21st of January, 1764, was created a baronet.

On the dissolution of parliament in 1768, he allowed himself to be led into a most ruinous contest for the representation of Northampton,



in which he indeed gained his election, but at the sacrifice of his whole fortune. In 1771 he was appointed rear-admiral of Great Britain, and took the chief command on the Jamaica station. At the expiration of the term allotted for the continuance of that service, he retired to France, with the view of recovering from his pecuniary embarrassments. It is said that while residing abroad he had several splendid offers made him to engage in the French service; but the stories connected with this portion of his life are not sufficiently authenticated. At the conclusion of the year 1779, he was appointed commander-in-chief on the Leeward island station. On his way thither he fell in with sixteen sail of Spanish merchantmen, bound to Cadiz, under convoy of a line of battle ship and six frigates, the whole of which surrendered to him without resistance. Passing on towards Gibraltar, he met with a Spanish fleet of eleven ships of the line and two frigates, off Cape St Vincent, which he instantly engaged; and, in an action of ten hours' continuance, he succeeded in destroying or capturing seven of the larger vessels. Off St Lucia, he fell in with the French fleet, and brought it to action, but it succeeded in bearing off. These successes, however, obtained for him the thanks of both houses of parliament, and the city of Westminster elected him one of its representatives.

Rodney now sailed towards St Eustatia, where the Dutch had established a huge magazine of naval and military stores, notoriously for the supply of our combined enemies. It surrendered without resistance, and property nearly to the amount of £3,000,000, with 150 merchantships, and some vessels of war, fell into the hands of the captors. The king and the ministry approved of the admiral's conduct; but a fierce attack was made upon him in the house of commons, by a party who represented him as sacrificing public interests to private advantages, and succeeded for a while in rendering him extremely unpopular throughout the kingdom. He returned to England in bad health, but met and confuted the successive charges brought against him, in a manner which amply satisfied all his friends.

On the death of Lord Hawke, Rodney was appointed vice-admiral of Britain, and repaired immediately to the West India command. Here he was joined by Sir Samuel Hood, and found himself at the head of thirty-six ships of the line. With this fleet he overtook the French fleet, commanded by the Count de Grasse, near the island of Dominica, and having gained the weather-gage, forced the count into action. The contest lasted the whole of the 12th of April, 1782, and is said to have been in a great measure decided by the manœuvre—then nearly new in naval tactics—of breaking through the enemy's line. It has been alleged that Rodney, previously to his sailing on this expedition, had received some hints, as to the new system of manœuvring, from Clerk, but this has never been satisfactorily proved, and there is some evidence to show that the breaking of the enemy's line in this action, was purely incidental and the thought of the moment. Our ships were closely engaged under the lee of the French line,—theirs were dropping down upon us,—and, an opening presenting itself, Rodney, in the formidable, with his seconds, the *Namur* and *Duke*, and immediately supported by the *Canada*, dashed through, and broke the enemy's line about three ships short of the centre, where de Grasse commanded in the *Ville de Paris*. The victory was complete and decisive; the *Ville de Paris* with

four other ships of the line fell into the hands of the conquerors, and another was sunk in the action.

For this service Rodney was advanced to the peerage, on the 19th June, 1782, by the title of Baron Rodney of Rodney-Stoke, in the county of Somerset; and a pension was voted to him of £2000. He died on the 24th of May, 1792.

## Sir George Pocock.

BORN A. D. 1706.—DIED A. D. 1792.

THIS excellent naval officer was a son of the Rev. Thomas Pocock, chaplain of Greenwich hospital. He entered the naval service in 1718, under Sir George Byng, whom he accompanied to the Mediterranean. In 1732 he became first lieutenant of the *Namur*. On the 31st of August, 1738, he was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and commanded, successively, the *Woolwich* and the *Sutherland*. In 1748, being then chief officer on the Leeward islands station, he blockaded Martinico, and captured nearly forty vessels belonging to a French convoy from Europe.

In 1754, he proceeded to the East Indies, as captain of the *Cumberland*, and second in command to Rear-admiral Watson. On the 4th of February, 1755, he was made rear-admiral of the blue; and rear of the red on the 4th of June, 1756. In the month of March, 1757, he led the attack, in the *Tiger*, upon Chandernagore, and, though he received seven wounds, did not quit the deck till the end of the action. On the 16th of August following, he succeeded to the chief naval command in the East Indies. He was made vice-admiral of the red on the 31st of January, 1758. Being reinforced by Commodore Stevens, he hoisted his flag in the *Yarmouth*, and put to sea with a squadron which gave chase to seven French ships, on the 29th of April, off the coast near Negapatam. An action ensued, in which the *Yarmouth* was attacked, and, at one time, nearly captured by the enemy. Soon after the engagement, he caused a court-martial to be held at Madras, on the captains of the *Cumberland*, *Newcastle*, and *Weymouth*, for misconduct in not answering his signals in this engagement; one of them was sentenced to be dismissed from his ship, another to be cashiered, and the third to lose a year's rank. Admiral Pocock sailed a second time the same year, in pursuit of the French, whom he succeeded in bringing to action, on the 3d of August; but, after a running fight of an hour, the enemy's fleet escaped into the road of Pondicherry, with a loss of 550 men, killed and wounded, while that of the English was comparatively insignificant. Pocock now proceeded to Bombay, for the purpose of refitting; and, on the 17th of April, 1759, he sailed again in search of the French fleet, with which he came in sight on the 2d of September. He immediately commenced a chase, but was baffled by the going down of the wind. Correctly supposing that the enemy would make for Pondicherry, he proceeded thither, and came to action on the 10th. The French commander, however, after a loss of 1500 men, again sheered off.

In 1760 Pocock returned to England; in 1761 he was created a



knight of the Bath. In this latter year he distinguished himself by the taking of the Havannah. On the appointment of Sir Charles Saunders, his junior, to the office of first lord of the admiralty, in 1765, he retired in disgust from the service. He died on the 3d of April, 1792.

Sir George was an able and successful officer, esteemed by his country, beloved by his officers and men, and respected by his enemies abroad. When General Lally was brought prisoner to England, after the reduction of Pondicherry, he begged to be introduced to Admiral Sir George Pocock, whom he thus addressed:—"Dear Sir George, as the first man in your profession, I cannot but respect and esteem you, though you have been the greatest enemy I ever had. But for you, I should have triumphed in India, instead of being made a captive. When we first sailed out to give you battle, I had provided a number of musicians on board the *Zodiaque*, intending to give the ladies a ball upon our victory; but you left me only three fiddlers alive, and treated us all so roughly, that you quite spoiled us for dancing."

### North, Earl of Guildford.

BORN A. D. 1729.—DIED A. D. 1792.

FREDERICK NORTH, eldest son of Francis, Earl of Guildford, was born in 1729. He was educated at Eton and Oxford.

He entered parliament as member for Banbury. In 1759 he was appointed a commissioner of the treasury, and remained in office until 1765. In the following year he was made joint-receiver and paymaster of the forces, and obtained a seat in the privy council. In 1767, on the death of Charles Townshend, he became chancellor of the exchequer; and in 1770, first lord of the treasury.

A contemporary, writing in 1776, thus sketches the political career of his lordship up to that period. "The first time our professed plan will permit us to take notice of his lordship was on the day that the once justly revered Pitt was created Earl of Chatham, and lord-privy-seal, the 2d of August, 1766. On the same day, according to the language of the red book of the exchequer, Lord North was put to-bed to the old woman<sup>1</sup> at the pay-office, without any previous courtship, or indeed knowledge of that venerable old lady.<sup>2</sup> His lordship having sat several years at the treasury-board—where he was known to be industrious, laborious, and plodding, and where he studied Cocker and Wingate's valuable treatises on arithmetic, and the surprising combinations between pounds, shillings, and pence, under that occult and profound financier, the late Mr George Grenville—the shining, flourishing, political Proteus,<sup>3</sup> whose commission bore equal date, and who was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, gave sterility to barrenness,<sup>4</sup> by calling our hero to his confidence, and putting himself under his lord-

<sup>1</sup> The well-known Mr Cooke, member for Middlesex, with whom he was appointed joint-paymaster-general.

<sup>2</sup> Burke says, in his celebrated speech, that his lordship had never seen his bed-fellow's face until the bridal night.

<sup>3</sup> The late Charles Townshend.

<sup>4</sup> A house of commons bull, fathered on the last-mentioned honourable gentleman.

ship's pupilage. Fame saith that here our hero rendered the junto most essential service, and paved the way to that elevated situation he now stands in. Versatile Charles had talents for flourishing away a speech, and for flattering and misleading the house of commons. He could write a pamphlet, or betray a connection, and laugh at it. He could even mitigate the resentments of those he had the most highly offended; and, by a certain mixture of animal vivacity, highly seasoned with wit and good humour, he possessed the knack of disarming the very persons he had thus grossly betrayed. But in every other particular his talents were limited. He hated application, and despised the means of attaining useful knowledge. With such complexional abilities, accompanied with a variety of other circumstances, it is not at all to be wondered that he leaned on Lord North for assistance. He could entertain no jealousy of such a man, because fire and water were not, he knew, more contradictory in their nature. He looked upon his lordship as a useful drudge, fit to be employed to some purposes; and this intercourse being known at Carleton-house, Charles's vanity was flattered; he liked to take the lead; he was detached from the ostensible minister,<sup>5</sup> and from his first commissioner of the treasury,<sup>6</sup> with whom he was by his post more nearly connected. He differed from them in cabinet; and the house of commons, by proper management, being predisposed, Charles, in the committee of supply, proposed that certain duties should be laid on tea, paper, painters' colours, and glass, imported into America. When his colleagues remonstrated against the measure, he held out the house of commons *in terrorem* against them; all resistance he declared was vain; for the house, he assured his principal, were united as one man; and were determined to compel America to contribute towards the support of their military establishment, as well as towards relieving the people of this country from part of the heavy burdens incurred in the protection and assistance of its colonies during the late war.

"Whether Lord North acted as a confidential adviser in this business, or whether he was the confidential medium through which the junto and Charles communicated with each other in the beginning, there is little reason to doubt that his lordship was oftener at the treasury than the pay-office; and infinitely more intimate with Charles Townshend than with his old spouse at the Horse-guards.<sup>7</sup> Charles lived out his year; pity it is that he had not died a year earlier, or had not been still living, to answer for the event of his wild and improvident schemes! What he had often in a ludicrous manner<sup>8</sup> foretold, came, however, to be exactly fulfilled; for before he was quite cold Lord

<sup>5</sup> Lord Chatham.

<sup>6</sup> Duke of Grafton.

<sup>7</sup> Cooke.

<sup>8</sup> "See," said Charles, "that great, heavy, booby-looking, bursten-bellied, seeming changeling. You may believe me, when I assure you it is a fact, that if any thing should happen to me, he will succeed to my place, and very shortly after come to be first commissioner of the treasury." It would appear that George Grenville, also, foresaw the rise of the 'booby.' Shortly after North's first appearance in public life, he was met, one morning, by George Grenville, and another gentleman, walking in the park, and as it appeared, rehearsing an oration. "Here comes blubbering North," said the latter to Grenville; "I wonder what he is getting by heart, for I am sure it can be nothing of his own!" "You are mistaken," replied Grenville; "North is a young man of great promise, and high qualifications; and if he does not relax in his political pursuits, he is very likely to be prime minister."



North was appointed to succeed him in the chancellorship of the exchequer.

"His lordship, in the early persecution of Mr Wilkes, having exerted himself so strenuously as to lay, in a great measure, the foundation of his future fortunes, it was expected, of course, that as minister of the house of commons he would confirm the happy presages formed of his talents and disposition in this line, by those who were the means of pushing him into so respectable a situation. His lordship did not disappoint them; he surpassed even their highest and most sanguine expectations; the cabinet<sup>9</sup> was his own, in spite of his principal;<sup>10</sup> and Wilkes was not only expelled, but incapacitated.

"The time now approached when an opportunity was given to his lordship to smooth the way to the post of first minister. Charles Townshend's port-duties were not so favourably received in America as either their framer or those who employed him expected. If his lordship had any part, at first or second hand, in urging or pressing Charles to that dangerous, and, we fear, ruinous measure, he acted under cover; but now, as minister of the house of commons, he could no longer dissemble or conceal his sentiments. The non-importation agreement entered into by the several colonies, and a dispute with the province of Massachusetts Bay relative to the quartering of the army, having greatly embarrassed administration, two letters were written, which have been already sufficiently commented on. One of them was the circular letter promising that no more duties should be imposed on America, and that those laid on already should be repealed on commercial principles. This letter was certainly written with his lordship's approbation and consent, he being then of the cabinet, and minister of the house of commons. How then has he performed his promise, or fulfilled the engagement contained in that letter? By refusing to take off the duty on tea, when he moved for the repeal of the duties on paper, painters' colours, and glass; and giving the most full and confidential assurances to the country-gentlemen in the beginning of the three last sessions, in the committee of ways and means, that taxes were expected from America; that they were the leading object of the present hostile measures; that we were not seeking a pepper-corn, but were contending for a substantial support from America, towards lightening the intolerable burdens we now groan under, from the heavy debt incurred in defending, protecting, and securing that country.

"The last part of Lord Chatham's political farce was now to be played. The cabinet on his lordship's closet arrangement consisted of himself, the duke of Grafton, the lords Shelburne, Camden, and Charles Townshend, Sir Charles Saunders, and General Conway. Now let us see how the mock-cabinet stood when the repeal of all the American duties was moved there in 1769. Duke of Grafton, and lords Camden, North, Weymouth, Rochford, Hillsborough, and Bristol. Here we may well repeat the words of a certain noble lord,<sup>11</sup> that scarce a second plank of the vessel originally launched was remaining when the noble duke was outvoted in cabinet, on a proposal of a total repeal of the

<sup>9</sup> The ostensible cabinet was then composed of Lords Camden, Hillsborough, Gower, Weymouth, Clare, Rochford, North, and the duke of Grafton—a majority of five to two.

<sup>10</sup> Duke of Grafton.

<sup>11</sup> Lord Chatham.

American port-duties; which fatal vote is the true and sole cause of the present civil war.

"The first lord of the treasury at length took it in his head to do what both prudence and spirit had, in our opinion, long before dictated. Finding in the winter 1769, that he was outvoted in cabinet, on a proposition of a total repeal of the American port-duties, and that it was ultimately determined to keep the duty on tea standing, and that the measure in this form was to be submitted to parliament, his grace resigned, and made way for our hero. Accordingly, on the 5th of March, 1770, about six weeks after the noble duke's resignation, and his succeeding to that important post, his lordship moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of an act passed in the seventh of his present majesty, for levying duties on certain goods imported into America, as related to the duties imposed by said act on the importation of paper, painters' colours, and glass. In his introductory speech on this occasion, he censured, in very severe terms, the conduct of the administration who devised the tax, observing, it was to the last degree absurd to tax the manufactures of Great Britain. As to the tea, that being an article of commerce, and as the consumers in the colonies would continue to have it ninepence a pound cheaper than before the passing of the law, he thought it very proper to have it continued. His lordship was pressed by many of his friends, as well as his opposers, to consent to a total repeal; but he remained inflexible and unmoved, and after a very warm debate, he carried his motion for a partial repeal, by a majority of 204 against 142. This we look upon to be one of the blackest days Britain ever saw,—a day which probably will be as memorable in the British annals, as ever the Ides of March were in those of ancient Rome. The motion on which the question was put was made by Governor Pownal, by way of amendment, in the following words, 'and on teas.'

"His lordship, however, had another opportunity to recover his senses, or to endeavour to restore his employers to theirs; for Mr Alderman Trecothick, on the 9th of April following, moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the American tea-duty; but the noble lord seeming averse to it, one of the worthy corps of King's friends<sup>19</sup> moved the order of the day, which was carried by a majority of 80 to 52. His lordship chose to defeat this last effort of the friends of their country, to prevent the evils with which we are at present encompassed, by a kind of play at parliamentary cross purposes, and ended the whole with a joke. He insisted, in the first instance, that Mr Pownal's amendment ought to have the weight of a formal motion; and consequently that Mr Trecothick's motion was premature, because it was against a known rule of the house, that any question which had received a negative should be brought in the same session. The joke was entirely in the style of his lordship's other drolleries. Mr Beckford (then lord-mayor) perceiving that the ministry were determined not to consent to the motion, and only objected to the point of order to conceal their real intentions, hoped the noble lord would consent to a prorogation of the parliament till after the holidays. "Oh,"—replied his lordship in his truly Attic manner—"I am glad to find that a prorogation will

<sup>19</sup> Lord Clare, now Earl Nugent.



content the honourable gentleman;" alluding to the city-petition, lately presented, praying a dissolution of parliament.

"The session of 1771 was a very warm one; the dispute with Spain relative to Falkland's island,—the attack on the judges and the administration of justice in the courts of law,—the contest with the printers<sup>13</sup> and the city-magistrates,—rendered it still more so; but he surmounted all difficulties much better than was at first expected by his most sanguine friends. The session of 1772 was distinguished by his carrying a most difficult point in the house of commons, the Royal marriage-bill. This recommended him strongly to the junto and his royal master, and procured him the ribbon. The session of 1773 was marked by his conducting the East India inquiry, and the bill for new-modeling the affairs of the East India company in Asia and Europe. He was strongly opposed in the cabinet on this measure; but by his perseverance and address he surmounted all the impediments thrown in his way. He had other persons' blunders to answer for as well as his own, during this session. Lord Hillsborough—having been imposed on by some mercenary planters in St Vincent's—disposed of the Caribb islands to the interested informants, which caused an insurrection.

"We come now to the fatal period in which the foundation of the ruin which at present threatens this seemingly devoted empire with destruction was laid,—we mean the spring-session of 1774. The affairs of America had now continued for almost seven years in the greatest confusion. Our threats were set at defiance,—our mere acts of governmental power were disregarded,—our soothing words were despised,—our promises were disbelieved: in fine, after making the king descend from his dignity; after ministers had pledged themselves for the performance of what, according to the sound principles of the constitution, they would deserve to have suffered on a block for; after troops had been sent to bully the most refractory colonies into submission, and had been as precipitately withdrawn out of a regard to their personal safety; after their assemblies had been dissolved, to compel them to acquiesce in measures they were averse to, and again convened and permitted to sit, without any satisfaction given or promised; after an absolute act of parliament<sup>14</sup> had been explained by an arbitrary vote of both houses, as purporting to contain a description of persons not then in being, and creating offences of high treason by a constrained and unnatural interpretation of the law; in fine, after America had been in a manner cut off, and its affections estranged from this country for full seven years, and all regular government partly at an end, nothing was yet done. Administration seemed supine and negligent in proportion to the magnitude and number of difficulties they had to encounter with. The riots, however, at Boston the preceding autumn, and the burning of the tea, at length roused a country-gentleman,<sup>15</sup> who gave notice that he would, on a certain day, move the house to resolve itself into a committee to take the affairs of America into consideration. Before that day arrived, his lordship saw the necessity of taking the inquiry out of the hands of opposition, who were then in possession of it, and who

<sup>13</sup> Wheble and Thompson, for breach of privileges in reporting and misrepresenting the debates of the house.

<sup>14</sup> 25th of Henry VIII. for trial of offences committed beyond sea.

<sup>15</sup> Colonel Jennings.

might possibly move some resolution it would be extremely embarrassing to get rid of: he therefore informed the house, that he would, on such a day, move the house for a committee for the same purpose.

"On the day appointed, his lordship moved several resolutions, on the first of which the Boston port-bill was framed. His lordship supported that measure on positive assurances that the East India company would be indemnified for their tea that was destroyed, and that the whole affair would consequently drop. The next bill he brought in was that for altering the charter of the province of Massachusetts bay; he recommended this in the same manner. He assured the house that the present bill was at the special request of the principal inhabitants, traders, and land-owners. Both these assurances proved ill-founded; his lordship was deceived, or purposely deceived parliament. The first measure was very ill-received in America; but the second threw the people into a ferment little short of rebellion.

"The session of 1775, or the first of the present parliament, was opened in a most extraordinary manner. The naval peace establishment was reduced 4,000 men; and though we were informed that General Gage was fortifying Boston Neck, in order to protect himself against hostilities, every thing appeared as tranquil in parliament as if nothing had happened in America. His lordship was a second time awaked from his deceitful slumbers; he accordingly produced some garbled extracts of mutilated letters full of false or exaggerated facts, vague surmises, idle reports, and silly predictions, from the several tools and instruments of power on the spot. His lordship was—strange as it may appear—able to procure a majority of three to one; the navy was augmented 6,000 men, and the army 4,000; a string of penal bills were enacted, full of the most foolish as well as the most barbarous policy; and his lordship closed his parliamentary campaign with assuring his friends and opponents repeatedly that he would have an army of 10,000 or 12,000 men at Boston; that our friends in America were much more numerous than our enemies; but if we should be obliged to proceed to extremities, our force at Boston would be strong enough to compel obedience without striking a blow. His lordship was again grossly mistaken; for obedience was not compelled by fright, terror, or blows,—we got as bad as we gave,—and we threw away three millions of money at least, and several valuable lives, without bringing America to our feet.<sup>16</sup>

"Well, the session of 1776 arrived. His lordship confessed he was deceived, both in the strength of his adversaries, and the real disposition of his friends. He now disclaimed all thoughts of conquest and taxation. America must acknowledge the supremacy and commercial control of this country; that was all he desired. This, however, not being highly relished by the friends of taxation, his lordship soon changed his mind; and by the time that he had led parliament too far to recede, he declared for taxation and unconditional submission, in imitation of his noble and spirited coadjutor; and taking breath, during the Christmas holidays, led parliament a little further, by taking 20,000 foreigners into British pay. With this formidable army of 70,000 land-forces, and 80 ships and frigates of war, at an expense of £15,000,000,

<sup>16</sup> A favourite phrase of his lordship's during the latter part of the session 1774.



including the home-establishment, his lordship has, for the third time, pledged himself to parliament and the public, that America would be finally reduced at the close of the present campaign. Whether that will be so or not, is not yet known; if this last prediction turns out true, we will readily allow him to be the greatest minister this country ever saw; should it turn out the contrary, then will we not hesitate to pronounce him the veriest and most confident bungler that was ever employed by Providence as an instrument to scourge a credulous, degenerate, weak, and wicked nation.

"It is difficult to speak of his lordship's political abilities with any degree of confidence or precision. If he be the mere puppet of the interior cabinet,—the mere child of favouritism,—it is impossible to try him fairly as a minister acting on his own judgment. We must in that case consider him merely as possessed of good talents, but basely sacrificing them to the meanest and most sordid motives. Perhaps it may be said his principles lead him that way, and his inclination and interest unite in urging him to promote the views and wishes of the prince, in preference to those of the people. Be it so: the question in that light is at an end. He cannot be a proper minister in a mixed or popular government, who would endeavour to give the first magistrate more power than is allowed by the constitution; or unite the executive and legislative powers of the state in the same person. On the other hand, supposing Lord North to be really the minister, as much as Walpole, Pelham, or Pitt were severally when they bore the character—which we will as soon believe, till we receive some substantial proof of it, as that he is Mufti or Turkish high-priest—we can by no means allow him fitted either by nature, habit, or inclination, for so great and arduous an undertaking. It would be an invidious task to assign our reasons, nor would it be less tedious and disgusting. His lordship is, however, a man of sound judgment, well-trained in business, of great parliamentary dexterity, and equalled by no man in Britain in plausibility, in a strong appearance of candour, in avoiding explanations in debate, and knowing how to recede from engagements without incurring a breach of promise. His enemies allow him no merit. This is merely the voice of party. His lordship was called to the helm at a most critical season,—in a storm of faction or national resentment, call it which you please. He rode it out with great resolution, and no small degree of ministerial skill; and whether his conduct on that occasion may be imputed unto him as righteousness, there is little doubt that he encountered some perils, and many disagreeable circumstances; and, like an able pilot, brought the political bark safe into port.

"Lord North is certainly a very able speaker. His judgment in conducting a debate is admirable. He is possessed of a vast fund of information relative to almost every subject that comes under discussion. He has a prodigious, sound, accurate memory, arranges his matter judiciously, and never fails to push the strongest part of his argument into the most conspicuous point of view. If he seldom produces any thing new himself, he has a peculiar knack at transferring other people's sentiments, both in print and debate, into his speeches; and that with so much art as not to be easily observed; and never fails to press his antagonists where they are weakest and least capable of resistance. But if he has many equals, and some superiors in this line,

there is one in which he peculiarly and clearly excels all his cotemporaries in both houses, that is, in reply. He receives the attacks of his opponents frequently like an electric shock; and after haranguing for an hour rather dully, he rises a second time, and levels his adversary in a few words, either in a flow of keen satire, or the most sound and pointed argument. His lordship's voice is extremely disagreeable, his elocution still worse, and his manner execrably awkward. He is frequently tedious and unintelligible, abounds in useless repetitions, and scarcely ever places his emphasis with propriety, much less with grace."

This is a curious portrait, overdrawn in some points and too harsh in its general tone, but in the main correct. Lord North's administration stripped Britain of her American colonies; but it was not till the surrender of General Burgoyne, at Saratoga, that the minister's eyes were opened to the impolicy of the measures he had so long been pursuing towards the colonists. In the session of 1777, Lord North made some conciliatory efforts in the house of commons. He moved for "a bill for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his majesty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America;" and a bill "to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America." His lordship said, that it was intended to appoint five commissioners, and enable them to treat with the congress, as if it were a legal body, with any of the provincial assemblies upon their present constitution, or with any individuals in military or civil command. They were to have a power of suspending hostilities, granting pardons, and restoring all or any of the colonies to the form of their ancient constitution. Should the Americans now claim independence, they should not be required to renounce it, until the treaty had been ratified by the parliament of Great Britain; and if the Americans refused a moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire when reunited, they should be warned that in that case they were not to look for support from it. The minister affirmed that all these concessions were consistent with his former opinions, and said that if the question were asked, why they had not been sooner proposed, he should reply, that the moment of victory, for which he had anxiously waited, seemed to him the only proper season for offering terms of concession. But though the result of the war had proved unfavourable, he would no longer delay the desirable and necessary work of reconciliation.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Miller.—"Never, perhaps, was the inexpressible absurdity of the ministerial system more apparent than at the present moment. The powers now granted were precisely of the nature of those with which it was the object of the motion made by the duke of Grafton, in the spring of 1775, to invest the former commissioners, Lord and General Howe. Had that motion been adopted, the contest might unquestionably have been, with the utmost facility, amicably and honourably terminated; but the general aspect of affairs since that period was totally changed. From the declaration of independence which America had once made, she could never be expected to recede. The strength of Great Britain had been tried, and found unequal to the contest. The measures adopted by the English government, particularly in the employment of German mercenaries and Indian savages, had inflamed the resentment of America to the highest pitch. Her recent successes had rendered it to the last degree improbable that she would ever again consent to recognise, in any shape, or under any modification, the authority of Britain. A treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance, was all that a



North continued in office until 1781, when, after the famous attempt at a coalition ministry, Pitt triumphed over both Fox and North. In 1790 he succeeded his father as Earl of Guildford. He took no active part in politics after this, and died on the 5th of August, 1792.

Lord North was an amiable man in private life; but his administration, in the words of Dr Bisset, "teemed with calamitous events, beyond any of the same duration to be found in our annals. The war with America lost us thirteen great and powerful colonies. Year after year, our blood and treasure were expended to no purpose; myriads of men were sacrificed; and hundreds of millions were lavished, without obtaining any valuable object. Temporary gleams of partial success were followed by the permanent gloom of general disaster. Yet the chief minister possessed very considerable talents and fair intentions, though mingled with defects, and acting in such emergencies as precluded beneficial exertions and consequences."

## Stuart, Marquess of Bute.

BORN A. D. 1713.—DIED A. D. 1792.

THIS nobleman, who, more by his private influence with the sovereign than by the force of his talents or the exercise of official power, so greatly influenced the political transactions of the former part of George the Third's reign, was born in 1713, and succeeded his father in the marquissate of Bute, in the ninth year of his age. In 1738 he married the only daughter of Lady Mary Wortley Montague.

In 1749, after an accidental interview with Frederick, prince of Wales, he was appointed lord of the bed-chamber to that prince, and soon acquired the entire confidence and friendship both of the prince and princess. We have already noticed the extraordinary influence which his lordship obtained over the mind of George III. while yet a boy. This influence was strengthened rather than diminished by the accession of that prince to the throne, and was maintained by his lordship throughout life. The first change in ministry after the new sovereign's accession was dictated and arranged by the favourite, who, on the 25th of March, 1761, became one of the secretaries of state in room of the earl of Holderness. Soon after, the same influence put an end to the brilliant and popular administration of Pitt, and on the 29th of May, 1762, Lord Bute was appointed first lord of the treasury.

His lordship's appointment could be little satisfactory to the country, nor indeed to any party in the state. He was instantly assailed with great violence by the political organs of the day, and especially by Wilkes in 'The North Briton,' the first number of which was published on the 5th of June. In his second number Wilkes laconically says: "I cannot conceal the joy I feel as a North Briton, and I heartily congratulate my dear countrymen on our having at length accomplished the great, long sought, and universally national object of all our wishes,

just and sound policy, in the present circumstances, could hope, or would endeavour to accomplish."—*Belshum*.

the planting a Scotsman at the head of the English treasury. I was indeed before very well-pleased with the conduct of the two other gentlemen at that board, who are likewise natives of our country (Elliot and Oswald,) but then they were obliged to serve under a noble duke of a peculiar cast, whose views were most evidently neither to enrich himself nor to aggrandize us. My joy and exultation are now complete, for I have lived to see my countryman, the earl of Bute, adorned with the most noble order of the Garter—which hath been given to us with so sparing a hand, and only for the most brilliant national services—and presiding over the finances of this kingdom. This is the post which the prime minister hath generally kept for himself, and is of the first importance in this country. It must ever be so in times of war, and above all in this wide-extended but glorious war, when nearly the sum of twenty millions will be this year raised on the subject ;—though, I thank heaven, but a fortieth part of it will be paid by us.”

Bute’s earliest efforts were directed towards a general peace. So strenuously did he pursue this object that it has been suspected he was bribed by the French cabinet. Fox, however, consented to take the lead in the commons in support of the peace. It was opposed by Pitt, and keen debates ensued.

The first article which the opponents of the peace attacked was that for the regulation of the cod-fishery. “At a time,” they said, “when Great Britain had not half so much right as at present to prescribe terms to her enemies, she only consented to give up one small island—that of St Pierre—as a shelter to the French fishing boats, and with indispensable restrictions. If these were deemed expedient in the cession of one island, they were doubly necessary in the cession of two. But nothing could justify the absolute unconditional surrender of St Pierre and Miquelon, which would enable France to recover her marine, and by degrees to acquire the best part of a fishery from which she ought to have been entirely excluded.” In reply to this, it was argued : “That France would never have agreed to a total dereliction of the fishery ; that the cession, on her part, of the isles of Cape Breton and St John to England was more than an equivalent to the sheltering places of St Pierre and Miquelon, which she was not allowed to fortify, nor to keep any troops in, except such a number as were barely necessary to enforce the police.”

The restitution of the conquests made by the arms of Britain, particularly of those in the West Indies, was the object of the severest and most vehement censure. “The authors of such an infamous and improvident treaty,” said the opponents of administration, “seem to have lost sight of that great fundamental principle, that France is chiefly if not solely to be dreaded by us in the light of a maritime and commercial power. By the impolitic concessions made to her in the fishery, and by restoring all her valuable West India islands, we have put into her hands the means of repairing her prodigious losses, and of becoming once more formidable at sea. The fishery trained up an innumerable multitude of young seamen ; and the West India trade employed them when they were trained. France,” they observed, “had long since gained a decided superiority over us in this lucrative branch of commerce, and supplied almost all Europe with the rich commodities which are produced only in that part of the world. By this commerce she



enriched her merchants, and augmented her finances; whilst, from a want of sugar-land, which had been long known and severely felt by England, we at once lost the foreign trade, and suffered all the inconveniences of a monopoly at home." The concessions made to Spain, in the same part of the world, were represented as equally unjustifiable. "Florida," they maintained, "was no compensation for the Havannah. The Havannah was an important conquest. From the moment it was taken, all the Spanish treasures and riches in America lay at our mercy. Spain had purchased the security of all these, and the restoration of Cuba also, with the cession of Florida only. It was no equivalent. There had been a bargain; but the terms were inadequate. They were inadequate in every point, where the principle of reciprocity was affected to be introduced." They represented the privilege obtained from Spain, in favour of our logwood-cutters, as too uncertain and precarious to be considered among the list of equivalents. Goree on the coast of Africa had been surrendered without the least apparent necessity; in the East Indies, though the treaty mentioned an engagement for mutual restitution of conquests, the restitution was all on one side. We had conquered every thing, but retained nothing. In Europe, France had only one conquest to restore, Minorca; and for this island, we had given her the East Indies, the West Indies, and Africa.

The advocates for the peace defended these concessions on the following grounds: "The original object of the war," said they, "was the security of our colonies on the continent of America. The danger to which these colonies were exposed, and the immense waste of blood and treasure which ensued to Great Britain, left no sort of doubt that it was not only our best, but our only policy, to guard against all possibility of the return of such evils. Experience had shown us, that while France possesses any single place in America whence she may molest our settlements, they can never enjoy repose; and of course that we are never secure from being plunged again into those calamities from which we have at length and with so much difficulty emerged. To remove France from our neighbourhood in America, or to contract her power within the narrowest limits possible, was therefore the most capital advantage we could obtain, and was worth purchasing by almost any concession." Having, for these reasons, made large demands in North America, it was necessary to relax in other parts. France would never be brought to any very considerable cession in the West Indies; but her power and increase there could never become formidable, because the existence of her settlements depended upon ours in North America, whence they must be supplied with provisions. They did not deny the importance of the Havannah; but they insisted upon the value of the objects which had been obtained in return for it. The whole country of Florida, with fort St Augustine and the bay of Pensacola, was far from being a contemptible acquisition. It extended the British dominions along the coast to the mouth of the Mississippi; it removed an asylum for the slaves of the English colonies, who were continually making their escape to St Augustine; it afforded a large extent of improveable territory, a strong frontier, and a good port in the bay of Mexico, both for the convenience of trade, and the annoyance of the Spaniards in any future contest. The liberty and security which the king of Spain engaged to afford to the English logwood-cutters was another material considera-

tion; and though the fortifications on the coast were to be demolished, it did not appear by what other means a claim of such a peculiar nature could be adjusted. "We never," said they, "set up any pretensions to the territory, nor even directly to the produce; but only a privilege of cutting and taking away this wood by indulgence. That privilege is now confirmed. What more, consistently with reason and justice, could we demand? The right of erecting fortifications would imply an absolute and exclusive dominion over the territory itself, to which we have not even the shadow of a claim. Had Great Britain fought for herself alone, and restricted her efforts to her own element, she might have assumed a more peremptory tone in dictating the terms of the treaty; and if they were not acquiesced in, she might have resolved to keep all her conquests, and to prosecute hostilities to the full accomplishment of her wishes. But she was saddled with the protection of her allies; and on their account, involved in a double continental war, the expense of which overbalanced all the advantages she could derive from the success of her arms. France and Spain had declared that without the restitution of the islands and the Havannah, peace could be of no service to them; that they would rather hazard the continuance of the war—which, in the long run, must exhaust the finances and credit of England—and, in the meantime, would redouble their efforts to conquer Portugal, which it would not be in the power of the British auxiliaries to prevent." With respect to the other cessions, they thought the rock of Goree of very little consequence, while Great Britain retained the possession of Senegal. The article which related to the East Indies was perfectly agreeable to the wishes of the directors of the English company; and did not afford all those advantages to France which might be imagined at first view. "If," said they, "we examine this matter closely, we shall find, that our late enemies have not gained much by having their factories and settlements restored to them: first, because the fortifications, erected at a vast expense in all those settlements, have been totally destroyed, and it cannot be expected, in the present situation of the French company, that they can, in the course of many years, if at all, rebuild them in the same manner. Besides, they are restrained by an express article from even making the attempt in the province of Bengal, and the kingdom of Orissa, or from keeping the least military force in either. Secondly, they have also agreed to acknowledge the reigning Subas of the chief provinces in the peninsula as the lawful sovereigns; and these princes are all in our interest, as either owing the acquisition, or depending for the preservation of their power on our arms; by which means our company is become, in effect, arbiter of that great and opulent coast, from the Ganges to Cape Comorin, and from the same Cape to the mouth of the Indus. What important sacrifices, then, have we made in the East Indies? And, while the points yielded by Great Britain in all other parts of the globe are so fully justifiable on the principles of sound and liberal policy, the most wilful perverseness will not dare to deny that in Europe the balance is considerably in her favour, the island of Minorca having been given her in exchange for Belleisle, besides obliging France to demolish the works belonging to the harbour of Dunkirk."

The premier carried his point by an overwhelming majority. In fact the nation itself was generally desirous of peace. Nor was the treaty in



reality a very disadvantageous one. Still Lord Bute was far from being popular. "He certainly at no time"—says the writer of an excellent series of papers on the changes of administration and history of parties in the 'Companion to the Newspaper'—"had any party in the country; and disclosures which have been since made would go to show, that he stood almost equally without support in the cabinet of which he appeared to be the head. He possessed the king's favour, and that seems to have been nearly the whole strength with which he attempted to wield the government. Every thing connected with him contributed to make him an object of dislike to the bulk of the nation,—his birth,—his pompous, haughty, and repulsive deportment,—his arbitrary politics,—the undeserved share he enjoyed of the king's confidence,—the rewards and honours which he had in this way secured to himself,—the absurd vanity and insolence of his attempt, without either commanding talents, or natural power, or influence of any other kind, to found, as it were, and build up a new system of government, in defiance alike of the whole peerage and the whole people, and with the aid of the prerogative alone. The feelings which were thus engendered waited only for an occasion on which to break out into a flame. This was afforded by a bill which was, in the course of the session, brought into parliament for imposing a tax upon cider, and subjecting the manufacture of that article to all the laws of the excise. Against this measure the opposition in parliament took their ground in the most determined spirit. That body had about this time become consolidated and strengthened by the union of its several sections; the leaders of which, in order to show the public their force, and the cordiality and concert with which they were disposed to act, agreed to dine together once a week at each other's houses. The first of these dinners was given by Lord Temple at his house in Pall Mall, about the end of February, 1763; the second by the duke of Newcastle in the beginning of March. Besides these two noblemen, the principal persons who were thus associated were, the dukes of Bolton, Devonshire, Grafton, and Portland, the marquess of Rockingham, the earls of Albemarle, Ashburnham, Besborough, Cornwallis, Hardwicke, Scarborough, and Spencer; Lords Abergavenny, Dacre, Fortescue, Grantham, Sondes, Walpole, and Villiers; Mr Pitt, Sir George Saville, Mr Charles Townshend, &c. Notwithstanding the opposition which it encountered at every step, the cider bill was carried through both houses. Except upon this single question, also, the ministerial majorities had yet suffered but little if any diminution. But while things were in this state, on the 8th of April, Lord Bute suddenly resigned. The true reasons which induced him to take this unexpected step are most probably those assigned by himself in a letter to a friend, which has been published by Mr Adolphus in his 'History of the Reign of George III.' 'Single,' he says in that letter, 'in a cabinet of my own forming—no aid in the house of lords to support me except two peers, (Denbigh and Pomfret,) both the secretaries of state silent, and the lord-chief-justice, whom I brought myself into office, voting for me, yet speaking against me—the ground I tread upon is so hollow, that I am afraid not only of falling myself, but of involving my royal master in my ruin. It is time for me to retire.' When the favourite retired from office, however, he probably did not retire from power, but continued, while lurking behind the throne, to be nearly as much prime minister as he had been while stand-

ing before it. His resignation at all events brought with it little immediate change either of measures or of men."

On the 3d of August, 1764, we find Horace Walpole writing: "The royal family reside chiefly at Richmond, whither scarce necessary servants attend them, and no mortal else but Lord Bute." Again, under date 9th September, he says: "The court, independent of politics, makes a strange figure. The recluse life led here at Richmond, which is carried to such an excess of privacy and economy, that the queen's friseur waits on them at dinner, and that four pounds only of beef are allowed for their soup, disgusts all sorts of people. The drawing-rooms are abandoned; Lady Buckingham was the only woman there on Sunday se'nnight. . . . In short, one hears of nothing but dissatisfaction, which, in the city, rises almost to treason." Again, on the 3d November: "Our politics are all at a stand. The duke of Devonshire's death, I concluded, would make the ministry all-powerful, all-triumphant, and all-insolent. It does not appear to have done so. They are, I believe, extremely ill among themselves, and not better in their affairs, foreign or domestic. The unpopularity of the court is very great indeed—still I shall not be surprised if they maintain their ground a little longer." On the 22d January, 1765, he writes: "Lord Bute and George Grenville are so ill together, that decency is scarce observed between their adherents; and the moment the former has an opportunity, or resolution enough, he will remove the latter."

Lord Bute did not again resume office from his retirement in April, 1763; but the above extracts sufficiently intimate the all-prevailing influence which continued to lead the sovereign's mind for some years at least after his lordship's professed retirement from public life. Lord Bute died on the 10th of March, 1792. He was warmly attached to literature, and patronized Dr Johnson and several of his literary contemporaries.

## Lieutenant-General Burgoyne.

BORN A. D. 1730.—DIED A. D. 1792.

THIS officer was a natural son of Lord Bingley. He entered the army at an early age, and while yet a very young man succeeded in gaining the affections of Lady Charlotte Stanley, daughter of the earl of Derby. This alliance secured his professional success.

In 1762 he accompanied the British troops, sent to the assistance of Portugal, under Lord Tyrawley. In this service he greatly distinguished himself. The Count de la Lippe formed a design of attacking an advanced party of Spaniards in a town on the frontiers, called Valencia d'Alcantara, where he heard they had amassed considerable magazines. The conduct of this enterprise was committed to Brigadier-general Burgoyne, who, though at a distance of five days' march, effected a complete surprise of the enemy on the morning of the 27th of August. He hoped to have reached the place the night before, and had made his dispositions for attack accordingly; but finding himself overtaken by day-light, he altered his plan, and advancing suddenly with his own dragoons and a small party of irregular cavalry at full



gallop, he entered the town of Valencia sword in hand, dispersed the guards that were in the great square, and secured the entrances with very little difficulty. The rest of his forces soon came up to support their gallant leader; and the Spanish general who was to have commanded in the intended invasion, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition fell into the hands of the victor, who brought away hostages for the care of the wounded, and the payment of the king's revenue for one year, in consideration of his having spared the town and convents. This important service was performed with very little loss on the part of the British troops; while the enemy had to lament the total destruction of one of the best regiments in the Spanish service. To prevent the entry of the Bourbon army into Alentejo was to the allies an object of the highest moment. General Burgoyne, by this expedition into the Spanish territories, had already prevented it on one side; and the vigilance and activity of the same officer had no small share in preventing it also on the other. That part of the Bourbon army which acted in the territory of Castel-Branco had made themselves masters of several important passes, and nothing remained but the passage of the Tagus to enable them to take up their quarters in Alentejo. General Burgoyne, who was posted with an intention to obstruct them in their passage, lay in the neighbourhood, and within view of a detached camp composed of a considerable body of their cavalry, near a village called Villa-Velha. Observing that the enemy kept no very soldierly guard in this post, and were uncovered in their rear and their flanks, he conceived a design of falling on them by surprise. He confided the execution of this design to Colonel Lee, who turned their camp, fell upon their rear in the night of the 6th of October, made a considerable slaughter, dispersed the whole party, destroyed their magazines, and returned with scarcely any loss. Burgoyne, in the mean time, supported him by a feint attack in another quarter, which prevented the enemy's being relieved from the adjacent posts.

In 1775 Burgoyne was appointed to a military command in North America. He returned to England the following year, and, after long conferences with the king and ministers, resumed his post in Canada in 1777. In the campaign of that year, Burgoyne's efforts were directed to the opening up of a communication between New York and Canada. For this service he had been furnished with upwards of 7000 regular troops, and an excellent train of artillery. The plan was that Burgoyne himself should advance, by way of Lake Champlain, upon Albany, or at least as far as might be necessary to effect a junction with Sir William Howe. A detachment was also to ascend the St Lawrence, as far as Lake Ontario, and from that quarter to penetrate towards Albany, by the Mohawk river. This was put under the command of Lieutenant-colonel St Leger. Burgoyne arrived in Quebec on the 6th of May, and on the 20th of June proceeded up Lake Champlain. At Crown Point he met the Indian auxiliaries, gave them a war-feast, and made a speech to them, well-calculated to excite them to take part with the royal army, but at the same time to repress their barbarity. At this place he issued orders, of which the following words are a part:—"The army embarks to-morrow to approach the enemy. The services required on this expedition are critical and conspicuous. During our progress occasions may occur, in which, nor difficulty, nor

labour, nor life, are to be regarded. This army must not retreat." From Crown Point the royal army proceeded to invest Ticonderoga. On their approach to it, they advanced with caution and order on both sides of the lake, while their naval force kept in its centre. Within a few days they had surrounded three-fourths of the American works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. In these circumstances General St Clair, the commanding officer, resolved to evacuate the post. The evacuation was completed with so much secrecy and expedition, that a considerable part of the public stores was saved, and the whole would have been embarked, had not a violent gale of wind which sprung up in the night prevented the boats from reaching their station. The British were no sooner apprized of the retreat of the Americans than they pursued them. General Frazer, at the head of the light troops, advanced on their main body. General Burgoyne in person conducted the pursuit by water. These efforts were all crowned with success, and the royalists cleared every thing before them as far as Skenesborough. From Skenesborough, Burgoyne directed his course across the country to Fort Edward on Hudson's river. Though the distance in a right line from the one point to the other is but a few miles, yet such is the impracticable nature of the country, and such were the artificial difficulties thrown in his way, that many days were consumed in effecting this march. The Americans, under the direction of General Schuyler had cut large trees on both sides of the road, so as to fall across with their branches interwoven. The face of the country was likewise so broken with creeks and marshes, that they had no less than forty bridges to construct, one of which was a log-work over a morass two miles in extent. This difficult march might have been avoided, had Burgoyne fallen back from Skenesborough to Ticonderoga, and thence proceeded by Lake George; but he declined this route, from an apprehension that a retrograde motion on his part would abate the panic of the enemy. At length, on the 30th of July, after incredible fatigue and labour, Burgoyne and the army under his command reached Fort Edward. A few days after the evacuation of Ticonderoga, General Schuyler had issued a proclamation, calling to mind the late barbarities and desolations committed by the royal army in Jersey, warning the people that they would be dealt with as traitors if they joined the British, and requiring them with their arms to repair to the American standard. Numerous parties were also employed in bringing off public stores, and in felling trees, and throwing obstructions in the way of the advancing royal army. The terror excited by the Indians, instead of disposing the inhabitants to court British protection, had a contrary effect. All the feeble aid which the royal army received from their Indian auxiliaries, was entirely overbalanced by the odium it brought on their cause, and by that determined spirit of opposition which the dread of their savage cruelties excited. An army was speedily poured forth from the woods and mountains, which hung around Burgoyne's troops, and impeded all their movements.

While Burgoyne was forcing his way down towards Albany, St Leger had ascended the St Lawrence, crossed Lake Ontario, and commenced the siege of Fort Schuyler. While the fate of Fort Schuyler was in suspense, it occurred to Burgoyne that a sudden and rapid movement forward would be of the utmost consequence. As the principal



force of his adversaries was in front, between him and Albany, he hoped, by advancing on them, to reduce them to the necessity of fighting, or of retreating into New England. After the evacuation of Ticonderoga, the Americans had fallen back from one place to another, till they at last reached Vanshaick's island. Soon after the retreating system was adopted, congress recalled their general officers, and put General Gates at the head of their northern army. His arrival gave fresh vigour to the exertions of the inhabitants. The militia collected in great numbers to his standard, and soon began to be animated with the hope of capturing the whole British army. When the necessary stores for thirty days' subsistence had been brought forward from Lake George, Burgoyne gave up all communication with the magazines in the rear, and on the 13th of September crossed Hudson's river. The rapid advance of Burgoyne, and especially his passage of the North river, added much to the impracticability of his future retreat, and in conjunction with subsequent events, made the total ruin of his army in a great degree unavoidable. General Burgoyne, after crossing the Hudson, advanced along its side, and in four days encamped on the heights, about two miles from General Gates' camp, which was three miles above Stillwater. The Americans came out to meet the advancing British, and engaged them with firmness and resolution. The attack began a little before mid-day, on the 19th of September, between the scouting parties of the two armies. The commanders on both sides reinforced their respective parties. The conflict was only partial for an hour and a half; but after a short pause it became general, and continued for three hours without intermission. Few actions have been characterised by more obstinacy in attack or defence; the British repeatedly tried the bayonet, but without their usual success in the use of that weapon. At length night put an end to the effusion of blood. This hard-fought battle decided nothing; but nevertheless was followed by important consequences. The Indian auxiliaries, disappointed of the plunder they expected, and beholding nothing before them but hardships and danger, began to desert in the season when their aid would have been most useful. Very little more perseverance was exhibited by the Canadians and other British provincials: they also abandoned the British standard, when they found that, instead of a flying and dispirited enemy, they had a numerous and resolute force opposed to them. These desertions were not the only disappointment which General Burgoyne experienced. From the commencement of the expedition, he had promised himself a strong reinforcement from that part of the British army which was stationed at New York; he depended on its being able to force its way to Albany, and to join him there, or in the vicinity. This co-operation, though attempted, failed in the execution, while the expectation of it contributed to involve him in difficulties to which he would not have otherwise been exposed. While Burgoyne was pushing on towards Albany, an unsuccessful attempt to relieve him was made by the British commander in New York. For this purpose, Sir Henry Clinton conducted an expedition up Hudson's river, of about 3000 men, accompanied by a suitable naval force; after making many feints he landed at Stony Point, marched over the mountains to Fort Montgomery, and attacked the different redoubts. The reduction of this post furnished the British with an opportunity for opening a pass-

age up the North river; but instead of proceeding forward to Burgoyne's encampment, or even to Albany, they spent several days in laying waste the adjacent country. They might, in all probability, by pushing forward about 136 miles in six days, have brought Gates' army between two fires, at least twenty-four hours before Burgoyne's necessity compelled his submission to articles of capitulation. Why they neglected this opportunity has never yet been satisfactorily explained. Gates had posted 1400 men on the heights opposite the fords of Saratoga, 2000 more in the rear to prevent a retreat to Fort Edward, and 1500 at a ford higher up. Burgoyne, receiving intelligence of these movements, concluded, especially from the last, that Gates meant to turn his right. To avoid being hemmed in, he resolved on an immediate retreat to Saratoga. On his arrival at Saratoga, he found that the Americans had posted a considerable force on the opposite heights to impede his passage at that ford. The only practicable route which now remained, was by a night-march to Fort Edward. But before this attempt could be made, scouts returned with intelligence, that the Americans were intrenched opposite to the fords on the Hudson river, over which it was proposed to pass, and that they were also in force on the high ground between Fort Edward and Fort George. Their position extended nearly round the British, and was by the nature of the ground in a great measure secure from attack. The British were now invested by an army nearly three times its number, without a possibility of retreat or of replenishing its stock of provisions. In the mean time the American army was hourly increasing. Volunteers came in from all quarters, eager to share in the glory of destroying or capturing their enemies. The 13th of October at length arrived; but as no prospect of assistance appeared, and their provisions were nearly expended, General Burgoyne called a council of war, which comprehended both the field-officers and captains. Their unanimous opinion was, that their present situation justified a capitulation on honourable terms. A messenger was therefore despatched to General Gates, who, in the first instance, demanded that the royal army should surrender prisoners of war. He also proposed that the British should ground their arms. Burgoyne replied, "This article is inadmissible in every extremity; sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter." After various messages a convention was settled in the following terms:—"The troops under General Burgoyne to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the intrenchments, to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery are to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free passage to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest, and the port of Boston to be assigned for the entry of the transports to receive the troops whenever General Howe shall so order. The army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to march to Massachusetts bay by the easiest route, and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible, to Boston. The troops to be provided with provision by General Gates' orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army. All officers to retain their carriages, bat-horses, and no baggage to be molested or



searched. The officers are not, as far as circumstances will admit, to be separated from their men. The officers to be quartered according to their rank. All corps whatever of Lieutenant-general Burgoyne's army to be included in the above articles. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, and other followers of the army, to be permitted to return to Canada, to be conducted to the first British post on Lake George, and to be supplied with provisions as the other troops, and to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest. Passports to be granted to three officers to carry despatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain. The officers to be admitted on their parole, and to be permitted to wear their side arms." By this convention 5,790 men surrendered prisoners. The sick and wounded left in camp, when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German, and Canadian troops, who were killed, wounded, or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be 4,689. The whole royal force, exclusive of Indians, was probably about 10,000. The stores which the Americans acquired were very considerable. In a short time after the convention was signed, Gates moved forward to stop the devastations of the British on the North river; but on hearing of the fate of Burgoyne, Vaughan and Wallace retired to New York. About the same time the British, which had been left in the rear of the royal army, destroyed their cannon, and abandoning Ticonderoga, retreated to Canada.<sup>1</sup>

On Burgoyne's return to England he frequently, but in vain, applied for a court-martial to investigate and pronounce upon his conduct at Saratoga; but the question of his surrender was brought in different shapes before parliament. On the day after Chatham had pronounced his eloquent reprobation of the system of employing the Indians as auxiliaries in the American struggle, the intelligence was received of Burgoyne's surrender. Chatham seized the crisis to move "that an address be presented to his majesty, to cause the proper officers to lay before the house copies of all orders and instructions to General Burgoyne, relative to the late expedition from Canada." Holding up a paper in view of the house, his lordship said that he had the king's speech in his hand, and a deep sense of the public calamity in his heart. That speech, he said, contained a most unfaithful picture of the state of public affairs; it had a specious outside, was full of hopes, while every thing within was full of danger. A system destructive of all faith and confidence had been introduced, his lordship affirmed, within the last fifteen years at St James's, by which pliable men, not capable men, had been raised to the highest posts of government. A few obscure persons had obtained an ascendancy where no man should have a personal ascendancy, and by the most insidious means the nation had been betrayed into a war of which they now reaped the bitter fruits. The spirit of delusion, his lordship said, had gone forth; ministers had imposed on the people; parliament had been induced to sanctify the imposition; a visionary phantom of revenue had been conjured up for the basest of purposes, but it was now for ever vanished. His lordship said, that the abilities of General Burgoyne were confessed, his

<sup>1</sup> Abridged from Miller's History.

personal bravery not surpassed, his zeal in the service unquestionable. He had experienced no pestilence, nor suffered any of the accidents which sometimes supersede the wisest and most spirited exertions of human industry. What then is the cause of his misfortune?—Want of wisdom in our councils, want of ability in our ministers. His lordship said, the plan of penetrating into the colonies from Canada was a most wild, uncombined, and mad project; and the mode of carrying on the war was the most bloody, barbarous, and ferocious, recorded in the annals of history. The arms of Britain had been sullied and tarnished by blending the scalping-knife and tomahawk with the sword and fire-lock. Such a mode of warfare was a contamination which all the waters of the Hudson and the Delaware would never wash away. It was impossible for America to forget or forgive so horrid an injury.

General Burgoyne was for some time in disgrace at court, particularly after his refusal to return to America in 1779; but he was ultimately restored to his rank in the army, and appointed head of the army in Ireland. He died in 1792. He was a man of considerable literary talent, and wrote some pieces for the stage.

## William Murray, Earl of Mansfield.

BORN A. D. 1705.—DIED A. D. 1793.

WILLIAM MURRAY, first earl of Mansfield, was the fourth son of David, earl of Stormont,<sup>1</sup> by Margery, daughter of Scot of Scotstarvet. He was born on the 2d of March, 1705, at Perth in Scotland.<sup>2</sup> His residence in Scotland, however, was but of short duration, he having been brought to London at the age of three years. He was first sent to Westminster school. At the age of fourteen he was admitted of that seminary as king's scholar. "During the time of his being at school," says one who was contemporary with him, "he gave early proofs of his uncommon abilities, not so much in his poetry as in his other exercises, and particularly in his declamations, which were sure tokens and prognostics of that eloquence which grew up to such maturity and perfection at the bar, and in both houses of parliament." At the election in May, 1723, he stood first on the Oxford exhibition list. He was entered of Christ's church in June that year. In the year 1727 he had taken the degree of B. A., and on the death of George I. was among those of the university who composed verses on that event. On the 26th of June, 1730, he took the degree of M. A., and probably soon afterwards left the university. Before he devoted himself

<sup>1</sup> In the memorial printed in 'The Secret History of Colonel Hooke's Negotiations in Scotland in favour of the Pretender, in 1707,' 8vo. 1760, this nobleman is thus described:—"Lord Stormont is turned of forty, and he is of the house of Murray. He is rich and powerful on the frontiers of England, and in the middle of Scotland. He is a man of great resolution, strict probity, and uncommon presence of mind." It appears also from the same memorial, that he had considerable weight with the malcontents in his native kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> The registry of his admission into Christ's college places his birth at Bath. Sir William Blackstone once mentioned this circumstance to Lord Mansfield, who said the mistake perhaps originated from the broad pronunciation of the person who gave in his name to the registrar.



to business, he made the tour of Europe. On his return he became a member of the society of Lincoln's inn, and was in due time called to the bar.

The fortune of our young lawyer at this period was rather slender; but he soon supplied any deficiency in that respect by his application and abilities. He does not appear to have proceeded in his profession in the way then usually adopted of labouring in the chambers of a special pleader, but started at once into practice at the bar, and very early acquired the notice of the chancellor and the judges, as well as the confidence of the inferior practitioners. The graces of his elocution, however, hurt him with a certain class of stupid people who would not believe that such bright talents could associate with the more solid attainments of the law, or that a man of genius and vivacity could be a profound lawyer. Pope, in allusion to this silly prejudice, writes:

"The Temple late two brother-sergeants saw,  
Who deem'd each other oracles of law;  
With equal talents these congenial souls,  
One lull'd the Exchequer, and one stunn'd the Rolls;  
Each had a gravity would make you split,  
And shook his head at Murray as a wit."

It is remarkable that this prejudice accompanied Lord Mansfield to the end of his judicial life, in spite of the daily proofs he gave in the court of king's bench and in the house of lords, of his profound knowledge of the abstrusest points of jurisprudence. Even Lord Chesterfield seems to have fallen into this unfounded opinion. In a letter to his son, dated February 12th, 1754, he says: "The present solicitor-general, Murray, has less law than many lawyers; but he has more practice than any, merely upon account of his eloquence, of which he has a never-failing stream." The friendship which subsisted between Pope and our young lawyer also fostered this notion. That great poet entertained a particular affection for Murray, and was ever eager to show him marks of his regard. Bishop Warburton says, "Mr Pope had all the warmth of affection for this great lawyer, and indeed no man ever more deserved to have a poet for his friend. In the obtaining of which as neither vanity, party, nor fear had a share, so he supported his title to it by all the offices of a generous and true friendship." Ruffhead also declares that Pope had at one time an intention of leaving his house at Twickenham to his friend Murray, whose growing fame and rising station—which would render him superior to such a mansion—alone prevented him from carrying it into execution. In the fourth book of 'The Dunciad,' Pope says, speaking of those whose poetical pursuits were diverted by law or politics:

"How sweet an Ovid, Murray, was our boast!  
How many Martials were in Pulteney lost!"

And in his imitation of the first ode of the fourth book of Horace, he compliments him in the following lines addressed to Venus:

"To number five<sup>3</sup> direct your doves,  
These spread round Murray all your blooming loves.

<sup>3</sup> The number of Lord Mansfield's chambers in Lincoln's inn.

Noble and young, he strikes the heart :  
 Equal the injured to defend,  
 With every sprightly, every decent part,—  
 To charm the mistress, or to fix the friend,—  
 He with an hundred arts refined,  
 Shall stretch thy conquests over half thy kind.  
 To him each rival shall submit.  
 Make but his riches equal to his wit ;  
 Then shall thy form the marble grace  
 (Thy Grecian form) and Chloe lend her face.  
 His house embosom'd in the grove,  
 Sacred to social life and social love,  
 Shall glitter o'er the pendent green,  
 Where Thames reflects the visionary scene ;  
 Thither the silver-sounding lyres  
 Shall call the smiling Loves and young Desires ;  
 There every Grace and Muse shall throng,  
 Exalt the dance and animate the song ;  
 There youths and nymphs in consort gay,  
 Shall hail the rising, close the parting day."

Whatever propensities, however, Lord Mansfield might have towards polite literature, he did not permit them to divert his attention from his profession. In the year 1736, the murder of Captain Porteus by a mob in Edinburgh, occasioned a bill of pains and penalties to be brought into parliament against the lord-provost and the city, which, after various modifications, and a firm and unabated opposition in every stage of its progress, passed into a law. In both houses Murray was employed by the city, and acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of his clients, that some time after he was presented with the freedom of Edinburgh in a gold box.

In 1737 an opportunity presented itself, to which, in after life, he always recurred with pleasure, and from which period he dated his success. In the celebrated cause of Theophilus Cibber and Sloper, the leading counsel for the defendant was seized in court with sudden illness, and the conduct of the defence devolved upon Murray, the junior counsel, who managed it in so masterly a manner that the jury gave only £10 damages. The action being for criminal intercourse with the plaintiff's wife, it involved no abstruse points of law, and therefore was better fitted for the display of oratorical than legal ability. Business now poured in upon him on all sides ; and, from a few hundreds a-year, he found himself, in every subsequent year, in possession of thousands.

On the 20th of November, 1738, he married Lady Elizabeth Finch, daughter of Daniel, sixth earl of Winchelsea ; and in the month of November, 1742, was appointed solicitor-general, in the place of Sir John Strange, resigned.<sup>4</sup> He likewise was chosen to represent the town of

<sup>4</sup> On this occasion a doggrel poem was published by one Morgan, a person then at the bar, entitled 'The Causidicade,' in which all the principal lawyers were supposed to urge their respective claims to the post. At the conclusion it is said

"Then Murray, prepared with a fine panegyric  
 In praise of himself, would have spoke it like Garrick ;  
 But the president stopping him, said, 'As in truth  
 Your worth and your praise is in every one's mouth,  
 'Tis needless to urge what's notoriously known,  
 The office, by merit, is yours, all must own ;  
 The voice of the public approves of the thing,  
 Concurring with that of the court and the king.' "



Boroughbridge in parliament, for which place he was also returned in 1747 and 1754.

In the month of March, 1746-7, he was appointed one of the managers for the impeachment of Lord Lovat. It fell to his lot to observe on the evidence previous to the lords giving their judgment. This task he executed with so much candour, moderation, and gentlemanly feeling that Lord Talbot, at the conclusion of his speech, paid him the following compliment: "The abilities of the learned manager who just now spoke never appeared with greater splendour than at this very hour, when his candour and humanity have been joined to those great abilities which have already made him so conspicuous that I hope one day to see him add lustre to the dignity of the first civil employment in this nation." Lord Lovat himself also bore testimony to the abilities of his adversary: "I thought myself," says his lordship, "very much loaded by one Murray,<sup>5</sup> who, your lordships know, was the bitterest evidence there was against me: I have suffered by another Murray, who, I must say with pleasure, is an honour to his country, and whose eloquence and learning is much beyond what is to be expressed by an ignorant man like me. I heard him with pleasure, though it was against me. I have the honour to be his relation, though perhaps he neither knows that nor values it. I wish that his being born in the north may not hinder him from the preferment that his merit and learning deserve."

During the time Murray continued in office, he supported, with great ability, the administration with which he was connected; and rendered himself proportionally obnoxious to those who were in opposition. The principles of his family—in which we may presume him to have been educated—have been already noticed; and therefore it will create no surprise, that, in the confidence of friendly intercourse, or in a moment of exhilaration, he should have uttered sentiments which youth and inexperience only could palliate. In the year 1753 he got involved in a charge, which we shall relate in the words of Lord Melcombe.

"Messrs Fossett (Fawcett), Murray, and Stone, were much acquainted, if not school-fellows in early life. Their fortune led them different ways: Fawcett's was to be a country-lawyer and recorder of Newcastle. Johnson, now bishop of Gloucester, was one of their associates. On the day the king's birth-day was kept they dined at the dean of Durham's, at Durham; this Fawcett, Lord Ravensworth, Major Davison, and one or two more,—who retired after dinner into another room. The conversation turning upon the late bishop of Gloucester's preferments, it was asked who was to have his prebend of Durham: the dean said, that the last news from London was that Dr Johnson was to have it. Fawcett said he was glad that Johnson got off so well, for he remembered him a Jacobite several years ago, and that he used to be with a relation of his who was very disaffected, one Vernon, a mercer, where the Pretender's health was frequently drunk. This passing among a few familiar acquaintance was thought no more of at the time: it spread, however, so much in the North—how I never heard accounted for—and reached town in such a manner, that Mr Pelham thought it necessary to desire Mr Vane, who was a friend to Fawcett, and who employed him in his business, to write to Fawcett to know if he had said this of

<sup>5</sup> One of the evidences against him.

Johnson, and if he had, if it was true. This letter was written on the 9th of January; it came to Newcastle the Friday following. Fawcett was much surprised, but the post going out in a few hours after its arrival, he immediately acknowledged the letter by a long but not very explicit answer. This Friday happened to be the club-day of the neighbouring gentlemen at Newcastle. As soon as Lord Ravensworth, who was a patron and employer of Fawcett, came into the town, Fawcett acquainted him with the extraordinary letter he had received; he told him that he had already answered it; and being asked to show the copy, said he kept none; but desired Lord Ravensworth to recollect if he held such a conversation at the deanery of Durham the day appointed for the birth-day. Ravensworth recollected nothing at all of it: they went to the club together, and Ravensworth went the next morning to see his mother in the neighbourhood, with whom he staid till Monday; but this thing of such consequence lying upon his thoughts, he returned by Newcastle. He and Fawcett had another conversation, and in endeavouring to refresh each other's memory about this dreadful delinquency of Johnson, Fawcett said he could not recollect positively at such a distance of time whether Johnson drank those healths, or had been present at the drinking of them, but that Murray and Stone had done both several times. Ravensworth was excessively alarmed at this with relation to Stone, on account of his office about the prince; and thus the affair of Johnson was quite forgotten, and the episode became the principal part. There were many more conferences between Ravensworth and Fawcett upon this subject, in which the latter always persisted that Stone and Murray were present at the drinking, and did drink those healths. It may be observed here, that when he was examined upon oath, he swore to the years 1731 or 1732, at latest. Fawcett comes up as usual about his law-business, and is examined by Messrs Pelham and Vane, who never had heard of Murray or Stone being named:<sup>6</sup> he is asked, and answers only with relation to Johnson, never mentioning either of the others; but the love of his country, his king, and posterity burned so strongly in Ravensworth's bosom, that he could have no rest till he had discovered this enormity. Accordingly, when he came to town, he acquainted the ministry and almost all his great friends with it, and insisted upon the removal of Stone. The ministry would have slighted it as it deserved, but as he persisted and had told so many of it, they could not help laying it before the king, who, though he himself slighted it, was advised to examine it, which examination produced this most injudicious proceeding in parliament."<sup>7</sup>

So far Lord Melcombe's account. The same authority informs us, that Murray, when he heard of the committee being appointed to examine this idle affair, sent a message to the king, humbly to acquaint him, that if he should be called before such a tribunal on so scandalous

<sup>6</sup> This transaction, however, appears to have been no secret some years before, being alluded to in the following lines of a poem called 'The Processionade,' published in 1746:

"This new-fangled Scot, who was brought up at home,  
In the very same school as his brother at Rome,  
Kneel'd conscious, as though his old comrades might urge  
He had formerly drank to the king before George."

<sup>7</sup> Lord Melcombe's Diary.



and injurious an account, he would resign his office, and would refuse to answer. It came, however, before the house of lords, on the 22d January, 1753, on the motion of the duke of Bedford. "The debate was long and heavy," says Lord Melcombe. "The duke of Bedford's performance moderate enough. He divided the house, but it was not told, for there went below the bar with him the Earl Harcourt, Lord Townshend, the bishop of Worcester, and Lord Talbot only. The bishop of Norwich and Lord Harcourt both spoke, not to much purpose; but neither of them in the least supported the duke's question. Upon the whole," Lord Melcombe concludes, "it was the worst judged, the worst executed, and the worst supported point that I ever saw of so much expectation."

On the advancement of Sir Dudley Rider to the chief-justiceship of the king's bench, in 1754, Mr Murray succeeded him as attorney-general; and on his death, in 1756, again became his successor as chief-justice. He was sworn on the 8th of November, 1756, and took his seat on the bench on the 11th of the same month. The motto on his rings was 'Servate domum.' Immediately afterwards the great seal was put to a patent creating him Baron of Mansfield in the county of Nottingham.

As soon as Lord Mansfield was established in the king's bench he began to make improvements on the practice of that court. On the 12th of November, four days after he had taken his seat, he made a very necessary regulation, observing, "Where we have no doubt, we ought not to put the parties to the delay and expense of a farther argument; nor leave other persons, who may be interested in the determinations of a point so general, unnecessarily under the anxiety of suspense."<sup>8</sup> The regularity, punctuality, and despatch of the new chief-justice afforded such general satisfaction, that they, in process of time, drew into that court most of the causes which could be brought there for determination. Sir James Burrow says: "I am informed that at the sittings for London and Middlesex only, there are not so few as eight hundred causes set down a-year; and all disposed of. And though many of them, especially in London, are of considerable value, there are not more, upon an average, than between twenty and thirty ever heard of afterwards in the shape of special verdicts, special cases, motions for new trials, or in arrest of judgment. Of a bill of exceptions there has been no instance. I do not include judgments upon criminal prosecutions; they are necessary consequences of the convictions. My reports give but a very faint idea of the extent of the whole business which comes before the court: I only report what I think may be of use, as a determination or illustration of some matter of law. I take no notice of the numerous questions of fact which are heard upon affidavits—the most tedious and irksome part of the whole business. I take no notice of a variety of contestations, which, after being fully discussed, are decided without difficulty or doubt. I take no notice of many cases which turn upon a construction so peculiar and particular, as not to be likely to form a precedent for any other case. And yet, notwithstanding this immensity of business, it is notorious, that, in consequence of method, and a few rules which have been laid down to pre-

<sup>8</sup> Burrow's Reports, p. 5.

vent delay—even where the parties themselves would willingly consent to it—nothing now hangs in court. Upon the last day of the very last term, if we exclude such motions of the term as by desire of the parties went over of course as peremptories, there was not a single matter of any kind that remained undetermined, excepting one case relating to the proprietary lordship of Maryland, which was professedly postponed on account of the present situation of America. One might speak to the same effect concerning the last days of any former term for some years backward.”<sup>9</sup> So averse was Lord Mansfield to procrastination, that having once expressed his intention of proceeding with a certain matter on the Friday following, on being reminded by Sergeant Davy that it was Good Friday, he exclaimed, “Never mind,—the better day the better deed!” “Your lordship will do as you please,” responded the sergeant; “but if you do sit on that day, I believe you will be the first judge who did business on a Good Friday since Pontius Pilate.” The same author also informs us, after reporting the famous case of *Perrin and Blake*, that it was remarkable, that, excepting that case, and another in the same volume on literary property, there had not been, from the 6th of November, 1756, to the time of his then present publication, 26th of May, 1776, a final difference of opinion in the court in any case, or upon any point whatsoever. “It is remarkable, too,” he adds, “that, excepting these two cases, no judgment given during the same period has been reversed, either in the exchequer-chamber or in parliament; and even these reversals were with great diversity of opinion among the judges.”<sup>10</sup>

In the next year the ill-success of the war then begun occasioned a change in the administration, and the conflicts of contending parties rendered it impracticable for the crown, at that juncture, to settle a new ministry. In order, therefore, to give pause to the violence of both sides, Lord Mansfield was induced to accept the post of chancellor of the exchequer, on the 9th of April, 1757, which he held until the 2d of July in the same year. This year he was offered, but refused, the office of lord-high-chancellor.

For several years after this period the tenor of Lord Mansfield's life was marked only by the most sedulous discharge of the duties of his office. In 1760 George II. died, and the new reign commenced with alterations in the administration which gave rise to a keen spirit of political rivalry, in which Mansfield had his share. We find him, in the spring of 1766, for the first time since his taking his seat in the house of lords, separated from administration, and opposing the measures which were supposed to be conducted by the marquess of Rockingham, then at the head of the treasury. The question on which his lordship and several others, not supposed to be inimical to the general measures of government, differed from the ministry, was the propriety of the repeal of the stamp act. The celebrated protest which followed the repeal, was said to have been drawn up under his lordship's immediate inspection, and was looked upon at the time as one of the most able performances, in that way, ever entered in the records of parliament. In 1767 we find him supporting the port-duties, proposed in the other house by the chancellor of the exchequer. In 1770 we again find him support-

<sup>9</sup> Burrow's Reports, p. 2588.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p. 2582.



ing the partial repeal of those duties, and continuing the duty on tea. His lordship disapproved of the repeal of the stamp act, because he looked upon it to be a tacit relinquishing of the supreme authority of this country over America. The other parts of his political conduct seem to have rather proceeded from a uniform support of government, than any particular sentiments of his own, unless connected with the system pursuing towards America. Among the latter were all the bills of coercion against America. Those several measures he defended, as they presented themselves, so ably, and in some instances so very minutely, as to enter into the defence of the grammatical construction of several of the clauses; hence his opponents frequently charged him with being the original framer and father of them; but this we cannot by any means suppose, his lordship having repeatedly disclaimed in debate the least previous knowledge of their contents, or of having attended the business of the cabinet for a considerable time before the period here adverted to.

The year 1770 was also memorable for various attacks made on his lordship's judicial character, both in the houses of lords and commons. In one of these the propriety of a direction<sup>11</sup> given to the jury in the case of the King against Woodfall was keenly and successfully called in question by Lord Camden.

On the 19th of October, 1776, his lordship was advanced to the dignity of an earl of Great Britain, by the title of Earl of Mansfield, with descent to his male issue; and for want of such issue, to Louisa, Viscountess Stormont, and to her heirs male by David, Viscount Stormont, her husband. The same title, in 1792, was limited to Lord Stormont himself, who afterwards succeeded to it.

We come now to a period of his lordship's life in which an event occurred disgraceful to the age and country. An union of folly, enthusiasm, and knavery, had excited an apprehension in the minds of some weak people, that encouragements were secretly given to the favourers and professors of the Roman Catholic faith, inconsistent with the safety of the Protestant religion and true policy. The act of parliament which principally excited this clamour had passed with little opposition, and had not received any extraordinary support from Lord Mansfield; but the mind of the public was inflamed by artful misrepresentations, and the rage of a popular mob was easily directed against some eminent persons. In the night between Tuesday the 6th, and Wednesday the 7th of June, 1780, his lordship's house, in Bloomsbury-square, was attacked by a party of rioters, who, on the Friday and Tuesday preceding, had, to the amount of many thousands, surrounded the avenues of both houses of parliament, under pretence of attending Lord George Gordon when he presented the petition from the Protestant association. On Tuesday evening the prison of Newgate had been thrown open, all the combustible part reduced to ashes, and the felons let loose upon the public. It was after this attempt to destroy the means of securing the objects of criminal justice, that the rioters assaulted the residence of the chief-magistrate of the first criminal court in the kingdom; nor were they dispersed till they had burned all the

<sup>11</sup> This celebrated opinion is printed at large in Debrett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. v. p. 363.

furniture, pictures, books, manuscripts, deeds, and, in short, every thing which fire could consume, in his lordship's house; so that nothing remained but the walls. On Wednesday the devastation became almost general throughout London. That evening the Fleet and King's bench prisons were also set on fire; and the bank of England, the inns of court, and almost all the public buildings were threatened with destruction.

This daring outrage on order and government burst on Lord Mansfield without his being prepared in the slightest manner to resist it. He escaped with his life only, and retired to a place of safety, where he remained until the 14th of June, the last day of term, when he again took his seat in the court of king's bench. "The reverential silence," says Mr Douglas, "which was observed when his lordship resumed his place on the bench, was expressive of sentiments of condolence and respect more affecting than the most eloquent address the occasion could have suggested." The amount of that part of Lord Mansfield's loss which might have been estimated, and was capable of a compensation in money, is known to have been very great. This he had a right to recover against the Hundred. Many others had taken that course, but his lordship thought it more consistent with the dignity of his character not to resort to the indemnification provided by the legislature. His sentiments on the subject of a reparation from the state were communicated to the board of works, in a letter dated 18th of July, 1780, written in consequence of an application which they had made to him, as one of the principal sufferers, pursuant to directions from the treasury, founded on a vote of the house of commons, requesting him to state the nature and amount of his loss. In that letter, after some introductory expressions of civility to the surveyor-general, to whom it was addressed, his lordship says, "Besides what is irreparable my pecuniary loss is great. I apprehended no danger, and therefore took no precaution. But, how great soever that loss may be, I think it does not become me to claim or expect reparation from the state. I have made up my mind to my misfortune, as I ought; with this consolation, that it came from those whose object manifestly was general confusion and destruction at home, in addition to a dangerous and complicated war abroad. If I should lay before you any account or computation of the pecuniary damage I have sustained, it might seem a claim or expectation of being indemnified; therefore you will have no further trouble upon this subject." It has been supposed that he held his office after he was disabled from executing the duties of it, from a wish to secure the succession to it of a very particular friend: be this as it may, the chief-justice continued his office until the month of June, 1788, when he sent in his resignation. From this period the bodily powers of his lordship continued to decline; his mental faculties, however, remained without decay almost to the last. He lived just long enough to express his satisfaction at the check given to the French by Prince Cobourg, in March, 1792, on the 20th of which month, after continuing some days in a state of insensibility, he departed this life at the age of 88 years.

"In his political oratory," says a writer of his own times, "he was not without a rival, but no one had the honour of surpassing him; and let it be remembered that his competitor was Pitt. The rhetorician



that addressed himself to Tully in these memorable words,—‘*Demos-thenes tibi præripuit, ne primus esses orator, tu illi ne solus*’—anticipated their application to Mansfield and Pitt. If the one possessed Demos-thenean fire and energy, the other was at least a Cicero. Their oratory differed in species, but was equal in merit. There was at least no superiority on the side of Pitt. Mansfield’s eloquence was not indeed of that daring, bold, declamatory kind, so irresistibly powerful in the momentary bustle of popular assemblies; but it was possessed of that pure and attic spirit, and seductive power of persuasion, that delights, instructs, and eventually triumphs. It has been very beautifully and justly compared to a river, that meanders through verdant meads and flowery gardens, reflecting in its crystal bosom the varied objects that adorn its banks, and refreshing the country through which it flows.” Bishop Warburton says, that during Mansfield’s administration, “the stream of justice ran pure as from its own celestial source,—purer than Plato dared to conceive it even in his feigned republic.” “Lord Mansfield,” says Hurd, “was looked up to and admired as the Cicero of the age; yet he was never much relished by some of the old lawyers, who boldly asserted, that, if his innovations were to be freely adopted, they might shut up their long revered law-authorities; and, in compliment to his lordship, merely adhere to the decisions that were contained in ‘Burrow’s Reports.’ He was, it is said, applied to by the late Mr Owen Ruffhead, for materials to compose an account of his life, but modestly replied that his life was not of sufficient importance to be written. ‘If,’ added he to the applicant, ‘you wish to write the life of a truly great man, write the life of Lord Hardwicke; who, from very humble means, and without family support and connections, became lord-high-chancellor of England, on account of his virtue, his talents, and his diligence.’”

His memory was astonishing; he never took notes, or, if he did, seldom or never consulted them; yet his references to expressions which fell from him in the course of debate, or his quotations from books, were so faithful that they might have been said to have been repeated *verbatim*.

“His genius,” says another contemporary, “is comprehensive and penetrating; and, when he judges it necessary, he pours forth sounds the most seductive, equally calculated to persuade and to convince. Among his more rare qualifications may be added the external graces of his person, the piercing eye, the fine-toned voice and harmonious elocution, and that happy arrangement which possesses all the accuracy and elegance of the most laboured compositions.” The weight he had in the house of lords may be conjectured from what Horace Walpole says in one of his letters: “The third day was a scene of confusion and folly; for when Lord Mansfield is absent, ‘Lost is the nation’s sense, nor can be found.’”

Dr Smollett, noticing the supporters of Mr Pelham’s administration, mentions Murray as entitled to the first place in point of genius. “This gentleman,” he continues, “the son of a noble family in North Britain, had raised himself to great eminence at the bar by the most keen intuitive spirit of apprehension, that seemed to seize every object at first glance; an innate sagacity that saved the trouble of intense application; and an irresistible stream of eloquence, that flowed pure and classical,

strong and copious, reflecting, in the most conspicuous point of view, the subject over which it rolled, and sweeping before it all the slime of formal hesitation, and all the entangling weeds of chicanery."<sup>12</sup> Lord Mansfield's title of earl descended to his nephew, David, Viscount Stormont, and, at his death, to his son David William, third earl.

## William, Viscount Barrington.

DIED A. D. 1793.

THIS nobleman was the son of John, first Viscount Barrington. He commenced his political career in the year 1740, when he entered parliament as representative for the town of Berwick. He immediately attached himself to the opposition party, and shared their triumph over Walpole in the following year. On the formation of the Pelham party, he became a supporter of government, and was appointed a lord of the admiralty. When the duke of Newcastle became premier, Lord Barrington was made secretary-at-war. In March, 1761, on the dismissal of Mr Legge, he was appointed chancellor of the exchequer. When, in May 1762, Lord Bute was appointed first lord of the treasury, Viscount Barrington was removed to the treasurership of the navy, which had been filled by George Grenville, and was succeeded in the exchequer by Sir Francis Dashwood. Lord Barrington held the navy treasurership till the year 1765, when, under Pitt, he again became secretary-at-war, in which office he continued till the time of his final retirement from public life in 1778. He died in 1793.

Lord Barrington appears to have been a man of good business habits and respectable talents. That he managed to keep so long in office during a period which witnessed the overthrow of so many successive administrations, is rather a suspicious circumstance; yet he appears, by the testimony of almost all his contemporaries, to have been a thoroughly upright and conscientious man. The following letter to General Conway affords strong testimony to the integrity of his lordship's official conduct: "When I first came to the war office I made a resolution from which I have never departed in one instance, and from my adherence to which the greatest benefits have arisen to his majesty's service. This resolution was, never to recommend to the king any surgeons of regiments, or of the army hospitals, but such as should be recommended to me by the physicians and chief surgeons of the army, who constitute what I call the hospital board. My instructions to them are, always to recommend to me on vacancies, not only good and able people, but the very best and ablest they can find; regard being had, where merit is equal, to such as have served in lower stations, either as mates in hospitals or in regiments. I verily believe they have complied with these directions; because though I have often heard great commendations, I have never heard the least blame of any medical people recommended by them; notwithstanding I have frequently been obliged—always unwillingly—to put their colonels out of humour by refusing the people

<sup>12</sup> A few years afterwards Dr Smollett again drew the character of Lord Mansfield in the 'Adventures of an Atom,' in terms very different from the above.



whom they have recommended. I have gone farther, having refused, in more instances than one, the recommendations of the commander-in-chief; and even of the duke of Newcastle, to whom I owe more compliance than to any man living; because he is the only subject to whom I have a real obligation. I must do his grace the justice to say that, after the first warmth was over, he has always approved my rule, and the steadiness with which I adhered to it. Forgive me, my dear general, that I cannot, in this instance, show the same regard to your recommendation, as in the instance of Mr Bourke, lately appointed a cornet in your regiment at your desire. The two cases, give me leave to say, are widely different. None but medical men can judge of medical men; and, in my opinion, it would be as preposterous to take the character of a surgeon from a colonel, as of an officer from the hospital board. As to breaking my rule in this instance and keeping it in others, I am sure upon consideration you will not adhere to that advice; for I should then give real offence to all those whom I have refused already, or shall refuse hereafter. If I have ever given any satisfaction in the troublesome and delicate station I am in, it has arisen from making no exceptions to general rules. It is with great difficulty that I am steady at present; but this advantage will arise from a very disagreeable thing: no colonel can ever expect I should take his recommendation of a surgeon, when I have refused General Conway's."

There is still stronger testimony of his inflexible adherence to this excellent rule in his correspondence with Lord Ligonier, and the marquess of Granby. A letter to the former—at that time commander-in-chief—concludes thus: "I have not time to answer your lordship's letter of Sunday, which I received last night: perhaps it is better that I should not particularly answer it, as I wish always to keep my temper, especially with those who are older and wiser than myself. I will only say, that whatever the power of a commander-in-chief may be, it certainly does not extend to make a secretary-at-war give the king advice which he thinks wrong. I told your lordship very explicitly at our first outset, that I never would. I have refused in a like case the only man living to whom I have an obligation, and he is not offended. I wonder I am pressed to do it by your lordship. If you think these alterations in the German hospital to be right, you will propose them to the king. If his majesty, after hearing my objections, shall be of your lordship's opinion, I will obey his orders with the same cheerfulness, and do all other business with the same good humour, as if he had declared for mine. I have no points to carry, and should blush at a triumph."

### Charles Pratt, Earl Camden.

BORN A. D. 1713.—DIED A. D. 1794.

Few men have such strong claims to the gratitude and admiration of his countrymen as the noble and illustrious character whose life and political merits we are now about to sketch.

Charles Pratt was the third son of Sir John Pratt, chief-justice of the court of King's bench under George I. by his second wife, Elizabeth,

daughter of the Rev. Hugh Wilson, canon of Bangor. He was born in 1713, the year before his father was raised to the bench. He received the first rudiments of his education at Eton, and afterwards studied at King's college: he was remarkably diligent and studious, and particularly versed in the history and constitution of his country. After taking his master's degree in 1735, he entered himself a student of the Inner temple, and was in due time admitted to the bar.

Mr Pratt, after being called to the bar, notwithstanding his family connexions and his own personal character, was nearly nine years in the profession without getting in any degree forward. Whether this arose from a natural timidity of constitution, or ill-luck, or despondence, it is now difficult to tell, but the fact was so; and he was so dispirited by it, that he had some thoughts of relinquishing the profession of the law, and retiring to his college, where he might be sure of a church living, that would afford him a small but honourable independence.<sup>1</sup> Brooding over these melancholy thoughts he went as usual the Western circuit, resolving to make one more experiment, and then take his final determination. He had, from his first setting out in his profession, been very intimate with Mr Henley, afterwards Lord Northington, and lord-high-chancellor of England,—a man who, with the talents of wit and conversation, was esteemed a good lawyer and capable of strong and lasting friendship. Henley, at this time, was rising rapidly at the bar, and was concerned in most of the great causes on the circuit. He was the '*amicus omnium horarum*' of Pratt; but knew nothing of the embarrassments of his friend's affairs, till the other, availing himself of a leisure hour, confided his cares to him with all the frankness and unreservedness of an old and intimate colleague. Henley heard him throughout with a seeming and anxious composure, and then burst out into a horse-laugh, exclaiming in his strong manner: "What! turn parson at last! No, Charles; you sha'nt be a priest neither! You shall do better for yourself; and that quickly too. Let me see,—I'm concerned in a cause that will suit you to a hair,—you shall be concerned in it too,—it is on the popular side, and will do you credit. So let me hear no more of this canting business of turning parson: you have abilities that run before us all, but you must endeavour to scour off a little of that d—ned modesty and diffidence you have about you, to give them fair play." In this rough familiar manner Henley rallied the spirits of his friend; and he followed up his advice with sagacity and cordiality. When his client's attorney called upon him to arrange the particulars of the cause, he asked him whether he had retained Pratt? "Pratt! Pratt!" said the attorney, "who is Mr Pratt?" "Who is Mr Pratt, Sir!" said Henley gravely, "the question shows you to be a country attorney, or you should know better. Go to him directly and engage him, as I would not have a man of his abilities against me on any consideration." The attorney did as he was directed, and Mr

<sup>1</sup> Mr Pratt's case was by no means singular even in his own day. Some of the greatest luminaries of the law in his time passed through the same ordeal. Sir Fletcher Norton, afterwards Lord Grantley, was some years before he got into notice. Mr Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, received but twenty guineas the first year, and for three years afterwards did not get above one hundred pounds. Sir George Hay, no less a civilian than a man of fine general talents, was for three or four years in so little practice as to be scarcely able by his profession to keep up the port of a gentleman.



Pratt was retained in the cause. Henley was taken ill upon the day of trial, and Mr Pratt took the lead, and won the admiration of his brother barristers and the whole court by the display he made. In short, the issue of that day's trial was, that besides gaining his cause, he gained the reputation of an eloquent, profound, and constitutional lawyer.

When Pratt returned to London, he found the bruit of his professional fame—which his friend Henley took care to cultivate by all the good offices in his power—had reached the metropolis before him. The second great event which called out his professional talents, and placed his fame on that basis which rendered it marked and permanent, and for ever after shielded and protected it from neglect and insecurity, was the celebrated case of Owen the bookseller, for publishing 'A Defence of Alexander Murray, Esq.,' 1751. In the contested election between Lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood on one side, and Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner on the other, Mr Pratt was counsel for the former, and distinguished himself in a manner that not only elevated his character as a lawyer, but marked him out as an able defender of the constitutional rights of his country. Mr Pitt was the 'auditor tantum' of this celebrated contest. But charmed with the eloquence, the professional skill, and the integrity of his new friend, he gave him his unreserved confidence, and from this hour they were the Pylades and Orestes of their time. With these warm professions in favour of his friend, when Mr Pitt came to be appointed secretary of state, in 1756, he appointed Mr Pratt his private counsellor, with a handsome salary, in order, as that great man declared, "not only to have the benefit of such advice, but to guard against any inroads which he otherwise might unintentionally make on the laws and constitution of his country." In 1757 Mr Pratt was made attorney-general in the room of Sir Robert Henley, made lord-keeper. Mr Pitt jocosely played upon the temper of his friend on this occasion, by telling him he was appointed attorney-general. "Not for the world, Sir," said he, "to the prejudice of my oldest and best friend, Henley!" "Well, but suppose we kick this old friend of yours up to the house of lords, will that do?" In fact, the thing is so, Henley is made lord-keeper, and I wish you joy most sincerely of your new appointment of attorney-general." From the office of attorney-general Mr Pratt ascended the bench, being appointed lord-chief-justice of the court of common pleas in 1762, after having been chosen representative for Downton, Wiltshire, in 1759, and made recorder of Bath the same year. Writing to his friend Dr Davies at this period, he says: "I remember you prophesied formerly that I should be a chief-justice, or perhaps something higher. Half is come to pass: I am thane of Cawdor; but the greater is behind, and if that fails me, you are still a false prophet. Joking aside, I am retired out of this bustling world to a place of sufficient profit, ease, and dignity, and believe that I am a much happier man than the highest post in the law could have made me."

In his judicial capacity he manifested great independence and impartiality. In 1763, when John Wilkes, after having been conveyed to the Tower, on a general warrant, was brought up, by virtue of a writ of *habeas corpus*, the chief-justice discharged him; it being his opinion, as he subsequently stated, on the trial of an action brought by Wilkes against the messenger who had arrested him, that general warrants,

excepting in cases of high treason, were illegal. When Wilkes was brought up before the court, the lord-chief-justice Pratt, in delivering the resolution of the court, which was unanimous, said: "When this return was read, my brother Glynn, counsel for Mr Wilkes, made two objections to it; and though these should fail him, he insisted that Mr Wilkes, from the nature of his particular station and character, as being a member of the house of commons, was entitled to privilege of parliament, and ought, for that reason alone, to be discharged from his present imprisonment. To begin with the objections,—the first was, that it did not appear by the warrant that Mr Wilkes stood charged upon any evidence with being the author of the libel described in the warrant. The true question arising upon this objection is, whether stating the evidence be essential to the validity of the warrant? and upon this point we are all clearly of opinion that the warrant is good." Having stated the reasons of this opinion, his lordship went on to say: "The other objection was, that the libel itself ought to be set forth *in hæc verba*; but upon that point too we are all of opinion that the warrant is good. It was urged that the specific cause of the detention ought to be stated with certainty, and therefore if a man be committed for felony, the warrant must briefly mention the species of felony. Now the species of every offence must be collected by the magistrate out of the evidence; but he is not bound to set forth the evidence, he is answerable only for the inference he deduces from it. As to a libel, the evidence is partly internal and partly external. The paper itself may not be complete and conclusive evidence; for it may be dark and unintelligible without innuendoes, which are the external evidence. There is no other name but that of libel applicable to the offence of libelling, and we know the offence specifically by that name, as we know the offences of horse-stealing, forgery, &c. by the names which the law has annexed to them. But two reasons were urged why the libel ought to be stated. First, it was said without it the court cannot judge whether it be a libel or not: the answer is, that the court ought not in this proceeding to give any judgment of that sort, as it would tend to prejudication, and take away the office of a jury, and to create an improper influence. The other reason was, that unless the libel be stated, the court cannot be able to determine on the quantity of bail: the answer here is, that regard to the nature of the offence is the only rule in bailing." "But then," continued his lordship, "there remains to be considered, whether Mr Wilkes ought not to be discharged. The king's counsel have thought fit to admit that he was member of the house of commons, and we are bound to take notice of it. In the case of the seven bishops, the court took notice of their privilege, from their description in the warrant. In the present case there is no suit depending; here no writ of privilege can therefore issue,—no plea of privilege can be received,—it rests, and must rest, on the admission of the counsel for the crown; it is fairly before us upon that admission, and we are bound to determine it." Having quoted cases, his lordship went on: "What then is the present case? Mr Wilkes, a member of the house of commons, is committed for being the author and publisher of an infamous and seditious libel. Is a libel *ipso facto* in itself an actual breach of the peace? Dalton in his 'Justice of the Peace,' defines a libel as 'a thing tending to the breach of the peace.' In Sir Baptist Hick's case it is call-



ed a provocation to a breach of the peace. In the King against Summers, it was held to be an offence conusable before justices, because it tended to a breach of the peace. In Hawkins' 'Pleas of the Crown,' it is called 'a thing directly tending to a breach of the public peace.' Now, that that which only tends to a breach of the peace is not an actual breach of it, is too plain a proposition to admit of argument. But if it was admitted that a libel was a breach of the peace, still privilege cannot be excluded, unless it require surety of the peace, and there has been no precedent but that of the seven bishops cited to show that sureties of the peace are requirable from a libeller. As to the opinion of the three judges in that case, it only serves to show the miserable state of justice in those days. Allynbone, one of the three, was a rigid and professed papist; Wright and Holloway, I am much afraid, were placed there for doing jobs; and Powell, the only honest man upon the bench, gave no opinion at all. Perhaps it appears an absurdity to demand sureties of the peace from a libeller. However, what was done in the case of the seven bishops I am bold to deny was law. Upon the whole, though it should be admitted that sureties of the peace are requirable from Mr Wilkes, still his privilege of parliament will not be taken away till sureties have been demanded and refused.—Let him be discharged." Thus far as to the point of privilege. Mr Wilkes after his liberation, it is well-known, complained to the house of commons of a breach of privilege, by the imprisonment of his person; and commenced an action in the court of common-pleas against Robert Wood, Esq. the under secretary of state, for seizing his papers. On the 26th of December, 1763, this cause was tried before the lord-chief-justice and a special jury, at the defendant's desire; when, after a hearing of nearly fifteen hours, a verdict was given for Mr Wilkes, with one thousand pounds damages, and full costs of suit. On this occasion the lord-chief-justice closed his charge to the jury in the following words: "This warrant is unconstitutional, illegal, and absolutely void. It is a general warrant directed to four messengers to take up any persons without naming or describing them with any certainty, and to bring them, together with their papers. If it be good, a secretary of state can delegate and depute any one of the messengers, or any even from the lowest of the people to take examinations, to commit or release, and in fine to do every act which the highest judicial officers the law knows can do or order. There is no authority in our law books, that mentions these kind of warrants, but in express terms condemn them." "Upon the maturest consideration," his lordship continued, "I am bold to say that this warrant is illegal. But I am far from wishing a matter of this consequence should rest solely upon my opinion; I am only one of twelve, whose opinions I am desirous should be taken in this matter, and I am very willing to allow myself the meanest of the twelve. There is also a still higher court before which this matter might be canvassed; and whose determination is final. If these higher jurisdictions should declare my opinions erroneous, I submit, as will become me, and kiss the rod; but I must say, I shall always consider such a state of the law a rod of iron for the chastisement of the people of Great Britain."

The popularity which the chief-justice acquired by his decided and constitutional opinion on general warrants spread far and near. The city of London presented him with the freedom of the corporation in a

gold box, and voted that his portrait, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, should be placed in Guildhall. The corporations of Bath, Dublin, Exeter, and Norwich, followed the example. Songs were sung at all the patriotic meetings, as well as in the streets, in honour of his spirit and integrity; and toys, handkerchiefs, &c. bore the effigies of this defender of the rights of the constitution.

In 1765, on the establishment of Lord Rockingham's administration, the chief-justice of the common-pleas was created a baron of Great Britain, by the name of Baron Camden of Camden-place, in the county of Kent, with remainder to his heirs male. On the 30th of July, 1766, when Pitt was created Earl of Chatham, and appointed lord-privy-seal, Lord Camden was called to the office of lord-high-chancellor of Great Britain, in the room of the earl of Northington; and though there were some promotions in this change of administration which augured a return of the Butean influence, yet the tried and well-known character of Lord Camden was such as to give universal satisfaction.

The high price of corn and every other species of provision in the summer of 1766, caused great and general complaints throughout every part of the kingdom. These complaints were followed by riots and tumults, in which great excesses were committed. The privy-council issued a proclamation, putting in force several statutes that had been formerly passed against forestallers, regrators, and engrossers of corn. But the price of wheat still advanced, and another proclamation was issued on the 26th of September to prohibit the exportation of grain. Messengers were despatched to the sea-coasts to see that the terms of the proclamation were complied with, and to prevent such ships as were laden with wheat or wheat-meal at the several ports, from proceeding with their respective cargoes. When parliament met at the close of the year, the ministry brought in a bill of indemnity for this measure, which was violently denounced by some members. The lord-chancellor defended it with his usual ability. He cited the opinion of Mr Locke and a number of other high authorities, and asserted that it was ridiculous to suppose any state without a power of providing for the public safety in cases of emergency; that this power must be lodged in all states somewhere, and that in ours it was lodged in the king. He maintained that this doctrine was not contrary to the security of the constitution, or to the spirit of liberty; since it was admitted it could be legally exerted during the recess of parliament, only in cases of great emergency, and when parliament cannot be conveniently assembled. In this debate Lord Camden and Lord Mansfield were opposed to each other, and a ground laid for those feelings of hostility which were often displayed between these two high functionaries. It is not to be doubted that Lord Camden acted with his usual conscientiousness in the affair, but yet some of the arguments which he advanced on this occasion were certainly unsound, and opposed to those principles of constitutional liberty of which his lordship had so often proved himself the intrepid and successful defender.

An event took place in the beginning of the year 1770, which made a considerable change in the administration;—this was the well-known affair after the Middlesex election. The general discontent excited by this measure without doors during summer, seemed to revive with increased force on the assembling of parliament. The commons took up



the expulsion and incapacitation of Wilkes in the full spirit of constitutional inquiry. Nor was the affair less agitated in the lords. His lordship, however, on this occasion gratified the fullest expectations of the public, by declaring in his place, and with an energy which spoke the zeal and sincerity of his sentiments, "That he considered the decision upon that affair as a direct attack upon the first principles of the constitution; and that if in the judicial exercise of his office he was to pay any regard to that or to any other such vote, passed in opposition to the known and established laws of the land, he should look upon himself as a traitor to his trust, and an enemy to his country." The public avowal of an opinion so contrary to the conduct if not the views of administration, was considered as a total defection, and resented as a desertion from that side. On the 17th of January the lord-chancellor received a message from the secretary of state's office, desiring, in his majesty's name, that he would deliver up the seals that evening at seven o'clock. His lordship accordingly waited on his majesty at the queen's palace, and delivered them into his own hands.

His lordship considering a private station as the post of honour, did not slacken his endeavours in defence of the rights of the people. The late marquess of Rockingham having made a motion in the house of lords, the design of which was, "To procure a declaratory resolution, that the law of the land and the established customs of parliament were the sole rule of determination in all cases of election;" long debates ensued upon this question, and the motion was at length overruled by a large majority. The opposers of the question having obtained this proof of their strength, resolved to exert it to advantage; and a motion was made at a late hour of the night, "That any resolution of the house, directly or indirectly, impeaching a judgment of the house of commons in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional rights of the commons, tend to make a breach between the two houses of parliament, and lead to a general confusion." The hardness of this motion, and introduced at a late hour of night, roused all the powers of opposition, and in particular those of Lord Camden, who said, "That this motion included a surrender of their most undoubted, legal, necessary, and sacred rights,—a surrender as injurious to the collective body of the people, to their representatives, and to the crown, as it was totally subversive of the authority and dignity of that house." The strength of his lordship's arguments, as well as those of his noble colleagues, lay in the protest which was entered upon the journals on this occasion. We insert the concluding paragraph as a specimen of the spirit of it. After assigning seven different grounds of dissent, it concluded thus:—"We think ourselves, therefore, as peers, and as Englishmen, and freemen,—names as dear to us as any titles whatsoever, indispensably obliged to protest against a resolution utterly subversive of the authority and dignity of this house, equally injurious to the collective body of the people, to their representatives and to the crown, to which we owe our advice upon every public emergency; a resolution in law, unconstitutional; in precedent, not only unauthorized, but contradicted; in tendency, ruinous; in the time and manner of obtaining it, unfair and surreptitious. And we do here solemnly declare and pledge ourselves to the public, that we will persevere in availing ourselves, as far

as in us lies, of every right and every power with which the constitution has armed us for the good of the whole, in order to obtain full relief for the injured electors of Great Britain, and full security for the future against the most dangerous usurpation upon the rights of the people, which, by sapping the fundamental principles of this government, threatens its total dissolution."<sup>2</sup>

Out of office, Camden continued to be the same uniform opposer of all unconstitutional doctrines. He took an active part only on constitutional questions, such as the Middlesex election, the law of libels, the royal marriage act, &c. till some time previous to the breaking out of the American war. Foreseeing by the steps which the ministry were taking, that they were about to involve their country in a war which portended the most dreadful evils to both countries, he was unwearied in his efforts to prevent a rupture. His friend the earl of Chatham, after a long absence occasioned by illness, appeared in the house of lords on this occasion. He saw the storm about to burst, and early in the year 1775, he came down to the house to express his utmost disapprobation of the whole system of American measures. When the American papers were laid upon the table, his lordship moved an address for recalling the troops from Boston, in which he was ably supported by Lord Camden. They represented this measure as a matter of immediate necessity,—that an hour lost in allaying the ferments in America, might produce years of calamity,—that the present situation of the troops rendered events possible which would cut off the probability of a reconciliation,—that this conciliating measure, thus well-timed on our side, would remove all jealousy and apprehension on the other, and instantaneously produce the happiest effects to both.

On the second reading of the bill for settling an annuity on the heirs of the earl of Chatham, the duke of Chandos particularly objected to the perpetuity of the grant, and to the mischievous precedent it would set for similar applications from men in high stations. He was seconded by the lord-chancellor Bathurst, who in the course of his speech brought in the precedent of the great duke of Marlborough, who, though he settled and negotiated the grand alliance which broke the power of France and set limits to the ambition of Louis XIV., had the perpetuity of his grant of £5000 a-year refused him by the commons. Lord Camden felt for the honour of his deceased friend, and spoke in support of the bill with an energy that seemed to grow out of the occasion.

The remaining years of the American war were full of disaster, and presented still gloomier prospects. A war with France broke out immediately after the earl of Chatham's death, which was followed by a similar declaration from Spain, and ultimately by a declaration on the part of Great Britain against the United States. Under such an accumulation of national disaster, the greatest characters in the kingdom were loudly called upon to exert themselves, either by advice or personal efforts, in its defence. Lord Camden, though he had lost a tower of defence in his late illustrious colleague, had a firm support in the abilities of the duke of Richmond, the marquess of Rockingham, and

<sup>2</sup> This protest, which for spirit, precision, and constitutional knowledge, has been always much admired, was signed by five dukes, one marquess, eighteen earls, one viscount, and sixteen barons.



Lord Shelburne. With these noblemen he continued to act in concert till the spring of the year 1782, when the minister losing the confidence of the house as well as the public, retired from power in the beginning of March, and on the 27th of that month, a new ministry was formed under the auspices of the marquess of Rockingham, constituted first lord of the treasury. Lord Camden was appointed lord-president of the council.

In May, 1786, his majesty, in consideration of Lord Camden's long and faithful services, raised his lordship from the rank of baron to that of earl, by the title of Earl Camden, Viscount Bayham. At this period his lordship, now at the advanced age of seventy-three, had some thoughts of retiring from public business; but his majesty graciously interceded against this resolution, and as his lordship's health and spirits were still competent to his duty, he submitted to the royal pleasure, and continued in office.

The last public act of his lordship corresponded to the first, and the whole tenor of his life was in support of the constitutional liberties of the subject. The 'bill respecting trial in cases of libel,' came before the house of lords on the 18th of May, 1792. His lordship through age and infirmities had not attended the house for some time; but as this bill was intended to give the power to a British jury to determine on the matter of law as well as fact in the case of a libel—a point which his lordship had unremittingly contended for—he felt it his duty to give it his last support. He therefore attended in his place upon this occasion; and when the order of the day for the farther consideration of the report of this bill was moved, spoke in support of it at considerable length. He began with declaring that he had never intended to trouble their lordships on a public question again, since age had laid its hand upon him, and he had no longer that vigour left that was necessary to maintain a contest of argument, but that he held it to be his indispensable duty, as long as he had sentiments upon the subject, and a tongue to utter them, to stand up and defend his opinion respecting the rights of juries to decide upon the law as well as the fact,—an opinion which was by no means new to their lordships, since it was upon record. The judges, he observed, in stating their opinions, had avoided coming to the point, and had not given any thing like a satisfactory answer to the main question which created all the difficulty. Their opinion seemed to be worded with a careful attention to escape the notice of the only matter that created any thing like a difference of sentiment. The doctrine that all matters of law lay within the province of the judges, and matters of fact only with the juries, was a modern doctrine, and a practice unheard-of in ancient times, arising from a perverse application of that well-known maxim, "*In quæstionem legis respondent iudices sed in quæstionem facti respondent juratores.*" Here his lordship explained in what cases the maxim applied, and where it did not; and contended that it had no reference whatever to a trial of a criminal case in the first instance, but must appertain only to questions which come judicially before a court subsequent to a verdict. His lordship then entered into a discussion of the difference between a general verdict and a special verdict, declaring that nothing could be more opposite than the one to the other. In a special verdict the jury found the facts, but referred the law that resulted from them to the judges or

court to decide upon. After stating a direction of Chief-justice Jefferies, his lordship related from memory what had occurred on the trial of Owen the bookseller, before Lord-chief-justice Lee, when he had himself been counsel for the defendant. At that time he said the jury took upon themselves to take the whole of the case, the law as well as the fact, into their own hands, and they acquitted the defendant. From memory, he said he absolutely denied that he ever held a practice different from the doctrine that he was then maintaining: if any noble lord was in possession of any notes for that trial which contradicted what he said, he must give way to their authority. In the case of Dr Shebbeare he had turned his back to the court, and directed all he had to say to the jury. His lordship next mentioned the case where the verdict on a trial for a libel had been, "guilty of printing and publishing only," which the court could not get over; and therefore said, if the attorney-general chose it, he might begin *de novo*. But no new trial ever was instituted, because it was pretty clear from the verdict on the first trial, what the sense of the country was upon the paper in question. His lordship contended that they must destroy the corner-stone of the constitution who denied the jury the right to decide upon both the law and the fact. Those who argued differently might say, "How would they guard against the ill consequences?" Why, by a new trial, if there should be any legal ground for one. Formerly a jury was liable to be attainted for a false verdict; but the practice of attaint had been long out of use, and the customary mode of correcting the errors of a jury was by a new trial; and a new trial, their lordships would recollect, would carry the matter again before a jury for decision. It was the conscience of a jury that must pronounce the prisoner guilty or not guilty. And why, he asked, were not a jury to be trusted in cases of libel as well as in other concerns? Did they not trust them in all that concerned property and liberty, nay, even life and limb? A libel, his lordship said, must obviously have a seditious tendency,—a tendency to disturb the king's peace, and was not any man of common sense upon a jury as competent as a judge to say, whether a paper charged as a libel had that tendency or not? Another, and a most material point in trials for libel, was the intention, the *quo animo* with which the person accused published the libel. The intention must be proved, and how could they prove it but by facts? The moment the intention produces the action, it mixes with it, and becomes part of that action; and Judge Jefferies himself had declared, "That no man could judge of another man's intentions but by his words and actions." His lordship, after accurately defining what was the proper proof of a man's criminal intentions, stated the inestimable value of the liberty of the press, and asked, who should be the regulator of the liberty of the press in this country, judges or jurors? Judges, he said, might, as they all knew, be corrupt; but juries never could. He concluded with declaring his intention for moving to strike out such words in the preamble of the bill as in the least degree tended to divide the power of a jury in matters of law as well as fact in cases of libel.

The debate on this bill being interrupted by the sudden illness of Lord Stormont, the house adjourned to the Monday following, when, after a long discussion, the question of commitment was carried by a considerable majority. On the commitment of the bill, the debates



were renewed with additional force of eloquence on both sides. The Lord-chancellor Thurlow "wished to submit to their lordships the necessity of so amending the bill as to make it conformable to what its principle—if any principle it had—pretended to be." His lordship then went into a long argument, in which he elaborately contended for the doctrines he had stated in the former debate on the second reading of the bill, justified the learned judges for the opinion they had delivered, and asserted that the bill would go out of the house a parliamentary condemnation of the opinions and rule of practice which they had entertained and acted upon in pursuance of the example of their ancestors. Lord Kenyon spoke on the same side. Lord Camden replied to both, and again contended with a spirit and zeal extraordinary in one of his age, that a jury had an undoubted right to form their verdict themselves according to their consciences, applying the law to the fact; if it were otherwise, he said, the first principle of the law of England would be defeated and overthrown. If the twelve judges were to assert the contrary again and again, his lordship declared he would deny it utterly, because every Englishman was to be tried by his country; and who was his country but his twelve peers, sworn to condemn or acquit according to their consciences? If the case were otherwise, and the opposite doctrine was to obtain, trial by jury would be a nominal trial,—a mere form; for in fact the judge, and not the jury, would try the man; and for the truth of this argument, his lordship said he would contend for it to the latest hour of his life,—'*Manibus pedibusque.*' The amendment moved by the lord-chancellor was rejected, and the rest of the bill gone through and agreed to without further amendment.

From the moment that the libel bill received the royal sanction, Camden never afterwards appeared in the house of lords. It was the climax of his political life, and he was contented himself with performing his duty as president of the council, which he regularly attended whenever his growing infirmities would permit him. About a year before his death he again solicited his sovereign for leave to resign; but as his lordship's mind was fully competent to the discharge of that high office, his majesty was graciously pleased to acquaint him, "That he claimed a continuation of his services whilst he was so well able to perform them." In this interval to the time of his death, every indulgence was shown him that was possible. Councils were often previously held at his house, and draughts of deliberations sent him down into the country, where he for the most part resided in the domestic enjoyments of his family, for whom he always manifested a truly parental and affectionate attachment. Finding his health visibly declining about the beginning of the year 1794, he removed from Camden-place in Kent—his country-seat—to his town residence in Hill-street, Berkeley-square, where, more through the pressure of old age than any immediate disorder, he died at the advanced age of eighty-one, on Friday the 18th of April, 1794.

Lord Camden's character as a judge is utterly without impeachment. In his equal administration of justice, with his spirited and effectual condemnation of general warrants,—his efforts in favour of the rights of election,—his unceasing exertions in support of the rights of juries in cases of libel, particularly the last splendid exertion of his eloquence

on this subject, together with his uniform attachment to the constitution upon all occasions, every Englishman must acknowledge him the faithful guardian of their rights and liberties.

"His lordship's parliamentary abilities," says one of his contemporaries, "are unquestionable. In point of contrast to the last noble lord,<sup>3</sup> he is by no means so great an orator in the strict sense of the word; but he is infinitely his superior in depth of reasoning, in logical definition, in the philosophical arrangement and separation of his ideas, and in his knowledge of the fundamental laws of this constitution. He never leaves those openings to his antagonists which eternally recur in the harangues of his learned and noble brother. He seldom addresses himself merely to the passions; and if he does, he always almost addresses them through the medium of true argument and sound logic. In fact, if he was to speak in an audience composed of men of talents and experience only, there is no man in either house would stand the least chance to contend with him for victory; but in merely driving or leading a herd, Lord Mansfield, Lord Chatham, and even Lord Lyttleton, are confessedly his superiors. In respect of delineation, Lord Camden is cool, deliberative, argumentative, and persuasive. He is fond of first principles; he argues closely, and never lets them out of his view; his volubility, choice of language, flowing of ideas, and of words to express them, are inexhaustible. The natural rights of the colonists,—the privileges and immunities granted by charter,—and their representative rights as native subjects of the British empire,—are the substrata on which he erects all his arguments, and from whence he draws all his conclusions. His judgment is, if possible, still greater in debate than his mere powers of oratory as a public speaker. He either takes a part early in it, decides the question, or embarrasses his adversaries, or he waits till they have spent all their force, and rests his attack upon some latent or neglected point, overlooked or little attended to in the course of the debate. In fine, as Lord Mansfield is the greatest orator, so we do not hesitate to pronounce Camden by much the most able reasoner in either house of parliament. On the other hand, his lordship deals too much in first principles, denied or controverted by his adversaries, and seems more eager to convince the people of America, though at three thousand miles' distance, that they are right, than to persuade his noble auditory that they are wrong. Many of his speeches bear an inflammatory appearance."

In the circle of his friends, Lord Camden was pleasant, easy, and communicative, carefully avoiding the lawyer or the statesman. He was the intimate friend of Garrick, and frequently badinaged with that great actor. The following observation has been attributed to him:—"Lord Mansfield has a way of saying 'It is a rule with me—an inviolable rule—never to hear a syllable said out of court about any cause, that either is, or is not, in the smallest degree likely to come before me.' Now I, for my part, could hear as many people as choose to talk to me about their causes; it would never make the slightest impression upon me."

The punishment of the stocks having been spoken lightly of by a barrister, on a trial at which he was presiding, he said, leaning over

<sup>3</sup> Lord Mansfield.



the bench to the counsel, "Brother, were you ever in the stocks?" Being answered in the negative, he whispered, "Then I have; and can assure you it is by no means such a trifle as you have represented it." His lordship, it appears, when on a visit at Lord Dacre's, was walking near Alveley in Essex, with a gentleman, whom he requested to open the parish-stocks for him, that he might be enabled to judge of the nature of the punishment. Having done so, his companion, who was remarkable for absence of mind, walked on, occupied with a book, and the earl being unable to extricate himself, asked a countryman to release him. "No, no, old gentleman," quoth the rustic; "you were not set there for nothing."

### Sir Edward Hughes.

DIED A. D. 1794.

THIS officer entered the navy at an early age, and served as a midshipman at the capture of Porto Bello with so much credit, that he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant on the 25th August, 1740. In 1747 he obtained the command of the *Lark*. In 1756 he was nominated to the *Deal Castle*, of twenty-four guns, and in 1757 became captain of the *Somerset*, a seventy-four, in which ship he continued until near the termination of the war. In 1758 he served in the successful expedition against *Louisburg*, under the direction of Admiral *Boscawen*, and afterwards in that against *Quebec*, under Sir *Charles Saunders*.

In 1770 Hughes was reappointed to the *Somerset*, and three years after proceeded in the *Salisbury*, of fifty guns, with the rank of commodore, to the *East India* station, where he remained until 1777. On the 23d of January, 1778, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and soon after received the insignia of a knight of the bath. Early in 1779 he became commander-in-chief on the *East India* station, and in his way out effected the reduction of the French settlement of *Goree*, on the coast of *Africa*. On the 7th of March, 1779, he was made rear-admiral of the red, and on the 26th of September, 1780, vice-admiral of the blue. In December, 1780, he attacked and destroyed the squadrons of *Hyder Ali*, in the ports of *Calicut* and *Mangalore*.

*M. de Suffrein*, one of the ablest naval officers in the French service, soon after arrived in *India*, for the purpose of opposing the force under Admiral Hughes. On the 15th of February, 1781, the French admiral was seen off *Madras*, having with him five or six prizes, which had been taken on his passage. On the 16th five of these, and one of the enemy's vessels with 300 soldiers, besides cannon, military stores, and ammunition on board, fell into the hands of the British. The two fleets neared each other on the succeeding day; but the English van not being able to tack and get into action for the want of wind, an unequal contest of three hours' duration ensued, between eight of the enemy's best ships and four of the British squadron, among which was the admiral's ship, the *Superbe*. Notwithstanding their superiority the French fleet sustained considerable damage, and, taking advantage of a favourable breeze, hauled their wind and stood away.

After having repaired two of his ships at Trincomalé, in Ceylon—which place he had just captured from the Dutch—the English admiral put to sea on the 4th of March, and on the 30th was joined by a reinforcement from England. The adverse fleets met again on the 12th of April, and, after a warm engagement, the enemy drew off. On the 20th of June, in the following year, Sir Edward Hughes, who had previously been joined by Admiral Bickerton with six ships of the line, again engaged his old antagonist, De Suffrein, who, after three hours' spirited fighting, bore away. On the 22d of the same month the two fleets were in sight of each other, off Pondicherry, but no action took place. Fifteen hundred of his men being rendered unfit for duty by the scurvy, Sir Edward Hughes now repaired to Madras; whence, peace having been proclaimed, he proceeded with the fleet to England, and did not afterwards assume any command.

On the 24th of September, 1787, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the red, and on the 1st of February, 1793, to that of admiral of the blue. He died at an advanced age, at his seat in Essex, on the 17th of February, 1794.

## Marshal Conway.

BORN A. D. 1720.—DIED A. D. 1795.

THIS accomplished and upright man was second son of the first lord Conway. He entered the army in 1740, and distinguished himself on several occasions by his personal prowess as well as military science. In 1741 he was returned to the Irish parliament for the county of Antrim, and, in the same year, to the British house of commons, for Higham-Ferrers.

In 1757 he was employed as second in command, under Sir John Mordaunt, in the Rochefort expedition. His advice, on this occasion, was that the place should be attacked, but Mordaunt did not act upon his recommendation. Towards the end of George the Second's reign, he was appointed groom of the bed-chamber, which post he continued to fill in the establishment of the new sovereign. In 1761 he commanded the British forces in Germany under Prince Ferdinand, in the absence of the marquess of Granby.

In the keen debate on general warrants, in the house of commons, towards the close of the year 1764, General Conway spoke and voted against ministers. This act of integrity cost him all his military employments; but the duke of Devonshire, in consequence of the disinterestedness and independence which General Conway displayed on this and other occasions, soon after bequeathed him a legacy of £5000. On the formation of the Rockingham administration, General Conway was appointed one of the secretaries of state, and filled that office, till 1768, in a manner which extorted the applause even of his political antagonists.

In the debates on American affairs, General Conway advocated the rights of the colonists with great ability and determination. He moved the repeal of the stamp act under circumstances which have been thus glowingly described by Burke, in his famous speech in 1774: "I will



do justice—I ought to do it—to the honourable gentleman who led us in this house (Conway). Far from the duplicity wickedly charged on him, he acted his part with alacrity and resolution. We all felt inspired by the example he gave us, down even to myself, the weakest in that phalanx. I declare for one, I knew well-enough—it could not be concealed from any body—the true state of things; but, in my life, I never came with so much spirits into this house. It was a time for a man to act in! We had powerful enemies, but we had faithful and determined friends, and a glorious cause. We had a great battle to fight, but we had the means of fighting; not as now, when our arms are tied behind us. We did fight that day, and conquer. I remember, Sir, with a melancholy pleasure, the situation of the honourable gentleman (Conway) who made the motion for the repeal, in that crisis when the whole trading interest of this empire, crammed into your lobbies, with a trembling and anxious expectation, waited, almost to a winter's return of light, their fate from your resolutions. When at length you had determined in their favour, and your doors thrown open, showed them the figure of their deliverer in the well-earned triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave multitude there arose an involuntary burst of gratitude and transport. They jumped upon him like children on a long absent father. They clung about him as captives about their redeemer. All England, all America, joined in his applause. Nor did he seem insensible to the best of all earthly rewards—the love and admiration of his fellow-citizens. Hope elevated and joy brightened his crest! I stood near him, and his face, to use the expression of the scripture of the first martyr, ‘his face was as if it had been the face of an angel.’ I do not know how others feel; but if I had stood in that situation, I never would have exchanged it for all that kings in their profusion could bestow. I did hope that that day's danger and honour would have been a bond to hold us all together for ever; but, alas! that, with other pleasing visions, is long since vanished.”

In the session of 1782 General Conway introduced the motion which drove North from the premiership. He had already declared, in his place in parliament, that he would rather submit to the independence of America than persist in the prosecution of so pernicious and unjust a war. On the 22d of February, he moved “that an address should be presented, imploring his majesty that the war might be no longer pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the people of America by force.” The motion was seconded by Lord John Cavendish, and opposed by Wellbore Ellis, the new secretary for the American department, who declared, “that it was now in contemplation to contract the scale of the war, and to prosecute hostilities by such means as were very dissimilar from the past. In order to obtain peace with America we must vanquish the French; and as in the late war, America had been said to be conquered in Germany, so in this America must be conquered in France. In the present circumstances,” he continued, “the administration were conscious of the necessity of drawing into a narrow compass the operations of the American war,—a change of circumstances demanding a corresponding change of measures.” The motion was lost only by a single vote; and as a majority of the absent members were supposed to be adverse to ministry, it was thought expedient to bring the question again before the house in a different form.

On the 27th of February, therefore, General Conway brought forward a new motion to the same effect, which was seconded by Lord Althorpe. In order to evade the question, the attorney-general (Wallace) recommended that a truce should be proposed with America; but on a division upon his amendment, a majority of nineteen appeared against ministers. The motion of General Conway was immediately followed by another, for an address to his majesty to put an end to the war; and it was further resolved, that the address should be presented by the whole house.<sup>1</sup> His majesty's answer to the address was in general terms, that he should take such measures as might appear to him most conducive to the restoration of peace. Any reference to the prosecution of offensive war was cautiously avoided. The evasive nature of this answer induced General Conway to move another resolution in the commons, declaring, "that the house would consider as enemies to his majesty, and to the country, all those who should advise the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America." After a feeble opposition, this motion also was permitted to pass without a division.

On the formation of the new ministry Conway was placed at the head of the forces; but he resigned his military command in the following year, and retired from public life to his seat, near Henley-upon-Thames, where he died suddenly on the 9th of July, 1795.

General Conway was an accomplished scholar, and the reputed author of several pamphlets and minor literary pieces. He accompanied his cousin Walpole, and Gray, in their continental tour, in 1739.

### *Sir Henry Clinton.*

BORN A. D. 1738.—DIED A. D. 1795.

THIS officer was grandson of Francis, sixth earl of Lincoln, and son of George, second son of that nobleman. He was born about the year 1738. Having entered the army, he served for some time in Hanover. In 1758 he became a captain in the first regiment of guards, and, in 1775, obtained the rank of major-general, having, in the interim, distinguished himself in the early part of the American war. He was present in the battle of Bunker's hill, and commanded the troops who carried the intrenchments at the taking of Boston; and, after having assisted at the unsuccessful attack on Charleston, bore a share in the capture of New York and Long Island, of which latter place he was appointed commandant, but was compelled to capitulate to the American general, Gates.

In 1777 he was made a knight of the bath; and in January, 1778, appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. On the 8th of May he arrived at Philadelphia, whence, on the approach of General Washington, he commenced and successfully accomplished his retreat to New York. In 1779 he was appointed colonel of the 7th,

<sup>1</sup> When the house went up to St James's with the address, the noted General Arnold was found standing at the right hand of his majesty. This circumstance drew forth some pointed observations in parliament from Lord Surrey, who declared, "that it was an insult to the house; and deserved its censure."



or king's own regiment. In the course of the same year he undertook an expedition into the province of New Jersey, where, according to French writers, his troops behaved with great barbarity. He also, in conjunction with Major-general Provost, who commanded in East Florida, concerted and carried into effect an invasion of Georgia, which was completely successful. In January, 1780, he arrived with a body of troops in South Carolina, and shortly afterwards invested Charleston, which surrendered on the 11th of May. For his services on this occasion he was honoured with the thanks of parliament. He subsequently recaptured Stony Point; and meditated an attack on the French forces in Rhode Island, which, however, the approach of Washington compelled him to abandon.

Shortly afterwards he seduced General Arnold to deliver up the strong position of West Point, the defence of which had been intrusted to him, and employed emissaries to go among the American troops and seduce them from their fidelity. The affair of Arnold, involving as it did the fate of a gallant officer, Major André, created a great sensation both in Europe and America. The campaign of 1780 had reduced the cause of the colonists to a low ebb. The country was exhausted, the continental currency expiring. While these disasters were openly menacing the northern states, treachery was silently undermining them. The disposition of the American forces afforded an opportunity of accomplishing so much to the advantage of the British that they could well afford a liberal reward for treachery. The American army was stationed in the strongholds of the highlands on both sides of the North River. In this arrangement, Arnold solicited for the command of West Point. This fort has been called the Gibraltar of America. It was built after the loss of Fort Montgomery, for the defence of the North River, and was deemed the most proper for commanding its navigation. Rocky ridges rising one behind another, rendered it incapable of being invested by less than twenty thousand men. Though some even then entertained doubts of Arnold's fidelity, yet Washington believing it to be impossible that honour should be wanting in a breast which he knew was the seat of valour, granted his request, and intrusted him with the important post. Arnold, thus invested with command, carried on a negotiation with Sir Henry Clinton, by which it was agreed that the former should make such a disposition of his forces as would enable the latter to surprise West Point. The object of this negotiation was the strongest post of the Americans,—the thoroughfare of communication between the eastern and southern states, and the repository of their most valuable stores. The agent employed in this negotiation, on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, was Major André, adjutant-general of the British army. To favour the necessary communications, the Vulture sloop of war had been previously stationed in the North River, as near to Arnold's posts as was practicable without exciting suspicion. A written correspondence between Arnold and André had been for some time carried on under the fictitious names of Gustavus and Anderson. In the night of the 21st of September, a boat was sent from the shore to fetch Major André. Arnold met him on the beach, without the posts of either army. Their communing was not concluded till it was too near the dawn of day for André to return to the Vulture. Arnold told him he must lie concealed till the next night. For that purpose

he was conducted within one of the American posts, against his previous stipulation, and continued with Arnold the following day. The boatmen refused to carry him back the next night, as the Vulture, from being exposed to the fire of some cannon brought up to annoy her, had changed her position. André's return to New York by land, was now the only practicable mode of escape. To effect this he quitted his uniform, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, for a common coat, and was furnished with a horse, and, under the name of John Anderson, with a passport "to go to the lines of White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, he being on public business." He advanced alone and undisturbed a great part of the way. When he thought himself almost out of danger, he was stopped by three of the New York militia, between the outposts of the two armies. Major André, instead of producing his pass, asked the man who stopped him, "Where he belonged to?" He answered, "To below," meaning New York. André replied, "So do I," declared himself a British officer, and pressed that he might not be detained. He soon discovered his mistake. His captors proceeded to search him: several papers were found in his possession, secreted in his boots. These were in Arnold's hand-writing, and contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point. André offered his captors a purse of gold and a valuable watch, if they would let him pass, and permanent provision and future promotion if they would convey and accompany him to New York, but they nobly disdained the proffered bribe, and delivered him a prisoner to Colonel Jameson, who commanded the scouting parties. André, when delivered to Jameson, continued to call himself by the name of Anderson, and asked leave to send a letter to Arnold to acquaint him with his detention. This request was inconsiderately granted. Arnold on the receipt of the letter abandoned every thing, and went on board the Vulture sloop of war. Meanwhile Colonel Jameson forwarded to Washington the papers found on André, together with a letter giving an account of the whole affair; but the express, by taking a different route from the general, who was returning from a conference at Hartford with Count de Rochambeau, missed him. This delay enabled Arnold to effect his escape. The same packet which detailed the particulars of André's capture, brought a letter from him, in which he avowed his name and character, and endeavoured to show that he did not come under the description of a spy. He stated, that he held a correspondence with a person under the orders of his general; that his intention went no farther than meeting that person on neutral ground, for the purpose of intelligence; and that, against his stipulation, his intention, and without his knowledge beforehand, he was brought within the American posts, and had to concert his escape from them. Washington referred the whole case to the examination and decision of a board consisting of fourteen general officers. André on his examination voluntarily confessed every thing that related to himself, and particularly that he did not come ashore under the protection of a flag. The board did not examine a single witness, but founded their report on his own confession. In this they stated the following facts: "That Major André came on shore on the night of the twenty-first of September, in a private and secret manner, and that he changed his dress within the American lines, and, under a feigned name and disguised habit, passed their



works, and was taken in a disguised habit when on his way to New York, and when taken, several papers were found in his possession which contained intelligence for the enemy." From these facts they farther reported it as their opinion, "That Major André ought to be considered as a spy, and agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death."

Sir Henry Clinton, Lieutenant-general Robertson, and Arnold himself, wrote pressing letters to General Washington, to prevent the decision of the board of general officers from being carried into effect. Arnold in particular urged, that every thing done by André had been done by his particular request, and at a time when he was the acknowledged commanding-officer in the department. He contended, "that he had a right to transact all these matters, for which, though wrong, Major André ought not to suffer." An interview also took place between General Robertson, on the part of the British, and General Greene, on the part of the Americans, at which every thing was urged by the former that ingenuity or humanity could suggest for averting the proposed execution,—but without effect. It was the general opinion of the American army that his life was forfeited, and that national dignity and sound policy required that the forfeiture should be exacted.<sup>1</sup>

After having made an ineffectual attempt to succour Lord Cornwallis, who, with the whole of his troops, was compelled to capitulate, Sir Henry Clinton commenced preparations, in 1782, for attacking the French settlements in the Antilles, but was superseded in his command before he could carry the project into effect.

On his return to England, a discussion took place between him and Cornwallis, as to the surrender of the latter, the entire blame of which each party attributed to the other. He subsequently obtained the governorship of Limerick, and, in 1793, that of Gibraltar, in possession of which he died on the 23d of December, 1795. He had for some time been a member of parliament; first for Newark, and afterwards for Launceston.

Sir Henry Clinton was undoubtedly an able and enterprising officer. His want of success in America was due to his want of means only to secure and retain his conquests; he had no force sufficient to contend with the energies of a roused people, directed by the genius of a Washington, and fighting for all that men hold dear and sacred. His attempts to tamper with the patriotism of his opponents do not, now at least, reflect any additional lustre on his character.

### **Sir Hugh Palliser.**

BORN A. D. 1722.—DIED A. D. 1796.

THIS naval officer was born at Kirk-Deighton in Yorkshire. His father was an officer of infantry. He served as a lieutenant in the engagement off Toulon, in 1744. In 1746 he made a successful cruise in the *Weazel* sloop of war. His services, after this period, until the year 1757, embraced the Leeward islands station, the East Indies, and

<sup>1</sup> Miller's History.

North America. In the latter year, while cruising off Ushant, he captured a very large French East India ship, after a severe action. In 1758 he served under Admiral Saunders in the Quebec expedition. He continued in active service until 1773, when he was created a baronet, and soon afterwards returned to parliament for Scarborough. In 1775 he became a flag-officer, and was appointed a lord of the admiralty. In 1778 he served as third in command under Admiral Keppel, in the engagement with the French fleet off Ushant. The failure of this action, or rather its non-important results, led to much recrimination betwixt him and the first in command, the nature of which we have already alluded to in our notice of Viscount Keppel.

Sir Hugh spent the latter part of his life in retirement. He died on the 19th of March, 1796.

### Jeffery, Lord Amherst.

BORN A. D. 1717.—DIED A. D. 1797.

THIS nobleman was born January 29th, 1717, at Riverhead in Kent, and named Jeffery after his father, who possessed a small estate there.

Having an elder brother, Sackville, to whom the family-fortune was to devolve, Jeffery, the second son, dedicated himself to the profession of arms. He received his first commission as an ensign in the guards, in 1731, when he was only fourteen years of age; and before he was twenty-five he became aid-de-camp to General, afterwards Lord Ligonier. In this capacity he accompanied that officer into Germany, and was present at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy. He was afterwards placed on the staff of the duke of Cumberland, with whom he is known to have been present at the engagements of Lafeldt and Hastenbeck; and it is supposed that he was with his royal highness during two other periods very different in point of glory,—the victory of Culloden, and the convention of Closter Camp. The duke made a point of providing for all his suite; and young Amherst—who by this time had attained a colonel's commission—was appointed in 1756 to the command of the 15th regiment of foot; in two years more he obtained the rank of major-general in the army.

On the commencement of hostilities with France, in 1757, it was determined to make America the seat of war. Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, by arousing the sleeping genius of his country, enabled it to achieve prodigies of valour and glory. With consummate penetration, he selected men of genius to direct the arms of his country. Major-general Wolfe, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Lafeldt, by his military talents, when scarcely twenty years of age, was an officer of his nomination. The fate of that gallant youth, who died in the arms of victory, and the conquest of Canada that soon followed, are events which have already been told. It was with this hero that Major-general Amherst was destined to co-operate. Having achieved the reduction of Louisburg, General Amherst, on the 30th of September, 1758, was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces in North America, in the room of General Abercrombie, and at the same time received another regiment—the 60th, or Royal American—which



seems ever after to have been considered as an official appendage to this station. Pitt conceiving that the British colonies could never be deemed secure while the French were in possession of Canada, at length formed the plan of stripping Louis XV. of that extensive province. To this he was incited by other motives, dictated by the interests of commerce; for the trading in peltry would then be monopolized by Great Britain,—the Northern fisheries would entirely appertain to her,—and her fleets of merchantmen would be enabled to pass in safety to and from their destined ports without the dread of being picked up by the enemy's cruisers. The inhabitants of that part of the colonies called 'the Middle States,' were in particular anxious for the conquest of Canada; they considered their future safety as intimately connected with the success of this measure; or, if we are to credit the conjectures of some, a few enlightened natives of the Transatlantic continent already perceived that it would tend not a little to promote their future independence. It was accordingly determined in 1759, that General Amherst, at the head of 12,000 men, should penetrate into the interior by means of the lakes, make himself master of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, establish a naval force in the Champlain, descend by means of the Sorel which empties itself into the St Lawrence, and attack the capital; while General Wolfe and Admiral Saunders were to enter the same river at its confluence with the sea, and co-operate in the reduction of Quebec. This plan was admirably calculated for success; but, like all projects of a complex nature, it proved exceedingly difficult in the execution.

The commander-in-chief having set out with one of the best-appointed armies that had ever been beheld in North America, arrived on the 24th of July before Ticonderoga, which he found abandoned and set on fire by the enemy. It was necessary, however, to overcome the French flotilla on Lake Champlain; a large garrison was at the same time to be reduced in the Isle aux Noix, which was fortified by means of a formidable train of artillery. In order to oppose these with effect, it was necessary to build a little fleet. Accordingly a brigantine, a sloop, and a radeau, were put upon the stocks and completed with wonderful celerity; and on the 11th of October the whole armament was ready to begin the expedition. But after some slight success, the sudden approach of winter in those northern regions checked their proceedings for a time. In short, it appears that they were too late by a couple of months in commencing so formidable an enterprise. It was therefore determined to return to Crown Point, to put it in a state of defence, and to prepare to set out early in the spring to complete the original plan. In the meantime the gallant Wolfe had appeared before Quebec, and although unsupported by the grand army, on the plains of Abraham gained a battle which decided his own fate and that of Canada, of which he alone can be justly termed the conqueror.

The main object of the expedition having been thus achieved by means of a mere detachment, it now only remained to attain a naval superiority on Lake Champlain, to take possession of and occupy its principal island, and then to seize on Montreal. To accomplish these designs no less than three small armies were put in motion: one from Quebec, where the English flag was now flying, under General Murray, —another from Crown Point, under Colonel, afterwards General Havi-

land,—while the commander-in-chief was to cross the Ontario, enter the St Lawrence, and take possession of Montreal, the only place of any note then appertaining to France. All this was effected. On the 8th of September, 1760, the French general capitulated on condition of being sent home with his troops.

General Amherst remained in America until 1763, when he returned home. In 1761 he had been presented with one of the first ribands of the bath which his majesty had to bestow, and about the same time he was also appointed governor of Virginia. On September 21st, 1768, he was suddenly dismissed from all his employments. So sudden and unexpected a disgrace is said to have ensued in consequence of his attachment to the great commoner of that day who was then out of place. This eclipse, however, was of very short duration, for he was soon readmitted to favour, and received fresh marks of the royal bounty. In short, he was not only reappointed to the command of the 60th, which had been conferred on General Gage, but also nominated to the 3d regiment of foot, and declared the head of the staff of Great Britain, in consequence of which the army at home was placed under his control. In 1771 he was appointed to the lucrative government of Guernsey; and in the course of the next year became lieutenant-general of the ordnance. Having resigned the latter in favour of General Howe, he was recompensed, on the death of Lord Harrington, with the 2d troop of grenadier guards; and on the demise of Lord Cadogan he obtained the 2d troop of horse-guards. On the reduction of the latter, he had the 2d regiment of horse-guards conferred upon him. On May 20th, 1776, he was created Baron Amherst of Holmesdale in Kent, with remainder to his nephew, the son of a younger brother. In the meantime his interest and credit at court seemed to increase daily. In 1778 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of England; and in 1779 he was made colonel of the 2d troop of life-guards. In consequence of the re-establishment of the staff he was once more appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Great Britain, January 23d, 1793, which was considered as an injustice to General Conway, the oldest officer in the service, and to whom the situation of course appertained by seniority. It is also said to have given great offence to others who had been longer on the establishment than himself, one of whom was of the blood-royal.

It being at length determined to confide the command of the army to his royal highness the duke of York, his majesty's second son, a resignation on the part of his lordship was expected, and he had the offer of an earl's coronet on this occasion, which he declined; but on the 30th of July, 1796, he accepted the rank of field-marshal. His lordship's increasing age and infirmities had rendered him unfit for public business nearly two years before this period, and he now retired to his seat at Montreal in Kent—so called after the town of the same name in Canada—where he died on the 3d of August, 1797, in the eighty-first year of his age.

As an officer Amherst was bold, intrepid, and enterprising, a strict disciplinarian, but the friend of merit. He was also remarked for the simplicity of his manners, and may very properly be termed a sagacious, rather than a great general. When the American war began to assume a serious aspect, he was invited to repair to the transatlantic continent,



and assume the chief command; but he gave a decisive proof of his discretion by refusing to take the field with less than 30,000 men. No Englishman was better acquainted with the colonies and the disposition and genius of their inhabitants. While serving on that station he had conceived the idea of an American peerage, or order of aristocracy, to continue during life only; and he himself, had this taken place, was to have been created a peer of that description, with precedence of all others. Several other schemes of internal regulation were also suggested by him, but not adopted. As commander-in-chief in Great Britain, he was accused of sacrificing the army to patronage; and during his continuance in office it was jocularly observed, that there were many of his colonels still at school. As a legislator he generally voted with the minister of the day; and notwithstanding he had been brought forward by the popular interest, he constantly sided, during the latter period of his life, with the party who affected to denominate themselves 'the king's friends.' In private life his character stood high. He lived within his income, detested ostentation, dressed in a plain garb, and was free and affable in his communication with society.

## John Wilkes.

BORN A. D. 1727.—DIED A. D. 1797.

JOHN WILKES was born in St John's-street, Clerkenwell, London, October 28th, 1727. He received the rudiments of his education in the town of Hertford. After some stay there he was removed into Buckinghamshire, where he was placed under a private tutor of dissenting principles, who afterwards accompanied him to the continent. Having attained considerable eminence in classical literature—to which he was devoted during the whole course of his life—young Wilkes was sent to Leyden, where it was intended that he should finish his studies. While in Holland he formed an acquaintance with the ingenious Andrew Baxter;<sup>1</sup> and such was Mr Baxter's esteem for his young friend, that he dedicated one of his publications to him, and carried on a friendly intercourse by letter until his death, which occurred in 1750.

After residing a considerable time abroad, and visiting several parts of Germany, Wilkes returned to his native country, and married Miss Mead, heiress to the Meads of Buckinghamshire, with whom he got a considerable fortune, which, like that of his own family, had been acquired in trade. He now settled at Aylesbury, and being, in consequence of the whig principles in which he was educated, a warm advocate for the establishment of a militia, as a constitutional balance to a standing army, he accepted of a commission in the regiment raised in the county of Bucks. After serving some time in the capacity of lieutenant-colonel, he became colonel on the resignation of Sir Thomas Dashwood, afterwards Lord de Despencer, who observed in his farewell letter to the officers, "If the succession goes in the regiment—as I hope it will, and think it ought—then I must add, my successor is a

<sup>1</sup> Author of a work entitled 'An Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul, wherein its Immateriality is evinced from the Principles of Reason and Philosophy;' and also of 'Matho; sive Cosmotheoria puerilis, Dialogus.'

man of spirit, good sense, parts, and civil deportment, who has shown resolution and industry in putting this salutary measure into execution.

Wilkes commenced his political career at the general election in 1754. On the 16th of April that year, we find him offering himself for the representation of Berwick. In his address to the electors he emphatically observed: "I come here uncorrupting, and I promise you I shall ever be uncorrupted. As I never will take a bribe, so I never will offer one. I should think myself totally unworthy," adds he, "of the great and important trust I am now soliciting, if I sought to obtain it by the violation of the laws of my country, which I hold sacred." On this occasion he polled 192 votes, but proved unsuccessful.<sup>2</sup> He was soon after, however, elected for Aylesbury, in the room of Mr Potter; and on the dissolution of that parliament in 1761, was once more returned for the same place.

During Pitt's administration the nation was united at home and formidable abroad; but no sooner did that great commoner retire, than a formidable party arose in opposition to the measures of Lord Bute, who soon became equally obnoxious to the nobility and the people. Wilkes, who had given his most strenuous support to all the measures of the former minister, attacked his successor with uncommon zeal. The nobleman in question, aware that the nation was jealous of his authority and suspicious of his designs, employed a number of writers to support his own cause, and blacken the principles, characters, and conduct of his opponents. The member for Aylesbury had already publicly displayed his hostility to 'the thane,' in 'Observations on the papers relative to a rupture with Spain;' but he now prepared to inflict more severe and lasting marks of his enmity. On June 5th, 1762, he published the first number of 'The North Briton;' and, whether from the odium already attached to the minister, or the keen satire and happy wit of the author, or the lucky union of both, certain it is, that no periodical work, antecedent to that period, was ever in such request. Its effect on the public mind, and the future fortune of the writer, were alike conspicuous; for it is supposed to have been one of the efficient causes of the overthrow of the Bute administration, and it involved Wilkes not only in many public prosecutions, but also in many private disputes. On the appearance of No. 45 of that paper, a general warrant<sup>3</sup> was issued, under the hand and seal of the earl of Halifax, one of his majesty's secretaries of state, for the apprehension of the printers and publishers. Accordingly, on the evening of the 29th of April, 1763, several messengers arrested the person and entered the house of Mr

<sup>2</sup> This contest cost him between 3 and £4000; and, with the larger expenses of his Aylesbury election, plunged him in difficulties from which he never completely extricated himself.

<sup>3</sup> The following is a copy of this celebrated instrument:—

L. S.

"George Montague Dunk, earl of Halifax, Viscount Sunbury, &c.

"These are in his majesty's name, to authorize and require you—taking a constable to your assistance—to make strict and diligent search after the AUTHORS, PRINTERS, and PUBLISHERS, of a seditious and treasonable paper, entitled 'The North Briton, No. 45, Saturday, April 23d, 1763,' printed for George Kearsley, Ludgate St. London, and them or any of them having found, to apprehend and seize, together with their papers, and to bring in safe custody before me, &c.

"To NATHAN CARRINGTON, &c.

(Signed,)

DUNK HALIFAX."



Wilkes, in Great George-street, Westminster; but he objected to the equivocal terms in which their authority was drawn up, and refused compliance. On this they departed, but returned next morning; and, on intimation of force being about to be recurred to, he at length proceeded in a chair to the secretary of state's office, where he underwent an examination, during which he denied the authority of general warrants, and was soon afterwards conducted close prisoner to the Tower, all his papers having been previously seized and rifled, and his will broken open and read. In the mean time, application being made by the prisoner's friends to the court of common pleas, an *habeas corpus* was issued to the constable of the Tower, in consequence of which Mr Wilkes was brought up next day to Westminster-hall, and remanded until Friday, May 6th, that the judges might have leisure to form their opinion. On that day he accordingly appeared once more at the bar, and addressed the judges in the following speech:—"My lords, far be it from me to regret that I have passed so many more days in captivity, as it will have afforded you an opportunity of doing, upon mature reflection and repeated examination, the more signal justice to my country. The liberty of all peers and gentlemen, and what touches me more sensibly, that of all the middling and inferior class of people, who stand most in need of protection, is in my case this day to be finally decided upon;—a question of such importance as to determine at once whether English liberty be a reality or a shadow. Your own free-born hearts will feel with indignation and compassion all that load of oppression under which I have so long laboured. Close imprisonment, the effect of premeditated malice, all access for more than two days denied to me, my house ransacked and plundered, my most private and secret concerns divulged, every vile and malignant insinuation, even of high treason itself, no less industriously than falsely circulated by my cruel and implacable enemies, together with all the various insolence of office, form but a part of my unexampled ill-treatment. Such inhuman principles of star-chamber tyranny will, I trust, by this court, upon this solemn occasion, be finally extirpated; and henceforth every innocent man, however poor and unsupported, may hope to sleep in peace and security in his own house, unviolated by king's messengers and the arbitrary mandates of an overbearing secretary of state. I will no longer delay your justice. The nation is impatient to hear, nor can be safe or happy till that is obtained. If the same persecution is, after all, to carry me before another court, I hope I shall find that the genuine spirit of magna charta, that glorious inheritance, that distinguishing characteristic of Englishmen, is as religiously revered there, as I know it is here, by the great personages before whom I have now the happiness to stand; and as in the ever-memorable case of the imprisoned bishops that an independent jury of free-born Englishmen will persist to determine my fate, as in conscience bound, upon constitutional principles, by a verdict of guilty or not guilty. I ask no more at the hands of my countrymen." Chief-justice Pratt, after descanting on the powers of a secretary of state, and observing that his warrant was not of superior force to that of a justice of peace, pronounced that the privilege of parliament had been violated in the person of Mr Wilkes, as it could only be forfeited by treason, felony, or breach of the peace. The prisoner was accordingly discharged amidst the plaudits of a crowded court.

On this occasion the member for Aylesbury displayed uncommon firmness; but his triumph was of short duration, for the attorney-general immediately commenced a prosecution against him in the court of king's bench.

Wilkes now prepared to lay his complaint before parliament, the franchise of which had been so grossly violated in his person; but he was anticipated by a royal message, delivered by Mr Grenville, accompanied by a copy of the *North Briton*, and a recital of the steps taken in consequence of it. On this, after a long debate, the house, without either the examination of witnesses on oath, or the intervention of a jury, on the motion of Lord North, by a majority of 273 to 111, declared the paper in question "a false, scandalous, and seditious libel," and ordered it to be burnt at the royal exchange by the common hangman, which, however, was not effected without considerable difficulty, on account of the opposition of the populace. Soon after this the house resolved, though not by so large a majority, "that privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of libels," and thus, merely with a view to punish one of its members, relinquished a franchise, sanctioned not only by its own records, but also by the recent decision of a court of justice. Pitt, who had voted with the majority on the former division respecting Wilkes, was found in the minority on this occasion. He represented the surrender of privilege as "highly dangerous to the freedom of parliament, and an infringement on the rights of the people. No man," he said, "could condemn the paper or libel more than he did; but he would come at the author fairly,—not by an open breach of the constitution, and a contempt of all restraint. This proposed sacrifice of privilege was putting every member of parliament, who did not vote with the minister, under a perpetual terror of imprisonment. To talk of an abuse of privilege was to talk against the constitution, against the very being and life of parliament. It was an arraignment of the justice and honour of parliament, to suppose that they would protect any criminal whatever. Whenever a complaint was made against any member, the house could give him up. This privilege had never been abused: it had been reposed in parliament for ages. But take away this privilege, and the whole parliament is laid at the mercy of the crown. Why," continued he, "is a privilege, which has never been abused, to be voted away? Parliament has no right to vote away its privileges. They are the inherent right of the succeeding members of this house, as well as of the present members; and I very much doubt whether a sacrifice made by this house is valid and conclusive against the claim of a future parliament." With respect to the paper itself, or the libel which had given pretence for this request to surrender the privileges of parliament, he observed that the house had already voted it a libel; he joined in that vote. He condemned the whole series of *North Britons*: he called them illiberal, unmanly, and detestable. He abhorred all national reflections. "The king's subjects," he said, "were one people. Whoever divided them was guilty of sedition. His majesty's complaint was well-founded: it was just: it was necessary. The author did not deserve to be ranked among the human species,—he was the blasphemer of his God, and the libeller of his king. He had no connection with him; he had no connection with any such writer: he neither associated nor communicated with any such. It was



true that he had friendships, and warm ones: he had obligations, and great ones: but no friendships, no obligations could induce him to approve what he firmly condemned. It might be supposed that he alluded to his noble relation Lord Temple. He was proud to call him his relation: he was his friend, his bosom friend, whose fidelity was as unshaken as his virtue. They went into office together, and they came out together: they had lived together, and would die together. He knew nothing of any connection with the writer of the libel. If there subsisted any, he was totally unacquainted with it. The dignity, the honour of parliament had been called upon to support and protect the purity of his majesty's character; and this they had done by a strong and decisive condemnation of the libel which his majesty had submitted to the consideration of the house. But having done this, it was neither consistent with the honour and safety of parliament, nor with the rights and interests of the people, to go one step farther. The rest belonged to the courts below." Soon after this, and while Wilkes was in France, the commons voted him guilty of contempt, and on the 29th of January, 1764, expelled him from his seat in parliament. This, however, was not effected until after a long and violent debate, in which the injustice of such a measure was ably enforced by the members in opposition.

On the very same day a charge of a more malignant nature was exhibited against him in the house of peers. A parody had been written on the 'Essay on Man,' of which Mr Wilkes printed part of twelve copies only at a private press in his own house; all of these he carefully locked up in his bureau, never having distributed any of them. This circumstance having transpired, a minister of that day did not blush to recur to the foulest means to obtain an incomplete copy.<sup>4</sup> No sooner was this in his possession, than he determined to make the most effectual use of it; accordingly, on the very afternoon that the commons voted the expulsion of Mr Wilkes, the earl of Sandwich, his former friend, rose in his place, and asserted "that Mr Wilkes had violated the most sacred ties of religion, as well as of decency, by printing in his own house a book or pamphlet entitled 'An Essay on Woman,' with notes or remarks, to which the name of a right reverend prelate, Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, had been scurrilously affixed." In consequence of this accusation, and under pretence that the privileges of the house were violated in the person of the prelate just mentioned, an address was voted to his majesty, requesting him to order a prosecution to be immediately instituted against the author, Mr Wilkes; and the attorney-general received instructions accordingly for that purpose. He was soon after outlawed for not appearing to the indictment by the crown-officer.

After an exile of two years, during which he visited Italy, the vindictive administration that had exhibited so much personal animosity against Mr Wilkes, and the unpopular parliament that had sacrificed its own privileges in his case, were both dissolved, and toward the latter end of 1776, he returned once more to England. He was induced to this step in consequence of the recent changes, by which his old and inti-

<sup>4</sup> "The fact is," says Wilkes himself, "that after the affair of the North Briton, the government bribed one of my servants to steal a part of 'The Essay on Woman,' and the other pieces out of my house."

mate friend, the duke of Grafton, had got into place along with Mr Pitt. On the 1st of November, 1766, the author of the 'North Briton' addressed a letter to the duke, in which he congratulated his native country, "that a nobleman of his grace's superior talents and inflexible integrity was at the head of the most important department of the state." He added at the same time, "that though he had been cut off from the body of his majesty's subjects by a cruel and unjust proscription, he had never entertained an idea inconsistent with the duty of a good subject. My heart," continues he, "still retains all its former warmth for the dignity of England, and the glory of its sovereign. I have not associated with the traitors to our liberties, nor made a single connexion with any man that is dangerous, or even suspected by the friends of the protestant family on the throne. I now hope that the rigour of a long unmerited exile is past, and that I may be allowed to continue in the land, and among the friends of liberty. I wish, my lord, to owe this to the mercy of the prince. I entreat your grace to lay me with all humility at the king's feet, with the truest assurances that I never have, in any moment of my life, swerved from the duty and allegiance I owe to my sovereign, and that I implore, and in every thing submit to, his majesty's clemency." To this letter no attention was paid; and to a verbal message to the same purpose, delivered by Mr Fitzherbert, a common friend, the cold reply was returned,—“Mr Wilkes must write to Lord Chatham.” This advice he refused to comply with, and finding himself exposed to the hourly danger of imprisonment, in consequence of his outlawry being kept hanging over his head, he thought fit to retire to Paris, whence he despatched a bitter philippic addressed to the new minister, dated December 12th, 1766. In this paper he observed that he had repaired to England with the gayest and most lively hopes; “but that when he found his pardon was to be bought with the sacrifice of his honour, he had the virtue not to hesitate. I spurned at the proposal,” adds he, “and left my dear native London with a heart full of grief that my fairest hopes were blasted,—of humiliation that I had given an easy faith to the promises of a minister and a courtier,—and of astonishment that a nobleman of parts and discernment could continue in an infatuation, from which the conduct of Lord Chatham had recovered every other man in the nation.”

Soon after this Wilkes published a variety of letters and papers concerning himself, and at length ventured once more to return to his native country in 1768. Being now determined, without recurring to the intervention of any of the ministers, to throw himself on his majesty's generosity, he wrote a submissive letter to the king, which was delivered at Buckingham-house. About the same time he published 'Animadversions on Sir John Cust's Speech,' and soon after announced 'A History of England, from the Revolution to the accession of the Brunswick line, by John Wilkes.' His conduct was now marked by great boldness; for although liable to be made a prisoner by a common tipstaff, yet he determined to appear again in London, and even offer himself as a candidate for the representation of the first city in the empire. On the show of hands at Guildhall, March 16th, 1768, he was declared duly elected; but a poll being demanded, and seven candidates appearing on the hustings, this attempt proved unsuccessful, although there was a most respectable appearance of the livery in his



favour, he having no less than 1247 votes. Nothing daunted by this repulse, he next became a candidate for the county of Middlesex, and on March 28th was elected one of the knights of the shire.

He was thus far triumphant; but the terrors of the law still hung suspended over his head, and he was now anxious either to dissipate or encounter their fury. He accordingly surrendered himself to the court of king's bench; but as the chief-justice and the other judges declared that they had no power to commit him, in consequence of his voluntary appearance, he was discharged. A *capias ultegatum*, however, brought him in due technical form within their jurisdiction, and he was committed to prison. The subject of the outlawry was argued, May 7th, by Mr Sergeant Glynn, as leading counsel in behalf of the defendant, and Mr, afterwards Lord Thurlow, for the crown. In the course of next term this was at length declared illegal; but the two verdicts obtained against him for publishing the 'North Briton,' and printing and publishing the 'Essay on Woman,' were unanimously confirmed. For the first offence he was sentenced to pay a fine of £500, and to a further imprisonment of ten months, making twelve in all; and for the second, he was subjected to a like fine, to suffer twelve months' additional imprisonment, and to find two securities for his good behaviour for seven years, of £500 each, while he himself was to be bound in £1000. These sentences were deemed severe even by moderate men.<sup>5</sup>

On the meeting of parliament, he applied to the house of commons for relief, and was brought twice to the bar; but his petition was declared frivolous. Soon after this, in consequence of a riot in St George's fields, the military were called out. An imprudent letter from Lord Weymouth, then secretary of state, addressed to the chairman of the bench of justices, expressive of the highest approbation of the late proceedings on the part of the magistrates, who had invoked the assistance of the soldiery, having been seen by Wilkes, he immediately published it, with some introductory remarks. Lord Weymouth on this complained of a breach of privilege, and the house of commons, after voting it to be "an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel," on the motion of Lord Barrington, the secretary at war, and Rigby, the paymaster of the forces, again expelled Mr Wilkes.

The freeholders of Middlesex having met to put a candidate in nomination, the aldermen Sawbridge and Townshend, both of them members of parliament, and at that time strangers to Mr Wilkes, recommended the re-election of their former representative, which accordingly took place. On this, the house of commons declared the election void, and voted Mr Wilkes incapable of sitting in that parliament. The sheriffs immediately proceeded to a new choice, on which he was once more returned; but on the fourth election, Colonel Luttrell, afterwards

<sup>5</sup> While a prisoner, Wilkes was at the zenith of his fame. Subscriptions were opened for payment of his debts; valuable presents were conferred on him; and his likenesses were multiplied to such an extent, that his portrait squinted at the traveller from the sign-boards of half the inns in the kingdom. He used to relate that, one day, an old lady, behind whom he happened to be walking, exclaimed, with much spleen, as she looked up to one of his public-house profiles, "Ah! he swings everywhere but where he ought!" The populace were so incensed, that by way of showing their respect for a man whom they deemed persecuted on account of his attachment to the liberties of their country, they attempted, a short time afterwards, to procure a general illumination on the evening of his birth-day.

Lord Carhampton, who had vacated his seat in parliament expressly for this purpose, and obtained 296 votes, was declared duly elected, although Mr Wilkes had polled 1243. The whole of these proceedings were so scandalous in themselves, and so little consonant to the principles of justice, that the nation became incensed against their representatives; and their successors, as if afraid of sharing their disgrace, would not permit the minutes to remain on the face of their records. Mr Wilkes being no longer incapacitated from obtaining a legal remedy against the secretary of state who had granted the general warrant for his apprehension, now brought an action against Lord Halifax, and recovered a verdict for £4000. This, together with £1000 from Mr Wood, was paid out of the civil list. On the expiration of his imprisonment he was sworn in alderman in opposition to the opinion of the crown-lawyers, who attempted to prove him incapacitated from discharging that office. On July 3d, 1771, he filled the office of sheriff; on October 5th, 1774, was elected lord-mayor; and a few days afterwards returned a fifth time for the county of Middlesex.

During the whole of the memorable and unfortunate contest with America, Wilkes exhibited himself a steadfast enemy to the measures of taxation and subjugation. On February 6th, 1775, when the house of commons passed a vote declaring that 'a rebellion' existed within the province of Massachusetts bay, he opposed the address on the grounds of its being unfounded, rash, and sanguinary:—"It draws the sword unjustly against America," he said. "But before administration are suffered to plunge the nation into the horrors of a civil war,—before they are permitted to force Englishmen to sheathe their swords in the bowels of their fellow-subjects,—I hope this house will seriously weigh the original ground and cause of this unhappy dispute, and, in time, reflect whether justice is on our side, and gives a sanction to the intended hostile proceedings. The assumed right of taxation, without the consent of the subject, is plainly the primary cause of the present quarrel. Have we then, Sir, any right to tax the Americans? *That* is the great important question! The fundamental laws of human nature and the principles of the English constitution are equally repugnant to the claim. The very idea of property excludes the right of another's taking any thing from me without my consent, otherwise I cannot call it my own. No tenure can be so precarious as the will of another. What property have I in what another person can seize at his pleasure? If any part of my property is subject to the discretionary power of others, the whole may be so likewise. If we can tax the Americans without their consent, they have no property,—nothing they can call their own with certainty,—for we might by violence take the whole as well as the part. The words *liberty* and *property*, so dear to an Englishman, so pleasing in our ears, would become a cruel mockery, an insult to an American. The laws of society are professedly calculated to secure the property of each individual,—of every subject of the state. This point is no less clearly determined by the great principles of that happy constitution under which we live. All subsidies to the crown have always been considered, and expressly declared to be grants from the commons of the realm,—free gifts from the people. Their full consent is stated in the grant. Much has been said of the palatinate of Chester and the principality of Wales, and the period of their taxation; but, Sir, there



is a more remarkable case in point, which alone would determine this question. If gentlemen will search the records in the Tower, and the chapel of the Rolls, they will find that the town of Calais, in France, when it belonged to the imperial crown of this realm, was not taxed till it sent a representative to parliament. A Thomas Fowler actually sat and voted in this house as a burgess of the town of Calais. From that period, and not till then, was Calais taxed. The writ out of chancery and the return in the reign of Edward VI. are still extant."

A few days after this, on a motion for rescinding the famous vote concerning his own expulsion, the member for Middlesex, in still stronger language, expressed his detestation of the contest with the Americans, which he termed "an unjust felonious war; because," added he, "the primary cause and confessed origin of it is, to attempt to take their money from them without their consent, contrary to the common rights of all mankind, and those great fundamental principles of the English constitution for which Hampden bled. I assert, Sir, that it is in consequence a murderous war; because it is an effort to deprive men of their lives for standing up in the just cause of the defence of their property, and their clear rights. It becomes no less a murderous war with respect to many of our fellow-subjects of this island; for every man, either of the navy or army, who has been sent to America, and fallen a victim to this unnatural and unjust contest, has, in my opinion, been murdered by the administration, and his blood lies at their door. Such war, I fear, Sir, will draw down the vengeance of heaven upon this devoted kingdom." "I speak, Sir," he continued, "as a firm friend to England and America, but still more to universal liberty and the rights of mankind. I trust no part of the subjects of this vast empire will ever submit to be slaves. I am sure the Americans are too high-spirited to brook the idea. Your whole power, and that of your allies, if you had any,—even of all the German troops, of all the ruffians from the North whom you can hire,—cannot effect so wicked a purpose. The conduct of the present administration has already wrested the sceptre of America out of the hands of our sovereign, and he has now scarcely even a post-master left in the whole northern continent. More than half the empire is already lost, and almost all the rest is in confusion and anarchy. The ministry have brought our sovereign into a more disgraceful situation than any crowned head now living. He alone has already lost, by their fatal counsels, more territory than the three great united powers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia have, by a wicked confederacy, robbed Poland of, and by equal acts of violence and injustice from administration."

During the whole of the American war Wilkes was the zealous opponent of Lord North and his measures. As lord-mayor of London, he presented petitions, addresses, and remonstrances against it; as a member of parliament, he voted and spoke in opposition to it; he even proposed an impeachment of the premier, and sat as the chairman of a respectable body of citizens who met to discuss the question. During the riots in 1780, he acted the part of an honest, able, and intrepid magistrate, having been eminently serviceable in preserving the bank from pillage; on this occasion he received the thanks of the privy council, and soon after repaired to court, where he was most graciously received.

On the accession of the Rockingham administration, towards the

close of the American war, he seized a critical moment for addressing the house on the subject of his wrongs, and on the 3d of May, 1782, it was at length resolved "that all the declarations, orders, and resolutions of that house, respecting the election of John Wilkes, Esq. be expunged from the journals of the house, as subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors in the kingdom." Considering this, with great propriety, rather as the triumph of his constituents than of the individual who represented them, he immediately addressed a letter to the electors of Middlesex, in which he congratulates them on the signal reparation they had now obtained for their "violated franchise, and the injuries they had sustained under the former flagitious administration."

When a schism had taken place among the whigs in consequence of the death of their leader, the earl of Shelburne attained the supreme power, and concluded a peace with America. This measure, then so much condemned, and now so much praised, received the approbation of Wilkes at a period when the clamour of party drowned the voice of reason; he accordingly defended it at a meeting of his constituents, but was opposed by his colleague, Mr Byng, and lost much of his influence with the freeholders on this occasion. His defence of Mr Hastings, also, tended not a little to alienate the affections of many of his friends. The success of the coalition, which appeared to him a criminal struggle for power, induced him soon after this to retire from parliament. From this period, he rarely meddled with political affairs, deeming himself 'an extinguished volcano;' and occupied, or rather amused, his declining years, by fulfilling his duties as chamberlain of the city of London, which lucrative office he had fortunately obtained in 1779. During the greater part of the year he resided either in his daughter's house in Grosvenor Square, or at his own at Kensington Gore, whence he repaired daily to his office in Guildhall, dedicating the mornings to business, and the evenings to the pleasures of literature, and the society of a few chosen friends. Two or three months of the summer-season were spent at his villa—or villakin, as he was accustomed jocularly to term it—at Sandham in the isle of Wight. He died on the 26th of December, 1797.

In his person Wilkes was tall, and so very thin, that he appeared towards the latter part of his existence to be affected with a marasmus. His face was sallow. His eyes always possessed an unfortunate cast, which but too readily exposed him to the malignity of the artists hired to caricature him. He himself was sensible of this imperfection, and was indeed the first to laugh at it. During the hey-day of his popularity he was accustomed to dress with great elegance, and generally appeared in a sword and laced clothes; but toward the latter part of his life he wore the same suit, consisting of a scarlet coat, and buff waistcoat and breeches, for many years. To the very last he was fond of exercise, and it was usual with him to walk daily, in his cocked hat, rosette, military boots, &c., all the way from Kensington to the city, unmoved by the solicitations of hackney coachmen, who offered their services in vain.

"England," says a writer in the 'Monthly Review,' "must reckon Wilkes among her most able and successful demagogues. Between the rights of the people, the privileges of parliament, and the prerogatives of the crown, there has ever been a wide tract of debatable ground, of unclosed property, of undefined boundary. Law is silent and pre-



scription falters about these constitutional questions. It is therefore the policy of each party to take its claims at the highest, and to wrestle for them at convenient opportunities. Those demagogues who agitate such questions during war, when the influence and patronage of government are greatest, are commonly foiled; and thus they occasion a retrogression of liberty or of popular power. Those demagogues, on the contrary, who move such questions during peace, or under insipid administrations, when the people gape for the occupation of public and collective effort, have often succeeded. Wilkes was of this wiser class of agitators. The whole force of his talent, which was energetic, and of his industry, which was unrelenting, he heartily devoted to the cause which he undertook, and with a vehemence and perseverance that gave him the victory. He delivered public men from the fear of general war-rants; and he obtained for voters the right of setting aside a parliamentary disqualification. For a statesman, however, he indulged too much in personalities, and became more formidable as an enemy than efficacious as a friend. Great as a speaker, and greater as a writer, he carried perhaps the arts of style to the utmost limits of good and sound taste: but he is not reproached, like Johnson, Gibbon, and Burke, with the wanton and excessive use of ornament."

It was the misfortune of Mr Wilkes, on his first entrance into life, to become acquainted with a number of debauched young noblemen. With these he indulged in a gay but delusive round of dissipation, that ruined his fortune, and added but little to his reputation. A few years after his marriage he separated from his wife, whom he had treated with great injustice and cruelty; but to the last hour of his existence he was fondly attached to his daughter. As a writer he distinguished himself by a variety of publications, all of which discover an easy style, a ready flow of wit, a keen and piercing satire, and a rich variety of classical allusions. He lived for many years in great intimacy with the most eminent literary characters of the day,—such as Lloyd, Churchill, Thornton, Sterne, the bishop of Salisbury, Horne Tooke, &c. As an orator he was deficient in two of the qualifications considered eminently necessary by Cicero, for his person and his voice were but ill-qualified for public exhibition; yet his speeches display much research and information, and were accompanied by a boldness of assertion, and bitterness of invective, that rendered them poignant and delectable to all but the objects of his attack. Throughout life he abused the Scotch with extraordinary bitterness; and never lost an opportunity of expressing his contempt for 'the land o' cakes.' "Among all the flights"—said he, during a discussion with Johnson on the genius of Shakspeare—"among all the vagaries of that author's imagination, the boldest certainly is that of Birnam wood being brought to Dunsinane; making a wood where there never was a shrub! A wood in Scotland! Ha! ha! ha!"

### Lord-Chief-Justice Eyre.

BORN A. D. 1724.—DIED A. D. 1799.

LORD-CHIEF-JUSTICE EYRE was a native of Wiltshire. His family was connected with that of Lord Pembroke. He received his educa-

tion at Winchester and Oxford, whence he proceeded to one of the inns of court. At an early period of his professional life, we find him one of the four common pleaders belonging to the city of London, who purchase their situations, and are commonly called the city-counsel. He was at this time not known beyond the practice of the lord-mayor's and sheriff's courts, and had displayed no particular tokens of future eminence.

At this period Sir William Morton was recorder of London. He had quitted the practice of the bar, and confined himself to the duties of that respectable office. He had been brought into parliament by the influence of the duke of Bedford, and was respectable from private fortune as well as public situation. He was now getting old, and applied to the court of aldermen for leave to appoint a deputy to assist him in his official duties. The common-sergeant, the second law-officer in the corporation of London, had an evident claim to such an appointment. Mr Nugent, a most amiable and excellent man, though of no great professional name, now filled that situation. These gentlemen, however, having differed on some points of legal discussion that had been officially proposed to their consideration, such a coolness had taken place between them, that Mr Eyre, who had gained the favour of Sir William Morton, was now proposed by him to be deputy-recorder, and his influence overbearing that of Mr Nugent, obtained the appointment for him.

Mr Eyre was now elevated into importance; and though the recorder may have indulged his splenetic aversion in passing by the common-sergeant on this occasion, it soon appeared that he had nominated an assistant who possessed knowledge and abilities adequate to his station. On the death of his patron in the year 1762, Mr Eyre was elected by the court of aldermen to succeed him. As recorder of London, he now enjoyed an office of great respectability, as well as considerable emolument. It also gave him the distinction of a silk gown in Westminster-hall, and precedence after the sergeant-at-law.

The affair of Wilkes gave the recorder not a little trouble. A very large majority of the livery espoused every measure that was brought forward in opposition to government, and the corporation itself became at length subject to the predominating influence of Wilkes and his cause. In this state of things, the recorder conducted himself with firmness; but he could only offer his counsel, and passively submit to the voice of the corporation. At length a remonstrance to the throne was proposed and carried in a court of common-council, which contained such opinions, that the recorder peremptorily refused to exercise his official functions on the occasion. He represented it as enforcing doctrines which he should ever oppose, and expressed in language unfit for the sovereign to hear. He, therefore, declined being the organ by which his majesty should receive such an insult. Sir James Hodges, the town-clerk, supplied the place of the recorder on this occasion. The recorder himself was summoned to justify his conduct before the common-council, and his speech on that occasion was not calculated to avert the vote of censure which followed it. At this crisis, such conduct was certain of its reward; and the recorder was, in the year 1772, appointed a baron of his majesty's exchequer. A short time subsequent to his possession of the ermine, on a question proposed to



the twelve judges by the house of lords, Baron Eyre was distinguished by his argument on that occasion. That he conducted himself with honour and ability in his judicial station, appears from his successive advancements. In 1787 he succeeded Sir John Skynner as chief-baron of his own court. On the resignation of Lord Thurlow in 1792, he was appointed first commissioner of the great seal; and on the removal of Lord Loughborough in the succeeding year to the chancery-bench, he succeeded the noble judge as chief-justice of the common pleas.

### Wellbore Ellis, Lord Mendip.

BORN A. D. 1714.—DIED A. D. 1802.

"THIS gentleman," says a contemporary, "is esteemed one of the most steady uniform courtiers in either house of parliament, as there has been scarcely an administration for the last thirty years in this country, in which he has not borne a share, and cheerfully parted with his colleagues the instant they parted with power." The dexterous politician of whom this affirmation was made in the year 1776, was a younger son of the bishop of Meath. From a king's scholarship at Westminster he was elected, in 1732, to Christ church, Oxford. In 1749 he was appointed lord of the admiralty, and in 1763 secretary at war. On the accession of the Rockingham party he retired from office; but when Lord North became premier, he accepted the vice-treasurership of the navy.

He took an active part in the measures against Wilkes. The zeal he manifested on this occasion provoked Junius to introduce him as the Guy Faux of the plot which he said was hatching against the liberties of the country. The same writer describes him as a contemptible mannikin, unworthy of notice, and constantly sure of disgrace in his place in parliament. The next conspicuous appearance Ellis made, after the affair of the Middlesex election, was his opposition to Grenville's bill "for regulating the trial of controverted elections." After having opposed it vehemently in all the preceding stages, he moved, on the order to take the report into consideration, that the bill be put off for two months. On a division, however, the ministry, "for the first time since their being imbodyed into a regular standing corps," says the anonymous writer already quoted, "found themselves in a minority: the numbers being 187 to 125, on the question being put, whether the bill should be engrossed."

Mr Ellis was very active in the same session (1770) in endeavouring to stifle all inquiry into the then state of America: in that, and his opposition to the bill brought in by Mr Herbert for regulating expulsions, he was more successful than in his attempt to defeat Mr Grenville's bill. "His conduct respecting American affairs since the breaking out of the present troubles," says his contemporary, "has been uniform, decisive, and steady. He has always declared himself for the supremacy of parliament, and for receiving no concession short of unconditional submission. He spoke very warmly against the minister's conciliatory proposition of the 20th of February, 1775; and in the course of last session frequently hinted at the supineness of administra-

tion,—their indecisive conduct,—their mistaken lenity ; and attributed, in a great measure, all the miscarriages that had hitherto happened to a want of firmness, alacrity, and information. To soften this direct charge against the puppets in power, he attributed our disappointments more to wrong information than any thing else, and congratulated the house on the conversion of administration. In fine, he predicted two things : that our arms would in the end prove victorious, perhaps without much bloodshed ; but whether or not, they would prove victorious : the inevitable consequence of which would be, the obtaining a revenue towards easing the heavy burdens borne by the people of this country.

“ Mr Ellis,” this writer continues, “ as a parliamentary speaker, is certainly very able. He is well-acquainted with men and books, practice and speculation. Long trained to business, and the various details of almost every official board, he speaks on every subject connected with them with perspicuity, confidence, and precision. Few persons, if any in the house, either in or out of administration, can venture to contend with him in this line with any prospect of success. To a sound native understanding, he has united a close and judicious attention to business ; the result of which is, that he is one of the best-informed men in the house of commons. His oratory is not shining or brilliant, but his discourses are all regular, correct, and finished. He delivers himself in the language of a gentleman and a scholar, and with an elegance and conciseness equalled by few, and surpassed scarcely by any. He never fails to close his speeches by proving his arguments on the clearest principles of logical deduction, allowing his facts to be true. In fine, he is no less dexterous at demolishing the arguments of his opponents, than in raising and judiciously constructing his own. On the other hand, when hard pressed, he suits himself to his situation ; and is as ingenious in evading, palliating, explaining away, and straining precedents, as he is at other times persuasive, logical, and convincing. He then learns to magnify trifles, and trace similitudes where there never existed a likeness. He can promise, because he is not responsible ; he can venture to predict, because he does not pretend to inspiration. He may deny, or assert, when the proofs are not within reach. On the whole, though he is one of the ablest speakers administration have to boast of, and much the ablest support they have in the moment of difficulty, yet he has a certain finicalness in his voice and manner, which is no less fatal to his pretensions to the rank of a first-rate energetic orator, than the necessity arising from his political views, emoluments, and pursuits, is often to his arguments, deductions, and abstract definitions.” By another writer his oratory has been described “ as a stream that flowed so smoothly, and was at the same time so shallow, that it seemed to design to let every pebble it passed over be distinguished.” His manners, the same writer describes as so courteous, that “ had he been a hermit, he would have bowed to a cock-sparrow.”

In 1782 he took the colonial secretaryship at the king's express desire, but soon afterwards again resigned office. He supported the coalition ministry against Pitt until 1793, when he saw it convenient to secede from the opposition. Next year he was raised to the peerage by the title of Mendip. From this period he mixed little in public life. His lordship died without issue on the 2d of February, 1802.



## Petty, Marquess of Lansdowne.

BORN A. D. 1737.—DIED A. D. 1805.

THE greater portion of this nobleman's political life was spent in the period we are now treating of, while earl of Shelburne. He had withdrawn from public life for some years previous to the French revolution, and although that crisis drew him from his retirement, and he saw it to be his duty to support the Fox party, yet he took no active lead in any of the measures of the day.

William Fitzmaurice Petty was the elder son of Baron Wycombe. He entered the guards in early life, and served some time abroad as a volunteer under the duke of Brunswick. At the termination of the seven years' war he returned to England, and was appointed aid-de-camp to George III. in 1760. In the following year he entered parliament as representative for Chipping-Wycombe; and in the course of the same year took his seat in the house of peers on succeeding to his father's title of earl of Shelburne.

Lord Shelburne strenuously opposed the treaty of peace of 1762; and was rewarded for his exertions by the presidency of the board of trade, and a seat in the privy-council. Soon afterwards, however, he threw up his appointments, and joined himself to Pitt's party.

"We find Lord Shelburne in the cabinet as one of Lord Chatham's secretaries of state, in the spring of 1767, when the American port-duties were devised elsewhere, but publicly supported by a faithless chancellor of the exchequer,<sup>1</sup> contrary to the sentiments of his colleagues in office. This," continues a contemporary of these transactions, "is the prevailing opinion: he is not forthcoming to answer for himself; but as no man who knew him entertains a single doubt of his unbounded ambition, his versatility and want of system, charity obliges, and common sense urges us to suppose, that the duke of Grafton, and the lords Chatham, Shelburne, and Camden, be their faults what they may in other respects, would hardly have consented to a measure which would at once have emptied them of every pretension to public virtue or political value, if they had not been compelled by a power greater or as great as the king himself. Lord Shelburne, therefore, we may presume, pushed on by this sovereign irresistible momentum, gave way; the consequence of which was, that we were presented with that famous law for laying duties on tea, paper, painters' colours, and glass. The administration we have just been speaking of, the blackest and the most destructive this nation ever saw, was in its dissolution no less extraordinary than in its formation. It was no sooner imbodyed than its ruin was determined. The noble lord<sup>2</sup> who was at the head of it, lost his senses, as well as his health and popularity. The chancellor of the exchequer,<sup>3</sup> who always hated, envied, and feared him, profited of the glorious opportunity: he sowed, with the most wicked and able malignity, jealousies and animosities, that became impossible to cure or remove. He paid his court alternately in the closet, and to the house of

<sup>1</sup> Charles Townshend.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Chatham.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Townshend.

Bedford: and when he had rendered every man in the cabinet hateful to the public, contemptible at the council-table, and despicable in parliament, he then rendered them hateful and despicable to each other. The last act of his life, more immediately relating to the noble lord who is the subject of this article, will serve as a specimen of the manner those mere ministerial phantoms, as they passed in succession, were treated and dismissed. In the summer of 1767 the views of France upon Corsica became too apparent to be longer permitted with indifference by an English administration. Lord Shelburne, as secretary of state for the southern department, with the approbation of the other members of the cabinet, gave instructions to our minister at the French court to remonstrate against the measure of making a conquest of Corsica. Choiseul—who knew the imbecility of those ministerial shadows that then occupied the several responsible offices of the state—treated the remonstrance with the contempt that was natural. The noble lord<sup>4</sup> who made it could not endure this, and instantly, without leave or notice at either side of the water, returned to England. What was the consequence? The French ambassador here received the fullest assurances—and from an authority that could not be questioned—that Lord Shelburne acted entirely on his own head. The remonstrance was disclaimed by the other members of administration; his lordship was dismissed, and the very person who remonstrated appointed secretary of state.

“His lordship from that instant commenced a violent partisan against the measures of the court, and on many occasions has proved a very powerful adversary. He joined the minister in the measure of new modelling the East India company, and some other matters of less consequence, which has given rise to several reports of his again returning into office, under the present court-system. This, however, can hardly be credited, unless by those who would wish to represent him as one of the most weak, as well as the most unprincipled men that ever appeared upon the public stage.

“His opinions delivered in parliament relative to the unhappy disputes which distract, divide, and indeed threaten the destruction, if not total dissolution, of this once glorious and envied empire, materially correspond, or rather seem to be copied from those avowed by his patron and confidential friend.<sup>5</sup> And here we think it a part of our duty to give the fullest testimony in their favour, and at the same to submit a short sketch of them to our readers. His lordship has uniformly—at least in his parliamentary speeches on the subject—contended for the supreme dominion of this country over all its members and dependencies, as exercised through that true constitutional medium, the executive power of the state. On this ground he has maintained the prerogative of the sovereign respecting the exclusive unconditional right he has to the ordering and directing the military force of the nation under the dernier control of parliament, and the inherent right of the legislature to enact certain laws that shall be binding on all the members of the empire. This general outline will be more fully understood by the following explanation. His lordship thinks that the sovereign of Great Britain may send or order his troops to America or Ireland,

<sup>4</sup> Lord Rochford.

<sup>5</sup> Lord Chatham.



or withdraw them at pleasure; and that he can no more part with this grand prerogative, notwithstanding any promise, concession, or engagement he may have made, or may hereafter make, than he can with his crown; and that the parliament have a right to pass laws for regulating the commerce of Ireland and America, with all the necessary consequences of enforcing them by establishing courts of admiralty, and creating penalties for their due and just observance. On the other hand he is equally clear, that the parliament have no right to tax unrepresented America; that it is a principle in this constitution, that all its native subjects are entitled to equal privileges, the most important and leading of which is the granting their own money; and that the injustice of robbing the colonists of this sacred and invaluable franchise can only be equalled by the folly, madness, and inexpediency of the attempt.

"His lordship, though a man of strong speculative abilities, was put into offices of great trust much too early. His youth and inexperience were not to be balanced by the mere raw efforts of a natural good understanding. A knowledge of business, and the habits that are acquired by an intimate acquaintance with it, are not to be compensated by any degree of speculative research, however ably or diligently pursued; and we are not backward in declaring this very important truth, that one of the greatest misfortunes of this present reign has been, that boys have been made ministers, and that closet-arrangements have superseded the just pretensions of long experience and official merit. This observation is by no means particularly pointed at the noble lord, nor, if it were, would it be at present properly applied.

"His lordship's talents as a parliamentary speaker are well-known. He abounds in information well-worthy the attention of his noble auditory, and of the very ministers whose measures he opposes. His speeches bear the appearance of having been studied and arranged previous to their delivery; they are judiciously conceived, sententious, and correct; and never fail of impressing his sentiments in the most pointed and perspicuous manner. His general acquaintance with books, with the political history of Europe, the general interests of commerce, and particularly those of the British empire, are evident proofs of his industry and sound judgment. In fine, he is one of the most useful speakers in the house of lords, on the part of opposition; his absence or defection therefore would, at this important crisis, be most severely felt. On the other hand, his lordship's harangues, though delivered with facility, have too much the appearance of art and study; while his constant appeals to the candour and indulgence of his hearers are evidently mere traps for applause, and by their frequent repetition become tiresome and disgusting."

On the overthrow of the North administration in 1782, and the accession of the marquess of Rockingham to the premiership, Lord Shelburne, who had headed the opposition in the house of lords since the death of Chatham, became secretary of state for foreign affairs, while the home department was confided to Fox. But when, on the death of the marquess, Lord Shelburne was elevated to the premiership, Fox and his most distinguished colleagues threw up their offices, and by coalescing with North, drove Shelburne from office.

After the dissolution of the coalition ministry, Shelburne might have

resumed office, but not the premiership. He declined an appointment, but was rewarded for his past services with the titles of Marquess of Lansdowne and Earl of Wycombe. From this period, with the exception already noticed, the marquess retired wholly from public life, and devoted himself to the cultivation of literature and the fine arts, until his death on the 7th of May, 1805.

The marquess was twice married. By his first wife—a daughter of the earl of Granville—he had two sons. By his second—a sister of the earl of Upper Ossory—he had one son, the present marquess,

## **Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton.**

BORN A. D. 1735.—DIED A. D. 1811.

THIS nobleman retired from public life at so early an age, that in his political character he belongs to the period now under consideration. He was the son of Lord Augustus Fitzroy, third son of the second duke of Grafton.

In November, 1756, he was appointed a lord of the bedchamber to the prince of Wales; in the same year he took his seat in parliament as member for St Edmundsbury. In 1757 he succeeded to his grandfather's titles, and was called up to the house of lords.

“Upon the arrangements proposed and carried into execution, under the patronage and interference of the late duke of Cumberland in 1765, commonly called the Rockingham administration, his grace was appointed one of the secretaries of state, and continued in that situation till after the conclusion of the session, when he thought proper to resign about the month of June, 1766. This resignation, or sudden desertion of his friends, is what has puzzled every man, who does not choose to form his opinions on mere popular reports, or party-misrepresentations, originating in vain surmises, in exaggerated anecdotes, or in spleen, disappointment, and personal pique. In this state of indecision we have nothing to do but to report facts, and leave the public to form their conclusions.

“Some time in the course of the session, finding a most formidable opposition to the measures of administration, he lamented its weakness, and said, for his part, he could not think of much longer remaining a member of it; because, with the best dispositions to serve their country, the present ministers every day experienced a want of support both in parliament and elsewhere. He added, though he positively intended to resign, that he would, if called upon again, cheerfully join in any future administration that should be formed upon a larger basis, particularly if a certain great man,<sup>1</sup> a leading member of the other house, were to be at the head of it. On this open declaration in parliament, two observations were made at the time by a few. In two months after, they were repeated with more confidence, and became more generally believed. The first political conjecture was, that his grace had learned that his party had lost their power, and that a change of ministry was soon to take place, in the arrangement of which Mr Pitt was

<sup>1</sup> Mr Pitt.



to take the lead ; the other—which was rather the effect of what followed, than of any thing which then appeared—that his grace was employed to throw out this hint as a bait to the great man, the matter being previously considered and determined on, in order to strip him of his popularity. None of these secret transactions can in our opinion be decided but by the parties themselves. Every one on such occasions will or ought to think for himself ; under that privilege we can hardly be persuaded that his grace designedly stooped so low as to be the pimp, spy, or tool of any party, much less of the avowed authors of a court-system, formed on the most rigid doctrines of Filmer, Leslie, and Barclay. He was liable to error ; but we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that he was actuated by treachery, or swayed by deliberate malice.

“ The time soon approached when his grace was to appear entirely in a new light. On the advancement of Mr Pitt to the peerage, in Aug. 1766, his grace was appointed first lord of the treasury ; the new-created earl of Chatham lord-privy-seal, being supposed to be the ostensible minister. His lordship’s illness depriving the young first commissioner of his assistance, the nominal command of course devolved on his grace. A kind of political juggle took place. Charles Townshend wavered, staggered, and fell. Lord Chatham threw himself on the illustrious house of Bedford. The new financier grew giddy from pride or incapacity ; or rather, we suspect, through the arts of those who were set about him to betray him. At this fatal instant, in the very whirlwind of folly, treachery, vanity, and treason against the country, were the dearest interests of the British empire sacrificed. The old whigs under Lord Rockingham were either disgraced or seduced ; the new-created earl was compelled, by the most unequivocal proofs, to write a satire on all future patriots, and pretensions to public spirit ; and the noble duke, who is the subject of the present observations, after taking the most vigorous and decided part in the repeal of the stamp act, through the treachery of his chancellor of the exchequer,<sup>2</sup> the influence of the closet,—the sudden change of sentiments of that hallowed mansion, and the consequences arising from such a change of sentiments among the king’s friends,—at least acquiesced in the American port duties.<sup>3</sup>

“ It is no part of our plan to enter into any discussion on the right of the commons of Great Britain to tax unrepresented America,—though we do not retain a single doubt of the impolicy and inexpediency of endeavouring to effect it by force of arms. Be that as it may, it is our duty to relate the part the duke of Grafton took in that business, as first lord of the treasury. This we find very fully stated in his speeches in parliament since his resignation of the office of privy seal, at the opening of the last session ; and in part confirmed by his brother ministers ; because, if the facts were at first denied, when afterwards

<sup>2</sup> Charles Townshend.

<sup>3</sup> “ From that fatal instant,” says the writer of ‘ Characters,’ from whom we have quoted above, “ every thing dear, important, and valuable to this country, was alternately sacrificed to the dark, dangerous designs of a set of men whom nobody knows, somebody pays and employs to effect his despotic purposes ; whom nobody can name without hazarding an act of the most cruel injustice ; whose cabals Britain hath severely felt the effects of ; and her children, to the latest posterity, may probably have cause to execrate in the bitterness of their hearts.”

reasserted and frequently repeated by his grace, they effectually received the fullest and fairest stamp of authenticity,—the objections or denials on the part of administration containing little more than mere quibbles on words, and mistakes relative to trivial circumstances. There is one measure, that of the Middlesex election, and the previous expulsion of Mr Wilkes, which has been solely attributed to his grace. Whether this measure originated with him, or was dictated as an act of duty, we hold him equally responsible to the people. If he acted on pure principles of conviction, we feel for him as an honest, misled man; if he carried it through both houses, contrary to his own opinion, and as a sacrifice at the shrine of magistratical oppression and revenge, we do not hesitate to affirm, that his nearest and warmest friends and admirers have good reason to lament, that war entered the royal closet.

“His grace resigned, in 1770, the post of first commissioner of the treasury, and still continued to support the measures of the court. His obedience to the wishes of his royal master, and his approbation of the measures pursued by those from whom he had just parted, were so kindly received by the person who had it in his power to reward him, that he did not long continue out of office. He was, in the succeeding June twelvemonth, appointed lord-privy-seal; in which post he remained till his late resignation, when he declared boldly and openly against the measures now pursuing against America. The two first sessions after the commencement of the present troubles in America, he spoke and voted with administration. The reasons assigned by his grace for his alteration of conduct were that he had not sufficient information to determine his judgment; that such as was imparted to him was false, or the facts were misrepresented; that he always disapproved of coercing America by force of arms, but hoped in the beginning that the people of that country would submit; that being thus misinformed, he supported measures he would otherwise never have consented to; that although the right had been clear, the asserting of it in the present state of our finances, and of the other powers of Europe, would be inexpedient; that the point of inexpediency became still more glaring and manifest, when the real strength and ability of America came to be revealed, and the actual disposition of its inhabitants seriously and attentively considered; and that the only two specific measures relating to America, which he supported since the spring-session of 1774, were the Boston port and charter bills, which he had been solely induced to do upon false or ill-grounded information, being assured by those whose business it was to be thoroughly acquainted and perfectly satisfied of the real disposition of the inhabitants of Boston, and the people of Massachusetts bay, that it was in the former instance the intention of the Bostonians to make reparation for the tea to the East India company; and in the latter, the earnest wish of the principal land-owners, merchants, and tradesmen of that province, to have their charter altered and modified. Thus, he said, he had been all along deceived directly in matters of fact, misled in matters of opinion, and constrained either to give his support blindfolded, or withhold it on principle. In such a mass of facts, and such a contradiction in conduct, it is impossible to argue even with plausibility, much less decide with candour or precision; but it seems on a transient view, uninformed as we are of the true motives which actuated his grace, rather a little unfortunate that



his eyes were not opened earlier, or that he trusted so much and so long to those of others; for most indubitably, in point of pure principle, unconnected with the events of war, there did not exist a single reason for his supporting the duke of Richmond's motion on the 5th of March, 1776, which did not hold equally strong for his supporting that made by Lord Chatham, almost in the same words, full thirteen months before.

"The duke of Grafton is one of the most persuasive, or rather pathetic speakers in the house. His speeches are delivered in the style of a gentleman and a scholar. His language is chosen, chaste, and correct. His judgment in arranging his matter is not excelled, perhaps not equalled, by any on either side of the house. He may be sometimes flat and confused, but he is never vulgar, slovenly, or ignorant. As he is a strict observer of the decorum of debate, and the dignity of the august assembly in which he has the honour to sit, any deviation from it while he is up, such as talking or changing seats, is very apt to disconcert him and disarrange his ideas. From the same mode of thinking he is ready to catch fire when any coarse or sarcastic expressions fall from his antagonists, or when any thing personal is directed to himself; but even then he generally restrains his feelings, and retorts with the energy and dignity becoming his elevated rank and senatorial situation. Lord Mansfield has more than once felt the effects of this irascible disposition, and that even before his grace came over to opposition; since when there seems a certain acrimony, whenever an opportunity happens, in all his speeches, hinting, if not directly pointed, towards that noble and learned lord. How far this can be reconciled to his former situation, when in high office, and when the learned lord was supposed to influence those counsels which his grace, as prime minister for nearly four years, was presumed to direct, we do not pretend to determine. He is equally liberal of his hints of pernicious counsels having been given, and of the impressions they may have made in a place where in the world they ought to be soonest resisted. He has even ventured so far as to liken addresses of a more modern date to those presented to the infatuated James II.; and, not stopping there, has spoken of the possibility, if not probability, of a similar catastrophe. He has reprehended the king's servants in the strongest terms for their despotic doctrines in parliament, and their correspondent measures, and lamented, in the face of the whole nation, the dangerous effects such doctrines may be productive of, when it is known that they are promulgated, and publicly asserted and maintained by those who have equally the will and opportunity of endeavouring to instil them into the royal ear. On the whole, as he is one of the most able, so, if he could once more regain the confidence of the party he at first embarked with, and the favour and good opinion of the public, he would be, without question, by much the most formidable opponent to the measures of the court in either house of parliament."

His grace was selected by Junius for one of the principal objects of his tremendous invective. On the subject of his appointment to the premiership, in 1771, Junius writes thus: "The spirit of the favourite<sup>4</sup> had some apparent influence upon every administration, and every set

<sup>4</sup> Bute.

of ministers preserved an appearance of duration as long as they submitted to that influence. But there were certain services to be performed for the favourite's security, or to gratify his resentments, which your predecessors in office had the wisdom, or the virtue, not to undertake. A submissive administration was, at last, gradually collected from the deserters of all parties, interests, and connections; and nothing remained but to find a leader for these gallant, well-disciplined troops. Stand forth, my lord, for thou art the man! Lord Bute found no resource of dependence or security in the proud, imposing superiority of Lord Chatham's abilities; the shrewd, inflexible judgment of Mr Grenville; nor in the mild, but determined, integrity of Lord Rockingham. His views and situation required a creature void of all these properties: and he was forced to go through every division, resolution, composition, and refinement of political chemistry, before he happily arrived at the caput mortuum of vitriol in your grace. Flat and insipid in your retired state; but brought into action, you become vitriol again. Such are the extremes of alternate indolence or fury, which have governed your whole administration!" The following is conceived in a still more savage strain: "There are some hereditary strokes of character by which a family may be as clearly distinguished as by the blackest features of the human face. Charles the First lived and died a hypocrite; Charles the Second was a hypocrite of another sort, and should have died upon the same scaffold. At the distance of a century, we see their different characters happily revived and blended in your grace. Sullen and severe, without religion; profligate without gaiety, you live like Charles the Second, without being an amiable companion; and, for aught I know, may die as his father did, without the reputation of a martyr."

No one of course supposes that the duke, any more than any other person selected by Junius for the object of his attack, had a strict measure of justice dealt out to him by his masked assailant. But it does appear that his grace's private character was fully open even to the animadversions of Junius: "Did not the duke of Grafton," he asks, "frequently lead his mistress into public, and even place her at the head of his table, as if he had pulled down an ancient temple of Venus, and could bury all decency and shame under the ruins?" "The example of the English nobility may, for aught I know," he observes in another letter, "sufficiently justify the duke of Grafton, when he indulges his genius in all the fashionable excesses of the age; yet, considering his rank and station, I think it would do him more honour to be able to deny the fact, than to defend it by such authority. But if vice itself could be excused, there is yet a certain display of it, a certain outrage to decency, and violation to public decorum, which, for the benefit of society, should never be forgiven. It is not that he kept a mistress at home, but that he constantly attended her abroad;—it is not the private indulgence, but the public insult, of which I complain. The name of Miss Parsons would hardly have been known, if the first lord of the treasury had not led her in triumph through the opera-house, even in the presence of the queen. When we see a man act in this manner, we may admit the shameless depravity of his heart,—but what are we to think of his understanding?"

The duke died on the 14th of March, 1811.



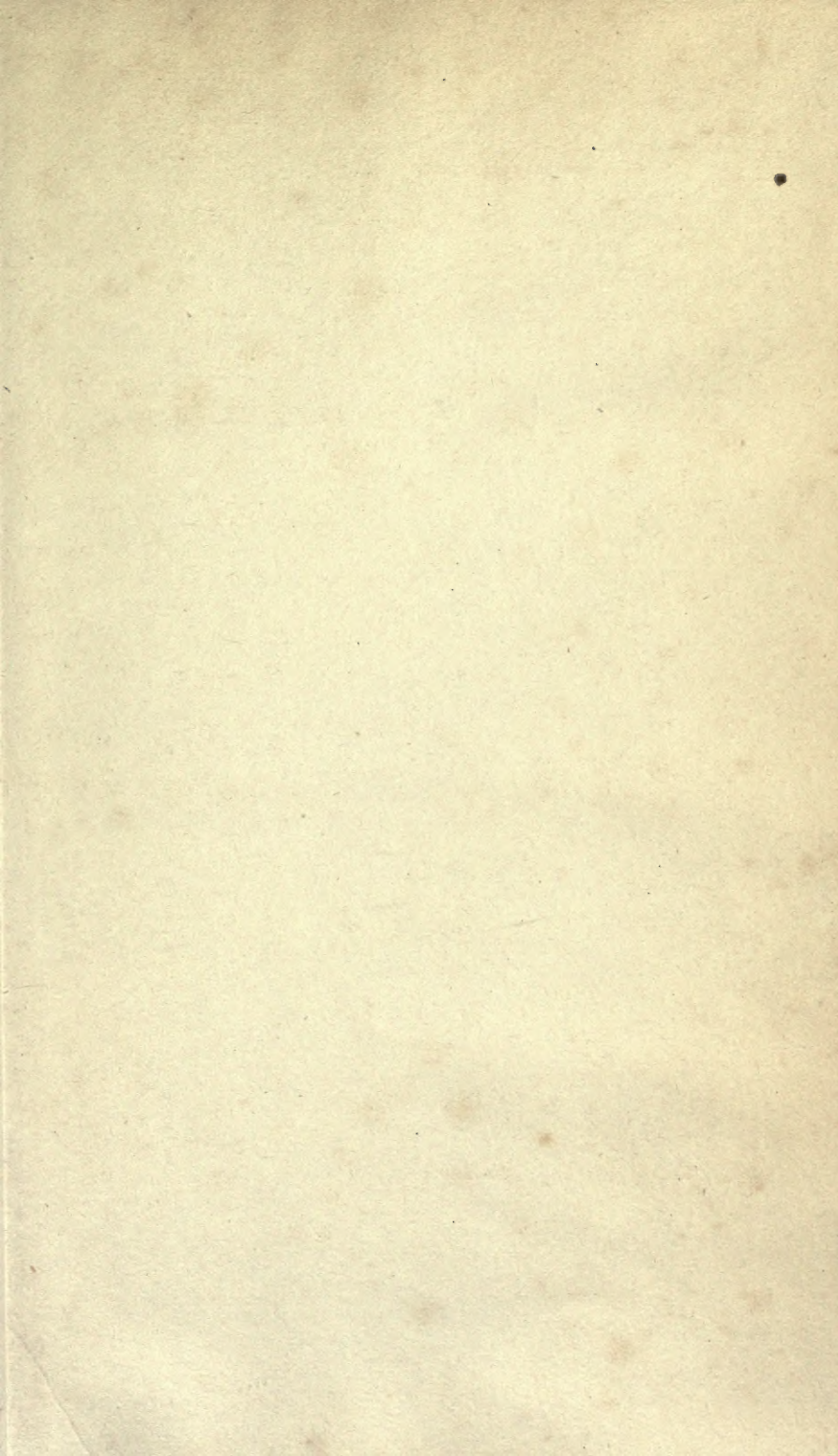
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